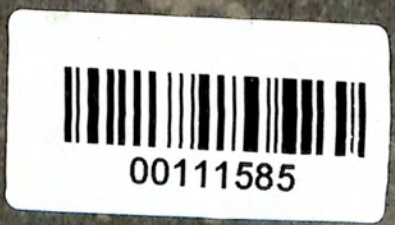
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HISTORY, STATISTICS, &c.

I.—HISTORICAL NOTICES.

It is not my purpose here to enter into any critical discussion; but merely to bring together a few historical notices of the Holy City, which may aid in throwing light upon some of the preceding details. They relate chiefly to the early centuries after the Christian era.

The picture which Josephus has given us of the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus, is drawn in gloomy colours; and presents a fearful succession of disease, famine, suffering, and slaughter. The Romans had besieged the city at a time when multitudes of the Jews were collected in it to celebrate the Passover. First came pestilence, and then famine and the sword; so that, according to the same historian, there perished during the siege not less than eleven hundred thousand persons; while ninety-seven thousand more were made captives.[1] The devastation of the temple and the city was terrific; and in a sense

[1] Joseph. B. J. vi. 9. 3. This is doubtless a greatly exaggerated estimate; though the destruction of life was at any rate immense.

complete. The former was burned with fire; and the walls of both, with the exceptions hereafter to be mentioned, were levelled with the ground; so that a passer-by would not have supposed that the place had ever been inhabited.[1]

Yet amid all this destruction and the insatiable fury of the Roman soldiers, there is no evidence that it was the intent of Titus to lay a ban upon the city, and devote it to perpetual desolation. This indeed was sometimes done by the Romans in respect to conquered cities; the plough was made to pass over their ruins, as a symbol of exauguration; and they might then never be again built up.[2] But Jerusalem was not thus made a doomed site; no plough was passed over its ruins, as has sometimes been reported; and no superstitious curse rested upon its future renovation. Josephus, the eyewitness and participator in all those scenes, who describes in minute detail the events and consequences of the siege, is wholly silent as to any such desecration. The report in question has no doubt arisen in modern times, from confounding a notice relating to the time of Adrian with the events which occurred under Titus.[3]

The destruction of Jerusalem, however terrible, was nevertheless not total. Josephus expressly re-

[1] Joseph. B. J. vii. 1. 1.

[2] Servius ad Virg. Æn. lib. v. vs. 755, "Nam ideo ad diruendas, vel exaugurandas urbes aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu, quo conditæ, subvertantur." So Horat. Carm. i. od. 16:

> "et altis urbibus ultimæ
> Stetere causæ, cur perirent
> Funditus, imprimeretque muris
> Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens."

See also Seneca de Clementia, i. c. 26. Deyling de Æliæ Capitol. Origine et Hist. § 6. in Deyling's Observat. Sacr. P. v. p. 448.

[3] The assertion in question seems first to have been made by Joseph Scaliger in a hap-hazard manner in his *Animadv. ad Eusebii Chron.* p. 211. It is repeated by Valesius in his notes on Eusebii Hist. Ecc. lib. iv. c. 6. p. 61; by Witsius, Miscell. Sacr. ii. Exerc. xii. 8; and by several other writers. Scaliger evidently confounded the later alleged passing of the plough over the site of the temple by Titus Annius Rufus, with the desecration of Jerusalem itself; and has even changed the name of the person to Musonius Tyrrhenus. See a full exposure of the error in Deyling, l. c. p. 450. seq.

lates[1], that by order of Titus the whole western wall of the city, and the three towers of Hippicus, Phasäelus, and Mariamne were left standing; the former as a protection for the troops that remained here in garrison, and the latter as a memorial to posterity of the strength of the fortifications, which Roman valour had overcome. Titus stationed here at his departure the whole of the tenth legion, besides several squadrons of cavalry and cohorts of foot.[2] For these troops and their attendants there of course remained dwellings; and there is no reason to suppose, that such Jews as had taken no part in the war, or perhaps also Christians, were prohibited from taking up their abode amid the ruins, and building them up so far as their necessities might require. But, on the other hand, the language of Eusebius is no doubt exaggerated, when, in commenting upon a prophecy of Zechariah[3], he assumes, in order to explain it, that the city was only half destroyed under Titus.[4] The remark of Jerome is probably nearer the truth, that "for fifty years after its destruction, until the time of Adrian, there still existed remnants of the city."[5] This accords also with other subsequent accounts.

For half a century after its destruction, there is no mention of Jerusalem in history. The Jews in Egypt had revolted under Trajan, and had been subdued.[6] That Emperor died in A. D. 117, and was

[1] B. J. vii. 1. 1.

[2] Ibid. vii. 1. 2.

[3] Zech. xiv. 2, "And half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city."

[4] Demonstr. Evang. lib. vi. c. 18, Τότε μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς τὸ ἡμίσυ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, ὡς φησιν ἡ προφητεία. Compare Jerome on the same passage.

[5] Hieron. Epist. ad Dardanum, Opp. ed. Mart. ii. p. 610, "Civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos mansere reliquiæ." — When Chateaubriand asserts that the Christians returned from Pella to Jerusalem soon after its destruction by Titus, this is nothing more nor less than a mere figment of imagination; Itinéraire, Introd. p. 124. Paris, 1837.

[6] See generally, Münter's Jüdischer Krieg unter Trajan und Hadrian, 1821, p. 13, &c.

followed by Adrian, who spent the greater part of his reign in journeying through the provinces of his vast empire. He appears to have been in Palestine about A. D. 130[1]; up to which time, with slight exceptions, the Jews had remained quiet, though waiting doubtless for a favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke of Roman oppression, and reasserting their national independence. The emperor could not but be aware of the state of feeling prevalent among them; and it was natural that he should adopt precautionary measures to secure the fidelity and quiet of the province. One of these was to disperse the remaining Jews in colonies in various parts, especially along the northern coast of Africa.[2] A measure more important in its consequences, was the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a fortified place, by which to keep in check the whole Jewish population.

This determination of Adrian is assigned by the historian Dio Cassius as the cause of the subsequent revolt and war of the Jews; who could not bear that foreigners should dwell in their city, nor that strange gods should be set up within it.[3] Eusebius, on the other hand, relates that the city was rebuilt and the colony founded by Adrian, after the revolted Jews had been once more subdued.[4] These accounts are easily reconciled; the works had probably already been commenced, when they were broken off by the rebellion, and after this was quelled they were again resumed and completed.[5]

[1] Münter, l. c. pp. 29, 30.

[2] Colonies of Jews sent by Adrian to Libya are mentioned by several historians; see Münter, l. c. p. 35.

[3] Dio Cass. lib. lxix. c. 12.

[4] Hist. Ecc. iv. 6.

[5] So Basnage Hits. des Juifs, tom. v. p. 1117. Rotterd. 1706. Münter, l. c. p. 39.—The year in which the building of the new city was begun is very doubtful. According to the *Chron. Paschale seu Alexandr.* it would appear to have been in A. D. 119. But this seems quite too early; as Adrian was not in Palestine until about A. D. 130, and the war did not break out until after his departure. Münter, pp. 73, 74.

The undertaking of this renovation, then, was the signal for the Jews to break out into open revolt, so soon as the emperor had forsaken the East, apparently about A. D. 132.[1] The long-smothered embers of hatred and discontent now burst forth into a flame, which overran and consumed both the land and the people with terrible desolation. The leader of this war was the celebrated though mysterious Barcochba, "Son of a Star." His success at first was great; the Jews of Palestine all flocked to his standard; the Christians also were tampered with, but refusing to join him were afterwards treated with horrid cruelty.[2] He appears to have soon got possession of Jerusalem. This is evident from the fact of the subsequent recapture of the city by the Romans; and it would seem also, that coins (some of which are still extant) were struck by him in the Holy City.[3] The Romans at first made light of the rebellion, and disregarded the efforts of this despised people; and it was not until the spirit of revolt had spread among the Jews throughout the empire, and the whole world (as Dio expresses it) was moved, that Adrian awoke from his apathy. The rebel Jews had already got possession of fifty fortified places, and nine hundred and eighty-five important villages. The emperor now collected troops from various quarters[4], and took measures to prosecute the war in earnest. He despatched his best officers into the revolted country; and recalling his most distinguished general, Julius Severus, from Britain, sent him to take charge of the war in the East. The struggle was long and desperate. The Jews were

[1] Münter, l. c. p. 45.

[2] Justin. Mart. Apol. i. 31. Euseb. Chron. ad an. xviii. Hadriani. Orosii Histor. vii. 12. See Münter, l. c. p. 55.

[3] Münter, l. c. pp. 62, 63.

[4] An inscription now at Rome records, that even the Gætuli in Mauritania furnished troops for this expedition against the Jews; Münter, p. 84.

numerous, and fought with the bravery of despair. Julius attacked their smaller parties; cut off their supplies of provisions; and thus was able, more slowly indeed, but also with less danger, to wear out their strength and finally destroy them.[1]

It is singular that the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Romans during this war is nowhere described, and only once mentioned, by a cotemporary writer. The historian Appian in the same century gives it a passing notice[2]; but all we know further is from the slight mention of it by Eusebius and later authors, the earliest of whom wrote two centuries after the event.[3] The writings of the Rabbins, the repositories of Jewish tradition, are silent as to the siege, though they speak of the desecration of the site of the temple. Yet the various testimonies, although scattered, are too numerous and definite to admit of doubt as to the fact. Jerusalem must naturally have been one of the chief points of Jewish defence, and the possession of it one of the main objects of the Roman policy. Of the circumstances of the siege and capture we have no account. It was not now, as under Titus, the scene of the last great struggle of the war; for this took place in the siege of the strong but now unknown city of Bether, described as situated not far

[1] Dio Cass. lib. lxix. c. 13, 14. Münter, p. 66. seq.

[2] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. 50. ed. Tauchn. ii. p. 69, Ἱερουσαλὴμ . . . . ἣν δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθήρῃ, καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψέ, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.

[3] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. vi. 18. as quoted above, page 3. note [4], where he continues: μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν αὐτοκράτορα, κινήσεως αὖθις Ἰουδαϊκῆς γενομένης, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἠμίσυ πολιορκηθὲν αὖθις ἐξελαύνεται, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πάμπαν ἄβατον γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον. So also Chrysost. Orat. iii. in Judæos, tom. i. p. 431. Frkf. 1698. Hieron. Comm. in Joel, i. 4. "Ælii quoque Hadriani contra Judæos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerusalem murosque subvertit," &c. Ejusd. Comm. in Ezech. v. 1; in Habac. ii. 12–14, &c. &c. See these and other writers cited in Deyling, l. c. p. 455. Münter, l. c. p. 69–71.

from Jerusalem.[1] Here the bloody tragedy was brought to a close, in the eighteenth year of Adrian, A. D. 135.[2] Thousands and thousands of the captive Jews were sold as slaves; first at the terebinth near Hebron, where of old the tent of their forefather Abraham had stood, and where there had long been a frequented market; afterwards at Gaza; and then the remainder were transported in ships as slaves to Egypt.[3] By a decree of Adrian, the Jews were henceforth forbidden even to approach their Holy City; and guards were stationed to prevent them from making the attempt.[4]

Several of the writers who allude to the capture of Jerusalem under Adrian, speak of the city as having been laid a second time in ruins, and utterly destroyed.[5] But this circumstance stands in direct contradiction with the known purpose of Adrian to rebuild the former city; a purpose which he afterwards accomplished, and which he had probably begun to carry into execution before the war broke out; since this is assigned as the very cause of the war.[6] It must also

[1] Euseb. Hist. Ecc. iv. 6. The usual Talmudic name is ביתר. See Lightfoot Opp. ii. p. 143. Reland Palæst. p. 639. Münter, l. c. p. 77. seq.

[2] Münter, p. 79.

[3] Hieron. Comm. in Zachar. xi. 4. "Legamus veteres historias et traditiones plangentium Judæorum, quod in tabernaculo Abrahæ, ubi nunc per annos singulos mercatus celeberrimus exercetur, post ultimam eversionem quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata sint, et quæ vendi non potuerint, translata in Ægyptum, tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata." Ejusd. Comm. in Jerem. xxxi. 15. Chronicon Paschale seu Alexandr. A. D. 119, p. 253. Sozom. Hist. Ecc. ii. 4. See Reland Palæst. p. 715. Münter, l. c. p. 85. seq.

[4] Justin. Mart. Apol. i. 47, ὅτι δὲ φυλάσσεται (Ἱερουσαλὴμ) ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ καταλαβομένου Ἰουδαίου ἐσιόντος ὥρισθαι, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε. Euseb. H. E. iv. 6. Ejusd. Chron. ἔνθεν εἴργονται πάντῃ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαίνειν προστάξει Θεοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων κράτει. Sulpic. Severi Hist. Sac. ii. 45. "Militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu arceret."

[5] Jerome is the earliest; Comm. in Ezech. v. 1. "Post quinquaginta annos sub Ælio Hadriano usque ad solum incensa atque deleta est, ita ut pristinum quoque nomen amiserit." Eusebius, nearly a century earlier, merely says, that "the place became inaccessible to the Jews;" see Note [3], on p. 6. above. Münter, p. 69. seq.

[6] See p. 4. above.

be remembered, that the writers who thus speak, all lived some three centuries or more after the event. Nor does a greater degree of credit seem due to the relation of Jewish writers, which is also repeated by Jerome, that the governor of the province, Titus Annius Rufus, caused the plough to be passed over the site of the ancient temple in order to desecrate it for ever.[1] There is no evidence that the Romans ever applied this symbol of perpetual doom to the sites of single edifices. And further, Adrian himself is expressly said to have erected a temple to Jupiter upon the same spot[2], a circumstance entirely inconsistent with such a desecration; and Julian, two centuries later, the zealous protector of ancient superstitions, encouraged the Jews themselves to undertake the rebuilding of their temple.—Both these accounts, therefore, would seem rather to belong to the legendary inventions of a later age.

The work of rebuilding the city would appear to have been resumed immediately after the close of the war, if not before. In A. D. 136, the emperor Adrian celebrated his *Vicennalia*, on entering upon the twentieth year of his reign. On such occasions, which heretofore only Augustus and Trajan had lived to see, it seems to have been customary to build or consecrate new cities, or also to give to former cities new names.[3] At this time the new Roman colony established upon the site of the former Jerusalem, received the names of *Colonia Ælia Capitolina;* the former after the praenomen of the emperor, Ælius Adrianus; and the

[1] The Rabbins call him *Turanus* Rufus; Eusebius simply Rufus; Hist. Ecc. iv. 6. See Gemara Taanich, c. 4. "quando aravit Turanus Rufus impius porticum," &c. Maimonides in Bartoloc. Biblioth. Rabb. iii. p. 679. Hieron. Comm. in Zachar. viii. 19. "Capta urbs Bethel (Bether), ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum; aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Ruffo." Münter, l. c. p. 71.

[2] See Note [1] on the next page.

[3] Pagi Critica Antibaroniana ad Ann. Chr. 132. 135.

latter in honour of the Jupiter Capitolinus, whose fane now occupied the place of the Jewish temple.[1] The place became to all intents a Roman and pagan city; Jupiter was made its patron god; and statues of Jupiter and Venus were then or later erected on sites, which afterwards were held to be the places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord.[2] The city was probably strongly fortified. Of its citadel and the apparent extent of its walls, we have already spoken.[3]

The ancient capital of the Jews was henceforth long known only as Ælia; and coins, bearing in their inscription the name COL. AEL. CAP. are still extant from the time of Adrian to Hostilian about A. D. 250.[4] The name Jerusalem went out of use, and was indeed to such a degree forgotten, that when a martyr at Cæsarea under Maximin mentioned Jerusalem as his birth-place, (meaning the heavenly city,) the Roman governor Firmilianus inquired, What city it was, and where it lay?[5] In the days of Constantine the ancient name became again more current, though that of Ælia still remained in use, as is shown by the writings of Eusebius and Jerome.[6] Even so late as A. D. 536, the name of Ælia appears in the acts of a synod held in Jerusalem itself[7]; and it afterwards

[1] Dio Cass. lxix. 12. Ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίναν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον, ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος, κ. τ. λ. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. iv. 6. Hieron. Comm. in Esai. ii. 8, "Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est." See also above, Vol. I. p. 437.

[2] Hieron. Ep. 49. ad Paulin. ed. Mart. tom. IV. ii. p. 564. Sozomen, H. E. ii. 1.

[3] See above, Vol. I. pp. 454. 467.

[4] Münter Jüdischer Krieg, &c. p. 94. The coins of Ælia are found in Rasche's Lexicon, tom. i., and the first Supplement. Sestini Descript. Numor. Vet. p. 544. Mionnet Médailles Ant., tom. v. p. 516. seq.

[5] Euseb. de Martyrib. Palæstinæ, c. 11.

[6] Particularly in their specifications of the distances of places from this city; see the Onomast. art. *Bethel*, and elsewhere.

[7] "In Colonia Ælia metropoli, sive Hierosolymis;" Harduin. Concil. ii. p 1412. Labbe Concil. v. p. 275.

passed over also to the Muhammedans, by whom it was long retained.[1]

The history of Jerusalem, from the time of Adrian until Constantine, presents little more than a blank. The Christians, who, as individuals or perhaps communities, had suffered so greatly from the atrocities of Barcochba and his followers, had become more distinctly separated from the Jews; and while the latter (as we have seen) were now prohibited on pain of death even from approaching Jerusalem, the latter would seem to have resided in it without special molestation from the Romans. At this period probably, if ever, the former church of Jerusalem, which as a body is said to have withdrawn before the siege by Titus to Pella beyond the Jordan[2], re-established itself in the new city; and in order to lay aside as far as possible every appearance of a Jewish character, elected its bishop Marcus and his successors from among the Gentile converts.[3] Between Marcus and Macarius in the time of Constantine, twenty-three bishops are enumerated; respecting whom, however, little is known.[4] Narcissus, in the beginning of the third century, under Severus, is related to have wrought miracles[5]; and Alexander, his successor, founded a library in Jerusalem, which was still extant in the days of Eusebius, nearly a century later.[6] Yet both these bishops, as well as other Christians, were

[1] Eutychius relates that the name Ælia was in use among the Arabs in his day; Annales, i. p. 354. It is mentioned also by Edrisi, ed. Jaub. p. 341; by Ibn el-Wardi in Abulf. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 179; and also by Mejr ed-Dîn so late as A. D. 1495; Fundgr. des Orients, ii. p. 136. —It is found likewise in Adamnanus, about A. D. 697; de Locis Sanct. i, 21.

[2] Euseb. H. E. iii. 5. Epiphanius (ob. 403) de Mensurib. et Pond. xv. p. 171. ed. Petav. Eusebius is silent as to their return; but it is affirmed by Epiphanius.

[3] The election of Marcus is related by Eusebius under the 18th year of Adrian; H. E. iv. 6. Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. p. 145.

[4] Le Quien, l. c. p. 146. seq.

[5] Euseb. H. E. v. 12. vi. 9, 10.

[6] Euseb. H. E. vi. 20.

exposed to persecutions on account of their faith; and the Christian church existed in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, only by sufferance.

The severe prohibition against the Jews appears not to have been relaxed during all this interval of nearly two centuries; and they continued to be shut out from the land of their fathers, and deprived even of the common rights of strangers upon its soil.[1] In the days of Constantine they were first allowed again to approach the Holy City, and at last to enter it once a year, in order to wail over the ruins of their ancient sanctuary.[2]

Mean time the influence and the limits of Christianity were continually increased and extended, as well in Palestine itself as in other parts of the Roman empire. The hearts of Christians in other lands yearned to behold the sacred city, and the scenes of so many great events and hallowed recollections; and in that age of pilgrimages, the Holy Land did not of course remain unvisited. Even early in the third century two pilgrimages of this kind are recorded; one that of Alexander, then bishop in Cappadocia, who became the successor of Narcissus in the see of Jerusalem[3]; and the other, that of a female mentioned in a letter to Cyprian.[4] In the beginning of the fourth century these journies had become more common; for Eusebius, writing about A. D. 315, speaks of Christians who came up to Jerusalem from all the regions of the earth, partly to behold the accomplishment of pro-

[1] Tertull. c. Judæos, c. 15. Apol. c. 21. "quibus [Judæis] nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur." Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. viii. 18. as quoted above, on p. 6. note [3]. The remark in the text applies of course only to Judea; the Jews continued to reside in Galilee in great numbers.

[2] See above, Vol. I. pp. 349–351. Itin. Hieros. p. 591. ed. Wesseling. Hieron. Comm. in Sophon. i. 15.

[3] Euseb. H. E. vi. 11. τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα εὐχῆς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας ἕνεκεν πεποιημένον.

[4] Cyprian. Epist. 75.—Cyprian died A. D. 258.

phecy in the conquest and destruction of the city, and partly to pay their adorations on the Mount of Olives where Jesus ascended, and at the cave in Bethlehem where he was born.[1]

In the conversion of Constantine, Christianity obtained a worldly triumph, and became thenceforth the public religion of the state. The difficulties which had formerly beset the way of pilgrims to the Holy City were now removed; the number of the pilgrims increased; and an example of high influence was set by Helena, the mother of the emperor. At the age of nearly fourscore years, but with a youthful spirit, she repaired in person to Palestine in the year 326, to visit the holy places, and render thanks to God for the prosperity of her son and family. Having paid her adorations at the supposed places of the Nativity and Ascension, and being sustained by the munificence of her son, she caused splendid churches to be erected on those spots, viz. in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, which were afterwards still further adorned by sumptuous presents from Constantine himself.[2] She returned to Constantinople, and died there at the age of eighty, about the year 327 or 328.[3]

In the mean time, after the transactions connected with the council of Nicea, as Eusebius informs us, the emperor Constantine (not without a divine admonition) became desirous of performing a glorious work in Palestine, by beautifying and rendering sacred the place of the resurrection of our Lord. For hitherto, according to the same writer, impious men, or rather the whole race of demons through their instrumentality, had used every effort to deliver over that illustrious monument of immortality to darkness and oblivion.

[1] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. vi. 16. vii. 4.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 42, 43.

[3] Ibid. iii. 46. Tillemont Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 16.

They had covered the sepulchre[1] with earth brought from other quarters; and then erected over it a sanctuary of Venus, in which to celebrate the impure rites and worship of that goddess. All these obstructions Constantine caused to be removed, and the Holy Sepulchre to be purified. Not content with this, he gave directions to build a magnificent temple or place of prayer over and around the sepulchre. His letter on this subject to the bishop Macarius is preserved by Eusebius; and presupposes the recent and joyful discovery of the "sign (or monument) of the Saviour's most sacred passion, which for so long a time had been hidden beneath the earth."[2] This discovery the emperor regards as a miracle, which it is beyond the capacity of man sufficiently to celebrate, or even to comprehend.[3] The church was completed and dedicated in the thirtieth year of Constantine, A. D. 335. On this occasion a great council of bishops was convened by order of the emperor from all the provinces of the empire, first at Tyre, and then at Jerusalem. Among them was Eusebius himself, who took part in the solemnities, and held several public discourses in the Holy City.[4]

In like manner Constantine gave orders to erect a church on the site of the terebinth of Mamre, where Abraham had dwelt; and where, as was supposed, the Saviour had first manifested his presence in Palestine. The emperor wrote on the subject to Eusebius, who has preserved the letter. This church is also mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim and by Jerome.[5]

[1] Eusebius everywhere speaks of the sepulchre as a cave, ἄντρον. De Vit. Const. iii. 26. 33.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 30. τὸ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ πάλαι κρυπτόμενον.

[3] See in general Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 25–40.

[4] Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 43–47. Sozomen, ii. 26. Tillemont Mémoires, &c. vii. p. 12.—The site of the Jewish temple appears to have been left untouched by Constantine; see above, Vol. I. p. 438.

[5] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 51–53. Itin. Hieros. p. 599. ed. Wess. Hieron. Onomast. art. *Arboc.*

Such is the account which Eusebius, the cotemporary and eye-witness, gives of the churches erected in Palestine by Helena and her son Constantine. Not a word, not a hint, by which the reader would be led to suppose, that the mother of the emperor had any thing to do with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, or the building of a church upon the spot. But, as I have already remarked, this was the age of credulous faith, as well as of legendary tradition and invention, if not of pious fraud; and this silence of the father of Church History respecting Helena, was more than made good by his successors. All the writers of the following century relate as with one voice, that the mother of Constantine was from the first instigated by a strong desire to search out and discover the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred cross on which the Saviour had suffered. A divine intimation had pointed out to her the spot; and on her arrival at Jerusalem, she inquired diligently of the inhabitants. Yet the search was uncertain and difficult, in consequence of the obstructions by which the heathen had sought to render the spot unknown. These being all removed, the sacred sepulchre was discovered, and by its side[1] three crosses, with the tablet bearing the inscription written by Pilate. The tablet was separated from the cross; and now arose another dilemma, how to ascertain which of these three was the true cross. Macarius the bishop, who was present, suggested an appropriate means. A noble lady of Jerusalem lay sick of an incurable disease; the three crosses were presented to her in succession. The two first produced no effect; but at the approach of the third, she opened her eyes, recovered her strength, and sprang from her bed in perfect health.—In consequence of this discovery,

[1] Theodoret. Hist. Ecc. i. 17.

Helena caused a splendid church to be erected over the spot, where the crosses were found. The same writers relate also the erection by Helena, of the two churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives.[1]

Leaving out of view the obviously legendary portions of this story, it would seem not improbable, that Helena was the prime mover in searching for and discovering the sacred sepulchre; and that through her representations her son was induced to undertake the erection of the church; which in this way might still be appropriately ascribed to her. The emperor's letter to Macarius, as we have seen above, seems to presuppose some such event.[2] Yet how are we then to account for the entire silence of Eusebius as to any such discovery by Helena; supported as it is by the like silence of the pilgrim of Bordeaux, A. D. 333?[3] Possibly Eusebius, the flatterer of Constantine, may have chosen to ascribe all to the piety and magnanimity of his patron; and while the church was building under the emperor's auspices for six or seven years after Helena's death, her participation in it may have been unknown or overlooked by the pilgrim.

However this may be, and notwithstanding the silence of Eusebius, there would seem to be hardly

[1] Rufinus ob. circa 410. lib. i. (xi.) 7, 8. Theodoret fl. c. 440. lib. i. 18. Socrat. fl. c. 440. lib. i. 17. Sozomen fl. c. 450. lib. ii. 1. Rufinus speaks of a divine intimation as well as of minute inquiry; and so Sozomen, and apparently Socrates. Sozomen also mentions the story of a Jew as one of the chief actors; but rejects it. The story of torture and the like, belongs apparently to a later age. Comp. Paulin. Nolan. Epist. xi. Marinus Sanutus in Gesta Dei per Francos, ii. p. 121. Adrichomius, p. 176.

[2] Page 13. above. Wesseling denies this; *Itin. Hieros.* p. 595. note on Golgotha. His chief reason is, that the word μαρτύριον refers to the church built, and not to the sepulchre or cross found. The word, however, in the letter of Constantine, is not μαρτύριον, but γνώρισμα; Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 30.

[3] The *Itin. Hieros.* merely speaks of the church erected by Constantine over the sepulchre; and says not one word of Helena or of the cross. Even the churches of Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives, which Eusebius ascribes to Helena, are referred by the pilgrim to Constantine; pp. 595. 597. 599, ed. Wesseling.

any fact of history better accredited, than this alleged discovery of the true cross. All the historians of the following century relate the circumstances as with one voice, and ascribe it to the enterprise of Helena. But this is not all. Cyrill, who was bishop of Jerusalem from A. D. 348 onward, only some twenty years after the event, and who frequently speaks of preaching in the church erected by the munificence of Constantine, mentions expressly the finding of the cross under that emperor, and its existence in his own day.[1] So too Jerome, describing in A. D. 404 the journey of Paula, relates that in Jerusalem she not only performed her devotions in the Holy Sepulchre, but also prostrated herself before the cross in adoration.[2] Yet neither of these fathers makes mention of Helena in any connection with either the cross or sepulchre. It would seem, however, to be as little reasonable to doubt the existence of the alleged true cross at that early period, as it would be to give credit to the legendary circumstances related of its discovery. It was probably a work of pious fraud.

In the writings and traditions of succeeding centuries, the name of Helena became more prominent. Her memory and her deeds were embalmed and magnified in story as successive ages rolled on; until in the fourteenth century not less than thirty churches were ascribed to her within the limits of Palestine.[3]

[1] So in his Epist. ad Constantium, 3. Opp. ed. Touttée, p. 352. *ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ . . . . Κονσταντίνου τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς, τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ηὕρηται.* Also in Cat. x. 19. p. 146. *τὸ ξύλον τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ σταυροῦ μαρτυρεῖ, μέχρι σήμερον παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενον.* In other places he speaks of portions of the true cross as already distributed throughout the world. Cat. iv. 10. p. 57. Cat. xiii. 4. p. 184.

[2] Hieron. Epist 86. ad Eust. Epitaph. Paulæ, Opp. tom. IV. ii. p. 673. ed. Mart.

[3] So Nicephorus Callistus, fl. about A. D. 1300, Hist. Ecc. viii. 30. p. 595. seq. ed. Ducæo. This writer enumerates by name seventeen churches as built by Helena; and then says at the close, that she erected more than thirty in all. It is hardly necessary to remark, that his authority can weigh nothing against the silence of all the wri-

And to the present day almost every remaining church in that country, of any antiquity, is in like manner referred in monastic tradition to the munificence of Helena. Yet if we adhere, as we must, to the testimony of all the writers near her time, the only churches which she can be regarded as having built, are those at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives; except so far as she may have taken part in the construction of those connected with the Holy Sepulchre.

The Christian temple thus erected over the holy places at Jerusalem, according to the description of Eusebius, had little resemblance to the structure which exists there at the present day.[1] The first care of Constantine was to erect a chapel or oratory over the sacred cave or sepulchre itself. This edifice was decorated with magnificent columns and ornaments of every sort. No mention is made of its magnitude or elevation, as is the case in respect to the neighbouring Basilica; whence we may infer that the chapel was not large. Before this, on the East, was a large open court or area ornamented with a pavement of polished stones; and surrounded on three sides by long porticos or colonnades. This place was apparently held to be the garden near which Christ was crucified; and as such it is also mentioned by Cyrill as having been beautified by regal gifts.[2] The eastern side of this court was shut in by the *Basilica*, or church, erected over the rock on which the cross was supposed to have stood, and which was held to be Golgotha.[3] This edifice is described as of great extent

ters of the fourth and fifth centuries.

[1] See in general, Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 33-39. Touttée Descr. et Hist. Basilicæ S. Resurrect. in Cyrill. Hieros. Opp. p. 418.

[2] John, xix. 41. Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. xiv. 5. p. 206. ed. Touttée.

[3] Comp. Cyrill. Cat. x. 19. xiii. 23. ed. Touttée. From this rock or *monticule* was doubtless derived the epithet *Mount*, as applied to the present Golgotha or Calvary.

both in its length and breadth, and of immense altitude. The roof was covered with lead; the interior overlaid with variegated marbles; the ceiling decorated with carved work; and the whole glittered in every part with burnished gold. The entrance was from the East, where were three gates; before which twelve columns, after the number of the apostles, formed a semicircle in front of the whole building.—It was this large church to which the name of the *Martyrion* was strictly applied, as standing over the place of the Saviour's Passion.[1] The chapel over the Sepulchre was called the *Anastasis* or Resurrection.[2] But both these names seem also to have often been applied indiscriminately to the whole structure and to its various parts.[3]

The high example of Helena, the supposed discovery of the sacred places, and the erection of all these splendid churches, conspired to draw, in a still greater degree, the attention and the longings of the Christian world towards Jerusalem. Pilgrimages were now multiplied, as the dangers and difficulties were diminished; and one of the most important documents of the age, is the Itinerary of a palmer from Bourdeaux in A. D. 333.[4] The dedication of the church of the

Hence the expression "Mount Calvary" has been adopted, almost without question, into every language of Christendom. Yet, in the New Testament there is no hint that Golgotha was in any sense a hillock; Matt. xxvii. 33. Mark xv. 22. Luke xxiii. 33. John xix. 17. Neither Eusebius, nor Cyrill, (except as made to say so by the Latin translator,) nor Jerome, nor the historians of the 4th and 5th centuries, speak of it as a mount. Yet the expression must have early become current, perhaps among the pilgrims; for the *Itiner. Hieros.* speaks of it as "monticulus Golgotha." Rufinus has the expression, "Golgothana rupes," Hist. Ecc. ix. 6. Antoninus and Adamnanus make no allusion to a mount; but Bernhard, again, has "Mons Calvariæ." At that time the usage appears to have become fixed; and is found in all later pilgrims and writers.

[1] Cyrill Hieros. Cat. xiv. 6. ed. Touttée. Compare Euseb. de Laud. Const. c. 9. sub fine.

[2] The Arabic name of the present church is still *el-Kiyâmeh*, the Resurrection.

[3] Tillemont Mémoires, &c. tom. vii. p. 11.

[4] Itiner. Hieros. seu Burdigalense.

Holy Sepulchre in A. D. 335, was afterwards celebrated annually by a festival, which continued for a week, and was resorted to by multitudes from all parts of the world.[1] Towards the middle of the same century, Hilarion first introduced the monastic life from Egypt into Palestine and Syria[2]; which, finding there a congenial soil, at once took deep root, and spread itself rapidly abroad throughout the land.

The Jews, as we have seen[3], in the age of Constantine, were again permitted to approach Jerusalem, and apparently to dwell once more upon their native soil. They had never been driven out from Galilee; and under the reign of his successor Constantius, they formed the chief population of Diocaesarea (Sepphoris) and other towns; and felt themselves in sufficient strength to take up arms in rebellion against the Romans. But they were soon subdued; and in A. D. 339, this city was levelled to the ground.[4] The emperor Julian, in abandoning Christianity, endeavoured as a matter of policy to win the confidence of the Jews. He showed them favour; granted them privileges; and gave them permission to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild their sacred temple. They accordingly began to lay the foundations about A. D. 362; but the attempt, according to contemporary writers, was rendered abortive by supernatural hindrances.[5]—Under the successors of Julian, the edicts would seem to have been renewed, which prohibited the Jews from

[1] Sozomen, ii. 26.

[2] Hieron. Vita Hilar. Sozom. iii. 14. Tillemont Mém. tom. vii. p. 565. Neander Kirchengeschichte, II. ii. p. 503.

[3] See above, p. 11.

[4] Socrates H. E. ii. 33. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 33. Paris. See Reland Pal. p. 1000. For the Jews in Galilee, see in Sec. XV., under Tiberias.

[5] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 1. "metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operibus inaccessum; hocque modo, elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum." Socr. H. E. iii. 20. Sozom. v. 22. Tillemont Mémoires, &c. vii. p. 409. seq.

residing in Jerusalem; for Jerome relates, that in his day they were still forbidden to enter the city, except once a year, to wail over the temple.[1] Thus they continued to struggle on for a residence in the land and city of their fathers; objects of contumely and oppression on every side, and with little change in their general situation; until at length the Muhammedan conquest gave them the opportunity of acquiring larger privileges, both in Jerusalem and throughout Palestine.

In the latter part of the fourth century, A. D. 384, Jerome, the celebrated father, took up his residence in Palestine, where he remained as a monk in the convent at Bethlehem until his death in A. D. 420. At this time monasteries and communities of anchorites (*laurae*) were numerous[2]; and the whole of Palestine swarmed with monks and hermits. Jerome speaks expressly of "the great multitude of brethren and the bands of monks," who dwelt in and around Jerusalem.[3] Even Paula, a noble Roman matron, the friend of Jerome, first made a pilgrimage to the holy places, and then retired to Bethlehem; where she erected four monasteries, one for monks and three for nuns.[4] Nor was the throng of strangers and pilgrims, who came from every quarter of the globe to visit the holy places and adore the cross, less remarkable. The same father relates that devotees "streamed to Jerusalem from every part of the world; so that the city was crowded with persons of both sexes and of every

[1] Hieron. Comm. in Zephan. i. 15. "usque ad præsentem diem perfidi coloni (Judæi) . . . excepto planctu prohibentur ingredi Jerusalem." Then follows the passage quoted above, Vol. I. p. 351. note.

[2] A community of anchorites, dwelling near each other in separate cells, was called λαύρα, *laura*, i. e. a street, village. See Neander K. G. II. ii. p. 504. Bolland in Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 298.

[3] "Tantam fratrum multitudinem et monachorum choros;" Ep. xxxviii. ad Pammach. tom. iv. ii. p. 308. ed. Mart.

[4] Hieron. Ep. lxxxvi. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ.

class."[1] From Gaul, Britain, Persia, India, Ethiopia, Egypt, and the whole East, princes and nobles thronged to the Holy City; believing themselves to have less of religion, less of science, and not to have attained the highest point of virtue, unless they had paid their adorations to the Saviour in the very places, where the Gospel first shone forth in splendour from the cross.[2] Nor did the pilgrims limit their holy veneration to Palestine. Egypt was equally thronged; and many also travelled into Arabia, the supposed country of Job, to visit the dunghill and kiss the ground, on which the man of God had suffered with such patience.[3] Indeed, after the fourth and fifth centuries, there are comparatively few of the more distinguished Saints of the Calendar, among whose merits one or more pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre are not enumerated.[4]

In such a state of things, it cannot be a matter of wonder, that the end should often be forgotten in the means; that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of being resorted to merely as a means of elevating and purifying the religious feelings, and quickening the flame of devotion, should come to be regarded as having in itself a sanctifying and saving power; and so the mere performance of the outward act, be substituted for the inward principle and feelings. That such was actu-

[1] "De toto huc orbe concurritur. Plena est civitas universi generis hominum; et tanta utriusque sexus constipatio, &c." Ep. xlix. ad Paulin. tom. iv. p. ii. p. 565. ed. Mart. So Chrysost. in Ps. 109. § 6. ἡ οἰκουμένη συντρέχει.

[2] See the Epistle under the name of Paula ad Eustochium, Hieron. Opp. tom. iv. p. ii. pp. 550, 551.

[3] So Chrysost. Homil. v. de Statuis, § 1. tom. ii. p. 59. Πολλοὶ νῦν μακρὰν τινα καὶ διαπόντιον ἀποδημίαν στέλλονται ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν τρέχοντες, ἵνα τὴν κοπρίαν ἐκείνην ἴδωσι, καὶ θεασάμενοι καταφιλήσωσι τὴν γῆν.

[4] See the Indices to the many volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* of Bolland, art. *Peregrinatio*, &c. Some of these holy men made no less than three pilgrimages to the Promised Land. So St. Cadocus, bishop of Beneventum, and Theodosius, bishop of Anastasiople, in the sixth century; Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. i. p. 604. April. tom. iii. p. 32. seq.

ally the case, is obvious from the language of Jerome and other fathers, who strove against this tendency. The former declares, that "the places of the cross and of the resurrection of Christ can benefit only those who bear his cross, and who with Christ rise daily. From Jerusalem and from Britain, the celestial halls are equally open."[1] And he goes on to relate of Hilarion, who spent much of his life as an anchorite in Palestine, that he only once visited Jerusalem and the sacred places.[2] To the same effect is the language of Gregory of Nyssa[3]; who justly appeals to the corruption and licentiousness which prevailed in Jerusalem, as a proof, how little such external impressions can contribute in themselves to the purification of the heart.

The effects which would naturally follow from all these circumstances in respect to the topography of the Holy Land, have already been pointed out in the beginning of the preceding section. Almost as a matter of course, every place celebrated in the Bible was sought after by the credulous piety of monks and pilgrims, and its site definitely assigned. Whether this were done correctly, was not often with them a matter of strict inquiry. Yet, during the fourth century, there is less reason for regret and complaint in this respect, than in the succeeding ages. Eusebius had composed his Onomasticon in Greek, apparently about A. D. 330, after the sites of the holy places in Jerusalem had been determined[4]; and this was now translated and revised by Jerome during his residence in Palestine, before the mass of foreign tradition, which afterwards spread itself abroad, had taken root or cast its darkening shadows over the land. This important

[1] Ep. xlix. ad Paulin. tom. iv. p. ii. p. 564.

[2] Hieron. l. c.

[3] Gregor. Nyss. Epist. ad Ambrosium et Basilissam. Compare Neander Kirchengeschichte, bd. II. ii. p. 731.

[4] See the art. Γολγοθά, *Golgotha*, the site of which had already been fixed.

work serves to show the state of topographical tradition as it then existed; and often stands in direct contradiction to the specifications of later ages.[1]

During the centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem, the metropolitan see of Palestine was at Cæsarea; to which the see of Jerusalem was subject like the rest.[2] But when in the fourth century the holy places at Jerusalem became known, and were decorated with splendid edifices, and the Holy City began to reassume its importance in the Christian world, its bishops were not slow to bring forward its claims to a higher rank, as the original seat of the apostolic church. Even so early as at the Council of Nicea, A. D. 325, its traditional claims had been acknowledged and affirmed; saving however the dignity of the then metropolitan see.[3] Cyrill as bishop of Jerusalem contended long with Acacius of Cæsarea for the supremacy; though he was at last compelled to yield to the authority of the primate, by whom he was deposed.[4] His successor, John, claimed also to be independent of Caesarea, and appealed to the Patriarch of Alexandria; for which he is censured by Jerome.[5] The following bishop, Praylus, was a meek and holy man, and apparently avoided such controversies. But Juvenal, his successor, who held the chair of Jerusalem from about A. D. 420 to 458, exerted himself to the utmost to establish the authority of his see, not only as superior to Caesarea, but as independent of

[1] See more above, Vol. I. p. 375.

[2] So Jerome, as if addressing himself to John, bishop of Jerusalem, and referring him to the council of Nicea, exclaims: "Ni fallar, hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palæstinæ metropolis Cæsaræa sit, et totius orientis Antiochia;" Hieron. Ep. xxxviii. ad Pammach. tom. iv. p. ii. p. 330. ed. Mart.

[3] Concil. Nic. Can. vii. Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαῖα ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. Labb. Concil. tom. i. p. 47.

[4] Theodoret. H. E. ii. 26. Sozom. iv. 25.

[5] Hieron. l. c.

the patriarch of Antioch. It was not however until the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451—3, that he was able after long efforts to effect his purpose. It was there decreed, that Jerusalem should be thenceforth an independent patriarchate, comprising the three Palestines; while Antioch should retain the two Phenicias and northern Arabia.[1]

Amid all the religious or rather theological controversies, which agitated the oriental churches during these centuries, it was hardly to be expected that Palestine, crowded as it was with ecclesiastics and monks, should remain in peace. On the contrary, it actually became one of the chief seats of strife and fierce contention, which were not in all cases appeased without bloodshed. In the fourth century, the Arian controversy had much to do with the repeated depositions of Cyrill from the see of Jerusalem.[2] In A. D. 415 Pelagius himself appeared before two tumultuous synods at Jerusalem and Diospolis (Lyddâ).[3] About the same period we find in and around Jerusalem the germ of the controversy, which a century later raged with such vehemence against the Origenists.[4]

The declaration of the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451) in favour of the doctrine of the two distinct natures of Christ, was the signal for the outbreak of violence on the part of the Monophysites, its opposers; whose chief seat at first was in Palestine and Egypt. Theodosius, a fanatical monk, who had already excited tumults in the council, returned to Jerusalem; and having ingratiated himself with Eudocia, the widow of the late emperor Theodosius II., who resided in Palestine, he soon obtained influence throughout the

[1] Concil. Chalcedon. act. vii. Labb. tom. iv. p. 613. See also Le Quien Oriens Christ. tom. iii. p. 110. seq.

[2] Sozom. H. E. iv. 25.

[3] Neander K. G. II. iii. p. 1222. seq.

[4] Neander l. c. p. 1424. seq.

convents, and raised a fierce party against the decision of the council. His partisans took possession of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, deposed the patriarch Juvenal, drove him from the country, and elected Theodosius in his stead. The orthodox bishops and moderate men were now everywhere deposed; some were slain, and their places filled by unworthy persons and even malefactors. The emperor Marcian, on hearing of these events, took measures to replace the exiled patriarch in his station, and restore things to their former order; but this could only be done after fierce conflicts; since both parties (as Evagrius expresses it) acted only according to the dictates of their rage. Theodosius retired secretly to Mount Sinai; where he was followed by a letter missive of the emperor, to which we have already alluded in another place.[1]

The controversy continued to rage in Egypt, accompanied with many tumults; and the successive emperors, themselves weak-minded or vacillating men, were unable to quench the flames of discord. Under Anastasius I., who began to reign in A. D. 491, and was himself opposed to the decree of the council of Chalcedon, the Monophysite party acquired new strength, and gave occasion to new disturbances, under its two distinguished leaders, Xenaja or Philoxenus, and Severus.[2] The tumults broke out first at Antioch, where Flavianus, the mild but orthodox patriarch, was assailed in A. D. 512 by a host of fanatic monks from the neighbourhood, who forced their way into the city, and demanded that he should anathematize the acts of the council of Chalcedon. The people of the city however sided with the patri-

[1] Vol. I. pp. 183, 184. For the general history of this tumult, see *Vita St. Euthemii*, No. 73., in Cotelerii Monum. Eccl. Græcæ, tom. ii. p. 261; Lat. in Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 313. Evagrii Hist. Ecc. ii. 5. Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. p. 166.

[2] Neander K. G. II. iii. p. 1128. seq.

arch, rose upon the monks, and slew a large number, who found their only sepulchre in the waves of the Orontes. The monks of Cœle-Syria also, among whom Flavianus had lived, hastened to Antioch to tender him their services and protection. Yet he was ultimately deposed in the same year, and driven into exile at Petra. He was succeeded in his office by the Monophysite leader Severus.[1]

The patriarchate of Jerusalem was at this time held by Elias; whose influence among the monks and clergy of Palestine, however great, was yet less than that of the celebrated anchorite, St. Sabas, the founder of several *lauræ* and monasteries; and among them, of that which still bears his name in the desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. In the very same year, A. D. 512, Severus of Antioch sent messengers to Elias, who refused to acknowledge him. The message was repeated in May, A. D. 513, accompanied by several clergy and some of the emperor's troops. This roused the indignation of Sabas in his holy retreat; he repaired with other abbots to Jerusalem; expelled the messengers of Severus from the city; and collecting a multitude of monks before Calvary, pronounced anathemas against Severus and all those of his communion, in the presence of the magistrates and of the officers and troops whom the emperor had sent. Still, the power of the state at length prevailed. The emperor sent Olympius, who then held the command in Palestine, with a body of troops to Jerusalem; and as Elias still refused to disavow allegiance to the decrees of Chalcedon, he was deposed and banished to Ailah. There he died in A. D. 518; being visited in his last moments by Sabas.[2]

[1] Evagr. H. E. iii. 32.

[2] Cyrill. Scythop. Vita Sabæ, 56, 60; Gr. et Lat. in Cotelerii Monum. Eccles. Græc. tom. iii. pp. 308-10, 324. Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. p. 181. seq.

His successor in the patriarchate, John III., who was expected to anathematize the council of Chalcedon, not only did not do this, but took at first a neutral course, and afterwards made common cause with the orthodox party. Disputes and fierce passion continued to prevail among the ecclesiastics and monks of Palestine; but they seem not to have broken forth into deeds of open violence. The accession of the orthodox emperor, Justin I., in A. D. 518, was hailed with triumph by Sabas and his disciples. The new decrees of this emperor in favour of orthodoxy were no sooner known in Jerusalem, than an infinite multitude of monks and laymen collected in that city; the holy Sabas and a council of bishops hastened to assemble; and at a festival celebrated on the 6th of August, the imperial decrees were openly promulgated.

Justinian, who ascended the throne in A. D. 527, was the still more decided and despotic friend of the orthodox faith. Sabas died about A. D. 532 in the odour of sanctity, at the great age of ninety-four years.[1] Not long after his decease, new troubles and dissensions broke out among his immediate disciples and flock. The unquiet spirit of oriental Monachism, which had hitherto expended itself in the Monophysite controversy, or been controlled by the predominance of a master spirit, or felt the influence of the imperial despotism, now began to manifest itself in a different form. The tendency and doctrines of the Origenists were again broached, especially by Nonnus in the new laura founded by Sabas near Tekoa, and in several others. The same doctrines found admission also among many of the members of the principal laura of Sabas; but the great body remained faithful to the orthodox doctrine, and expelled the others, to

[1] Cyrill. Scyth. Vita Sabæ, in Cotelerii Monum. Eccl. Græc. tom. iii. p. 353. seq. Le Quien Oriens Chr. iii. p. 194. seq.

the number of forty, from the community. These retired to the laura near Tekoa; and the united band of the Origenists now attempted to get possession of various monasteries. They even attacked the chief laura of Sabas, with force and violence, but without success.[1]

In A. D. 536, at the suggestion of the Roman bishop, Agapetus, then at Constantinople, and of Mennas, patriarch of that city, the patriarch Peter of Jerusalem held a synod composed of the bishops of the three Palestines; at which not only the decrees of the synod of Constantinople in the same year against the Monophysites were confirmed, but the dogmas of Origen were also publicly subjected to anathema. This measure caused great indignation among the followers of Nonnus, and gave rise to further tumults.[2] The edict of the synod was however subscribed by all the bishops and abbots of Palestine, except one; which so enraged Nonnus and the other chiefs of the Origenists, that they renounced the communion of the orthodox; and withdrawing from the laura near Tekoa, dwelt in the plain. After long negotiation they returned to the laura, retaining still great bitterness against the inmates of the laura of Sabas; which they manifested by open and violent attacks. They succeeded at length in obtaining possession for a time of this chief laura; an Origenist was installed as abbot in the seat of the holy Sabas.[3] This however did not long continue. The holy Conon was afterwards made abbot; Eustochius (about A. D. 545) succeeded to the patriarchate of Jerusalem; and, by command of the emperor, the military force was employed to drive

[1] Cyrill. ibid. p. 360-2. Baronius Ann. A. D. 532. viii. seq. Le Quien ibid. p. 196-200.

[2] Labb. Concil. tom. v. p. 275-87. Baronius Ann. A. D. 535. xciv. Cyrill. Vita Sabæ, l. c. p. 365. Le Quien l. c. p. 204. seq. Neander K. G. II. iii. p. 1135. seq.

[3] Cyrill. Scyth. Vit. Sabæ, ibid. p. 370.

out the Origenists from their strong-hold, the new laura (so called) near Tekoa. From this time peace appears to have been restored.[1]

I have dwelt the longer upon these gloomy details, in order to show the extent, as well as the character and spirit, of that body of monks and ecclesiastics with which Palestine was thronged; and who for so many centuries were the only persons to investigate the Scriptures, and fix the traditional topography of the Holy Land.

Despotic as Justinian was in behalf of orthodoxy, he was no less a passionate builder of churches and monasteries, as well as of fortresses; and to such an extent was this passion carried out during his long reign, that the cotemporary historian Procopius has left us a work in six books, treating solely of the edifices erected by this emperor.[2] In Constantinople itself, the church of St. Sophia remains to this day a monument of his taste and public munificence. With the convent erected by him at Mount Sinai we have already become acquainted.[3] In Palestine the Samaritans made insurrection against Justinian, as they had formerly done under the emperors Zeno and Anastasius; slaughtered the Christians of Neapolis; and destroyed their churches. They were however speedily subdued; and the emperor rebuilt the churches and erected a new one strongly fortified on Mount Gerizim. This was in the third year of Justinian, A. D. 529.[4] In the same connection, and as if occurring about the same time, Procopius describes the erection of a large church at Jerusalem by Justinian in honour of the Virgin, on which great expense and labour were be-

[1] Cyrill. ibid. p. 375, seq. Evagr. H. E. iv. 38.

[2] Περὶ τῶν τοῦ δεσπότου Ἰουστινιανοῦ κτισμάτων, *De Ædificiis Justiniani*, &c. in the Corpus Scriptor. Historiæ Byzant.

[3] See above in Vol. I. p. 184.

[4] Procop. de Ædific. v. 7. Chron. Paschale seu Alexandrin. pp. 325, 326. ed. Ducange, Paris, 1688.

stowed, in order to make it one of the most splendid in the world. This church, as we have seen, was apparently the edifice now known as the mosk el-Aksa, on the southern part of the site of the temple.[1] The same writer ascribes to this emperor the building of not less than ten or eleven monasteries in and around Jerusalem and Jericho, a Xenodochium or hospital for pilgrims at Jericho, and also the building up of the walls of Bethlehem and other cities.[2] Eutychius in the ninth century relates the same general facts respecting Justinian; and adds that he erected also a hospital for strangers in Jerusalem.[3]

This public provision for the accommodation of pilgrims in the Holy Land, serves to show, that their numbers at this period were not diminished. On the contrary, the pilgrims from the West would appear to have increased; and it was regarded as a pious duty of occidental princes and wealthy individuals, to make further provision for their wants. At the close of this century, Gregory the Great of Rome (A. D. 590—604) is said to have sent the abbot Probus with a large sum of money to Jerusalem, where he too erected a splendid hospital for the reception of pilgrims.[4] To

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 438. Procop. de Ædif. v. 6.

[2] Procop. de Ædificiis Justiniani, v. 9.

[3] Eutychii Annales, Arab. et Lat. ed. Pococke, Oxon. 1658, tom. ii. pp. 158, 159. seq. — Of the church built by Justinian in Jerusalem, Eutychius merely says, "he completed the church of Helena which had been begun by the patriarch Elias;" of course in the same century; ibid. p. 108. Eutychius also relates, that Justinian at the same time caused the church in Bethlehem to be rebuilt; and being displeased at the manner in which his legate had constructed the edifice, he ordered his head to be struck off. Both these accounts have an air of the fabulous.

[4] Bolland Acta Sanctor. Mart. tom. ii. p. 157. Possibly this hospital, or that of Justinian, may have been the edifice still used by the Muslims as a hospital, where food is daily distributed to the poor. It is called by the Franks the Kitchen of Helena, and is situated on the street in which we resided, running down eastward below the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Its portal, if I remember right, exhibits an architecture of the Byzantine type. See Turner's Tour in the Levant, ii. p. 268. Schubert's Reise, ii. p. 585. The Arabic name is et-Tekiyeh.

such an extent was this feeling of duty at length carried, that in the following centuries there was scarcely a city of note in France or Italy, in which the charity of Christians had not provided a hospital for the pious wanderer to Rome and the Holy Land; while in Constantinople, at least in the ninth century, there were several establishments of the same character.[1]

To the close of the sixth century belongs also the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr, or Antoninus Placentinus; for he is called by both names. His description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre corresponds with that of Eusebius as above given. Of the author, nothing further is known.

The journey of the pilgrims to Jerusalem was also facilitated, and the interest taken by all in the Holy Land was cherished and augmented, by the commercial intercourse, which at this period was kept up with the East by several cities along the coasts of the Mediterranean. The merchants of Marseilles in the sixth and seventh centuries sent their ships to Alexandria and the coasts of Syria; and received from thence paper, oil, and the silks and spices of the remoter East.[2] In the sixth century at the court of king Guntram of Burgundy, the wine of Gaza was regarded as the highest delicacy.[3]—In like manner the merchants of Syria and the East travelled with their wares into the Occident, and extended their wanderings throughout the greater part of France and Spain.[4]

Another motive which served at this period and later to encourage and multiply pilgrimages to the Holy Land, was the desire of obtaining the relics of saints and

[1] Muratori Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 575. Bollandi Acta Sanctor. Mart. tom. ii. p. 298. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. i. p. 10.

[2] Gregorius Turonensis, v. 5. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, i. p. 17.

[3] Gregor. Tur. vii. 29.

[4] Greg. Tur. iv. 38. Wilken l. c. pp. 17, 18.

holy persons; among which not a few were alleged to have appertained to our Saviour himself. About this time the bones and other remains, especially of those who had suffered martyrdom, became an object of idolatrous veneration. Churches and convents held it to be necessary to possess (if possible) the skeletons or other memorials of their patron saints; or at least those of other saints of holy renown; in order to increase their own authority and consideration with the people. Among the laity too, the most sacred oath was that taken upon the relics of a saint; and the possession of a relic was regarded as a protection against every species of evil.[1] Hence such relics were sought for with avidity, and purchased at a high price. They were indeed to be found in great numbers in the West; for the saints of France and Spain, and especially those of Italy, did not fail to leave behind them memorials possessing a wonder-working power. Yet relics from the Holy Land enjoyed nevertheless the pre-eminence; and those churches and convents were especially venerated, which could boast of possessing some relic of the Saviour or of his cotemporary followers.[2] The shrewdness of the oriental clergy was not slow to take advantage of this superstition; and the pilgrims who sought in Jerusalem and elsewhere for relics, were seldom necessitated to seek in vain. The common people at length manufactured them according to the demand[3]; although, in practising this fraud,

[1] Capitular. Caroli Magn. lib. vi. c. 209. "Omne sacramentum in ecclesia et *super reliquias* juretur . . . Sic illum Deus adjuvet et illi Sancti, quorum istæ reliquiæ sunt, ut veritatem dicat." Charlemagne also took relics with him in time of war. So too the Byzantine Greeks. See Wilken, l. c. p. 12. Du Fresne in Villahardouin Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople, Paris, 1657, fol. p. 311-13.

[2] Wilken, l. c. p. 12.

[3] Thus, in A. D. 1027, a common man in France made a regular trade of such fabricated relics, prepared mostly from the bones of persons recently dead. Several bishops patronized the cheat, and shared the gains. See Rodolph. Glaber, Francor. Hist. iv. 3.; in Du Chesne Scriptores Hist. Franc. tom. iv. Bouquet's Recueil, t. x.

they did not go beyond that of the priests both of the East and the West, in distributing to all the world pieces of the true cross.[1]—These relics from Palestine were sold in the West to clergy and laity at a high profit; and thus a pilgrimage to Jerusalem often became a source, not only of spiritual renown, but also of emolument. So profitable indeed did this trade in relics, become, that Syrian merchants repaired with them to Europe for sale.[2]

Thus had now rolled on the first six centuries after the Christian era. For half of this long period Jerusalem had remained in darkness, beneath the oppressive sway of heathen domination. During the other half, she had again reassumed her station as the Holy City of the Christian world; and the relations in which she stood towards the West, if not always of the holiest character, were nevertheless such as to excite even in worldly minds a deep interest in her fortunes. Another period of longer and deeper darkness was now about to commence; and Jerusalem, "the joy of the whole earth," was once more to be trodden down by the barbarian hordes of a false religion, under a thraldom from which even yet she is not emancipated.

The Persians under Chosroes I. had already made inroads upon the Roman empire during the reign of

[1] The trade in pieces of the true cross commenced very early; for Cyrill of Jerus. (c. 350.) mentions that they were already dispersed throughout the world; see above, p. 16. note [1]. The sacred cross was alleged to have an inherent power of re-production; so that, when a portion was taken away, it was again immediately replaced: "In materia insensata vim vivam tenens, ita ex illo tempore innumeris pæne quotidie hominum votis lignum suum commodat, ut detrimenta non sentiat, et quasi intacta permaneat," &c. See Paulin. Nolan. (fl. A. D. 400,) Epist. 11, seu 31. Very many abbeys and convents had portions of the cross to show. See Wilken, l. c. p. 13.—In like manner, Charles the Bald founded a convent in Aquitaine, "in quo posuit præputium Domini Jesu Christi." Chron. Sithiense ad ann. 875, in Martene Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot. tom. iii.

[2] Gregor. Turonensis, viii. 31. Wilken, l. c. p. 15.

Justinian, and had extended their conquests into the heart of Syria, as far as to Antioch and the shores of the Mediterranean. Under Chosroes II. the war was renewed against the emperor Phocas and his successor Heraclius. The Persians penetrated into Syria; captured Damascus in A. D. 613; and then directed their victorious progress southwards towards Jerusalem. They were joined on the way by the Jews of Tiberias, Nazareth, and the mountains of Galilee. In the month of June, A. D. 614, the Holy City was invested and taken by storm; many thousands of the clergy, monks, consecrated virgins, and other inhabitants were slain; the splendid churches were thrown down, and that of the Holy Sepulchre burned with fire; while the patriarch Zacharias, with the true cross, and multitudes of the inhabitants, were carried away into captivity.[1]

Many fugitives from Palestine and Syria now retired to Alexandria, where they were cherished by the bounty of the patriarch John Eleemon (the compassionate). This munificent patron also sent large supplies of provisions to the miserable inhabitants who remained in Jerusalem. And when, not long after, Modestus was appointed as the vicar of Zacharias during his exile, the same patriarch furnished him with a large sum of money and a thousand labourers from Egypt, to aid in rebuilding the Holy City and its churches.[2]

[1] The particulars of this siege, and its consequences, are related by a cotemporary writer in the Chronicon Paschale seu Alexandrinum, p. 385. ed. Paris. Also by Antiochus, at that time abbot of the convent of St. Saba, in Biblioth. vet. Patrum, tom. i. p. 1023. seq. Later writers are: Theophanes Chronographia, p. 252. ed. Paris. Eutychii Annal. ii. p. 213. Comp. Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. p. 250. seq. Theophanes gives the number of the slain at ninety thousand; and Eutychius ascribes the slaughter to the Jews. The Saracens or Arabs would appear also to have acted with the Persians; they plundered the monastery of St. Saba, and massacred forty-four of the monks. Antiochus, l. c. Le Quien, p. 252.

[2] See the life of St. John Eleemon by Leontius, a cotemporary Cyprian bishop; Lat. in Bollandi Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 500. Le Quien, iii. p. 250. seq.

Although Palestine and Syria remained under the yoke of the Persians, yet Modestus appears not to have been hindered in the work of restoration. He proceeded to build up again from their foundations the churches of the Resurrection and of Calvary, as also a church of the Assumption.[1] Whether in doing this he changed the form of the buildings around the Holy Sepulchre, we are not told; but the description of Arculfus, as given by Adamnanus at the close of the century, seems not to tally with the accounts of Eusebius. According to him, the Holy Sepulchre was covered by a small *tegorium* (tugurium?) cut from the same rock, and standing in the midst of a large circular church constructed over it.[2] The Basilica or Martyrion of Constantine was situated as before. Adamnanus further describes a church of Golgotha between the Basilica and the Sepulchre; but this is not mentioned by Bernhard two centuries later.[3] Both these writers however speak of a church of St. Mary, adjacent to the buildings of the Sepulchre on the south; and this is not improbably the church of the Assumption restored by Modestus.

After years of discomfiture and disaster, the tide of victory turned at length in favour of Heraclius. He routed the armies of the Persians, put their monarch to flight, and pursued them into their own territory. Early in A. D. 628, Chosroes was deposed and murdered by his son Siroes; who immediately concluded an inglorious peace with the Roman emperor. The patriarch Zacharias and other captives were restored after fourteen years of exile, and the true cross was

[1] Antiochi Epist. in Biblioth. vet. Patr. Græc. tom. i. p. 1023. seq. Le Quien, l. c. p. 259. Baron. Annal. A. D. 616. vi. — Antiochus describes Modestus as a second Bezaleel, or at least a Zerubbabel.

[2] "Valde grandis ecclesia . . . . super illud constructa." Adamn. i. 2.

[3] See the description and plan of Adamnanus, i. 2. seq. Bernhard de Locis Sanct. 10.

given up. The emperor returned first to Constantinople, where he made a triumphal entry; and in the following year repaired in person to Jerusalem, which he entered on foot, bearing the true cross upon his shoulder.[1]

But the restoration of the Holy City to the dominion of the Christians, was not of long duration. Jerusalem had indeed been freed from the yoke of the disciples of Zoroaster; but only in order to be speedily subjected to the more galling and permanent bondage of the followers of Muhammed. The arms of the false prophet and his companions had already subdued Arabia, Syria, and Egypt; and in A. D. 636 the troops of the Khalif Omar appeared before Jerusalem. The city was bravely defended by the patriarch Sophronius. After a long siege[2], the Khalif himself repaired to the camp; and the patriarch at length surrendered to him the Holy City in A. D. 637, on condition that the inhabitants should be secured as to their lives, their families, their property, and their churches. The latter were neither to be destroyed nor appropriated to the Muhammedans. The gates were opened; and Omar entered in a garment of camel's hair, the common apparel of his countrymen. He was not very cordially received by the patriarch; who, on seeing him in this garb, exclaimed: "This is of a truth the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!"[3] The Khalif honourably fulfilled his promises; and performed his

[1] Chron. Paschal. p. 398. seq. ed. Paris. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 273. ed. Paris. Baronii Annal. A. D. 628. i. ii. Le Quien, l. c. p. 257. In A. D. 634, Heraclius, retiring before the Muhammedans, carried with him the true cross to Constantinople, where it was seen and described by Arculfus at the close of the century. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 280. Adamnan. de Loc. Sanct. iii. 3.

[2] Christian writers say the siege continued two years; Arabian writers, four months.

[3] In allusion to Matth. xxiv. 15. Theophanes Chronograph. p. 281. ed. Par.

devotions only on the steps of the Basilica; in order that his followers might have no pretext to claim possession of the church after his departure, under the pretence that he had worshipped in it.[1] The further proceedings of Omar and his successors in erecting a mosk upon the site of the Jewish temple, have already been narrated.[2]

From this time onward until the era of the crusades, a period of four and a half centuries, the history of Jerusalem again presents little more than a blank. A few scattered notices drawn from the itineraries of pilgrims and the cotemporary works of European authors, with the traditions recorded by later oriental writers, furnish all the materials which exist for such a history; and, strange as it may appear, even these have never yet been fully collected and arranged.[3] The names of the successive patriarchs are indeed preserved; but the chronicle of their lives illustrates the progress of theological controversy, rather than the history of Jerusalem.[4] We can here, of course, only touch upon some of the principal events.

The remainder of the seventh century as well as the greater portion of the eighth, is barren of incidents relating to Jerusalem. The Muslims extended their

[1] The earliest writers who describe these events are, Theophanes, l. c., and Eutychius, Annal. ii. p. 284. seq. The former lived apparently nearly or quite two centuries after the event, and the latter about A. D. 870. The Arabian writers, Elmacin (el-Makin), Abulfeda, and Abulfaragius (Bar Hebræus), who give still more particulars, are all of the thirteenth century.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 440.

[3] The notices of Jerusalem during this period are best given by Wilken (whom I have in part followed) in his introduction. Gesch. der Kreuzz. i. p. 1. seq. See also Michaud Hist. des Croisades, tom. i. The work of Gibbon contains some of these notices. Witsius, in his professed history of Jerusalem, utterly passes over this whole period. Miscell. Sac. tom. ii. exerc. xii. 40, 41. William of Tyre wrote a work entitled, *De Gestis orientalium Principum*, covering the time from the conquest of Jerusalem to the era of the crusades; but it is unfortunately lost. Will. Tyr. i. 3. fin.

[4] See Pappebroch Patriarchar. Hieros. Hist. Chronol. prefixed to the Acta Sanctor. Maii, tom. iii. Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. pp. 280-500.

conquests; subdued the northern coast of Africa and the kingdom of Spain; and threatened to advance into France and Italy. Meanwhile the Christian pilgrims to Palestine resumed their wonted course apparently in peace; and the Holy City, which the Arabians also called el-Kuds (the Holy), became likewise a place of pilgrimage for the Muhammedans.[1] These pilgrimages were still connected with the spirit of trade. Arculfus, who visited Jerusalem about A. D. 697, relates that a fair was held there annually on the fifteenth day of September, which was attended by an innumerable multitude from every quarter, for the purposes of mutual traffic and intercourse.[2]

Towards the middle of the eighth century, the sceptre of the Khalifs, after a long and bloody struggle, was transferred from the race of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides.[3] About A. D. 750, Almansor (el-Mansûr), the second of his race, founded the city of Bagdad, and removed the seat of the Khalifate from Damascus to his new capital on the banks of the Tigris. During this century, earthquakes were frequent in Syria and Palestine.[4] The situation also of the Christians in the East appears to have become more difficult and less secure. Patriarchs and bishops were deposed and driven from their homes at the caprice of their Muhammedan rulers; and exactions and oppressions were the natural consequence of the existing relations of society.[5] Yet the pilgrims from

[1] Eutych. Annal. ii. p. 364. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Or. art. *Cods.*

[2] Adamnan. de Locis Sanct. i. 1.

[3] The general history of this change may be seen in Gibbon, chap. lii.

[4] Violent earthquakes, which destroyed churches, convents, and even whole cities, are mentioned by Theophanes in A. D. 746, 749, 756. Chronogr. pp. 354, 357, 361. ed. Paris.

[5] So the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem; Elmacin Hist. Sarac. lib. i. 17. p. 82. Lugd. Bat. 1625. See, too, the letter of the Syrian monks to the second Council of Nicea, A. D. 787, in Labb. Concil. tom. vii. p. 170. seq. Le Quien Or. Christ. iii. p. 297. seq. 304. Also Acta Sanctorum,

the West seem in general to have been looked upon with favour; and they seldom suffered harm in their persons or hindrance in their pursuits. Among them at this period was St. Madelveus, bishop of Verdun in France, who made a strong impression upon the patriarch Eusebius by his piety and fervent devotion.[1] About A. D. 786, St. Willibald, bishop of Eichstädt, with seven companions, made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which they traversed in all directions; visiting Jerusalem no less than four times, and Emessa and Damascus twice. They first passed through Emessa (Hums) on their way to Jerusalem; and the inhabitants, not being accustomed to the sight of pilgrims, and ignorant whence they came, wondered at their strange appearance, and regarded them as spies. They were brought before a wealthy Sheikh to be examined; who, after inquiry, said, "I have often seen men from their part of the world; they seek no harm, and only wish to fulfil their law." Yet they were kept for some time in prison, though treated with great courtesy; until, through the influence of a Spaniard, the Emîr of the city ordered them to be set at liberty.[2]

Just at the close of the same century, a furious civil war raged in Palestine among the various tribes of Saracens or Arabs inhabiting the country. In A. D. 796 the monastery of St. Saba was again pillaged, and many of the monks slain. The fortunes of the war also laid waste the cities of Gaza, Askelon, and

Jul. tom. iii. pp. 531, 537, 551. — In A. D. 757, the Khalif increased the tribute, stripped the churches, and compelled the Jews to purchase the spoils; Theophan. Chronogr. p. 361. ed. Paris.

[1] St. Madelveus was made bishop in A. D. 753, and died about A.D. 776. See the Chron. Virdunense by Hugo Flaviniacensis, in Labb. Nov. Biblioth. Manuscr. tom. i. p. 110. seq. Le Quien, l. c. p. 300. seq. Acta Sanctor. Oct. tom. ii.

[2] St. Willibaldi Hodœporicon, in Mabillon Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. sæc. iii. p. ii. p. 373.

Sariphaea, and converted Eleutheropolis into a desert.[1]

In the latter part of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, amid the general darkness of those ages, it is interesting to meet with two cotemporary monarchs, lords of the Orient and Occident, who both exerted a mighty influence upon their respective quarters of the globe, and are still the heroes of many a romantic tale, and landmarks in the history of the world. In the East, Hârûn er-Rashîd (Aaron the Just), who swayed the sceptre from A. D. 786 to 809, is celebrated as the ideal of Arabian justice, magnanimity, and splendour; and procured for the empire of the Khalifs a renown, both in learning and in arms, unequalled in its previous or later history. In the West, Charlemagne was the sagacious founder of a new and still more powerful empire, which he governed with equal wisdom and justice for the long period of some forty years; having reigned from A. D. 771 to A. D. 814. The interjacent position of the Byzantine empire, prevented these two sovereigns from becoming rivals or enemies; and there was too much of nobleness in the character of both, not to awaken a mutual sentiment of respect and good-will.

Another motive also prompted the monarch of the West to set on foot and cultivate an interchange of courtesies and friendship. His compassion for Christians in poverty and suffering was not confined to the wide limits of his own realms; but was likewise awakened for those languishing under the oppression of the followers of the false prophet, both in Africa and Asia.[2] The situation of the Holy Land could not, of course, but excite his sympathy.

[1] See the account of these civil wars and massacres by Stephen, a cotemporary monk of St. Saba, in Bollandi Acta Sanctor. Mart. tom. iii. p. 167. seq. Le Quien, l. c. p. 313.

[2] Eginhardi Vita Car. Magni, viii. vel xvi.

He sent ambassadors to distribute alms in the Holy City; and they were also charged with presents and a message to the Khalif, to intercede with him in behalf of his Christian subjects. Hârûn received the messengers with courtesy; immediately granted all their requests; and even went so far as to make over to Charlemagne the jurisdiction of the Holy Sepulchre and its appurtenances.[1] The ambassadors on their return were accompanied by those of the Khalif, bringing rich presents of vestments and spices and the choicest products of the eastern world; and bearing to the emperor the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary, as the symbol of possession. A few years before, the Khalif, at the emperor's request, had sent him the only elephant he happened to possess.[2] Indeed, so strong was the mutual admiration of the two monarchs, that according to Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, this emperor preferred the friendship of Hârûn to that of all the kings and princes of the world; and regarded him alone as worthy to be distinguished with honours and magnificence.[3] To the end of his life Charlemagne continued to send alms to the Christians in Jerusalem, in aid of the poor and for the rebuilding of churches; and his example was followed by his son Lewis the Pious, and by his grandson Lewis the German.[4]

[1] "Sed etiam sacrum illum et salutarem locum, ut illius potestati ascriberetur, concessit;" Eginh. l. c. v.

[2] Eginhardi Vita Car. Magni, v. The presents of the Khalif are described in the *Annales Mettenses* ad ann. 807, in Bouquet's Recueil des Hist. Fr. tom. v. p. 354. The elephant arrived in A. D. 802; Annal. Loiseliani ad h. ann. in Duchesne, tom. ii. p. 24. seq. The keys are sometimes said to have been sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem; but as Eginhard expressly says that the Holy Sepulchre was made over to Charlemagne by the Khalif, the keys were also probably sent by his order. See, generally, Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. p. 318. seq. 346.

[3] "Cum Aaron . . . talem habuit in amicitia concordiam, ut is gratiam ejus omnium qui in toto orbe terrarum erant Regum ac Principum amicitiæ præponeret," &c. Eginhard, l. c.

[4] So late as A. D. 810, there is a *Capitularium* of Charlemagne, entitled, "De eleemosyna mittenda

These of course were palmy days of pilgrimage; but after the death of Hârûn er-Rashîd the prospect was again clouded. The dissensions among his sons spread also through the provinces; the people were divided into factions; and each party rejoiced in the opportunity to wreak its fury on the Christians. The Holy City did not escape the storm; churches were destroyed, and convents pillaged; and among the latter, the monastery of St. Saba, which seems ever to have been a special object of vengeance, was again plundered, and the monks massacred, in A. D. 812.[1]

The remainder of the ninth century presents no important incident in the history of Jerusalem, save the visit and Itinerary of the monk Bernhard and his two companions, about A. D. 870.[2] His account is very brief; but the description of the Holy Sepulchre and its appurtenances is quite distinct. He speaks indeed of four churches round about it, though he enumerates only three, viz. that of the Sepulchre itself upon the west, that of St. Mary on the south, and the Basilica on the east, forming three sides of an open court, and all connected by walls. Adjacent to the church of St. Mary, there was already a hospital, in which all the Latin pilgrims were received. This traveller is the first to mention the jugglery of the Greek holy fire; and he also speaks of a library founded by Charlemagne in the church of St. Mary.

The renown of the house of the Abassides lingered long in its decay. The munificence of Almamon (el-Mamûn) the son and second of the successors of Hârûn,

ad Hierosolymas, propter ecclesias Dei restituendas." Capit. i. ann. 810, c. 17. Monach. Sangall. ii. c. 14. Wilken, l. c. p. 27. For the later legend, which relates that Charlemagne himself repaired to Palestine, see Wilken, l. c. i. anh. p. 3.

[1] Theophanes Chronogr. p. 409. ed. Paris. Baronii Annal. A. D. 812, xi.

[2] The writer was cotemporary with Pope Nicholas I., who died A. D. 867; and with Theodosius, who was patriarch of Jerusalem from A. D. 867 to A. D. 879.

who held the sceptre for thirty years (A. D. 813—843), and the patronage which he gave to learning, sustained for a time the waning glory of his race. Under him the Christians still enjoyed favours, and were found among his officers of trust and the attendants of his person.[1] But his successors held the reins of empire with a feeble hand; the various provinces were distracted with feuds and bloody wars; and the Christian subjects became every day more and more exposed to violence and oppression. The empire was torn with dissensions; and the Holy Land was again made the scene of battles and bloodshed, during the long wars waged by the Khalifs either against the various factions and revolted governors of cities, or against new heretical sects, which strove to propagate their tenets by the sword.[2] One province after another was thus wrested from the sway of the Khalifs. At length, in A. D. 969, Mu'ez, of the race of the Fatimites, whose ancestors for sixty years had reigned as Khalifs at Kairwân (Cyrene) over a great part of Africa, extended his conquests throughout Egypt and Syria, and transferred the seat of his empire to the new city of Musr el-Kâhirah, the present Cairo.

The Holy City had now fallen into the hands of new masters, who were inclined to pay little regard to the stipulations or usages which had found place under the former dynasties. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is said again to have been set on fire; and the patriarch John was committed to the flames.[3] The Christians were subjected to new oppressions and

[1] Eutychii Annal. ii. pp. 431, 432.

[2] See a sketch of some of these wars and factions in Gibbon, chap. lii. More fully in Deguignes Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. De Sacy, Exposé de la Réligion des Druzes, tom. i. introd.—The Karmathians were a new and powerful religious sect, A. D. 890. Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered from the empire, first by the Tulunides, A. D. 868; and then by the Ikshides, A. D. 934.

[3] Cedreni Histor. Compend. p. 661. ed. Par. Le Quien, l. c. p. 466.

afflictions; against which they would seem to have complained bitterly to their brethren of the West. A letter of the pope Sylvester II. (A. D. 999—1003) is still extant, intended to rouse the western church to active sympathy in behalf of her oriental sister.[1] The ships of Pisa actually made descents upon the African coasts; and not improbably, the necessity of a general war against the followers of the prophet, and in behalf of the Holy Land, had already begun to occupy the minds of men.[2]

Yet in the oppression of the Egyptian Khalifs there was a pause, and the Christians of the Holy Land, either from a habit of suffering or the policy of their oppressors, obtained a breathing-spell.[3] The pilgrims from the West, and especially the western merchants, were not unwelcome guests; for the tolls and exactions to which they were subjected, contributed to fill the coffers of the Muslim rulers. The merchants of Amalfi in Italy, were particularly favoured; and were able to purchase many commercial privileges. As they often visited the Holy City in their peregrinations, they obtained from the Khalif permission to erect there a domicile, which they might call their own. They accordingly founded a monastery, with a church in honour of the Virgin, at the distance of a stone's throw from the Holy Sepulchre, in which all the services were performed in the Latin tongue; and which, for this reason, took the name of *St. Mary de Latina.* Adjacent to this a nunnery was not long afterwards erected, in honour of Mary Magdalene; in

[1] Mabillon refers this letter to A. D. 986; Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. t. iv. p. 39. It has often been printed; e. g. in Bouquet's Recueil, t. x. p. 426. The genuineness of the letter is doubted; but not the fact of such an appeal. Wilken, l. c. p. 28.

[2] Wilken, l. c. p. 29.

[3] Will. Tyr. i. 4. "Sub quo principatu [Egyptiorum], sicut captivis solent aliquando tempora indulgentiora concedi, a suis anxietatibus cœpit aliquantulum esse remissius," &c.

which the nuns devoted themselves to the care of the poor female pilgrims. But as even in those perilous times the numbers and the need of pilgrims continued to increase, so that even both these convents were insufficient to receive them, the monks procured a Xenodochium or hospital to be built within the same precincts, in which the poor and the sick found a shelter, and were fed from the fragments of the monastic tables. The hospital was dedicated to St. John Eleemon, the former patriarch of Alexandria; and in it, at a later period, arose the celebrated order of the Hospitalers or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.[1]

The third of the Fatimite Khalifs in Egypt was el-Hâkim, who mounted the throne at the age of eleven years in A. D. 996. He became a wild and visionary fanatic, who gave himself out as the prophet of a new religion; and his whole reign was a series of violence and inconsistencies.[2] By Arabian writers he is described as a compound of atheism and insanity.[3] About A. D. 1010, prompted by suspicion or some motive equally unworthy, he became jealous of the Christians, who had hitherto enjoyed tranquillity and even honours under his reign[4], and set on foot a furious persecution against them both in Egypt and Palestine. Disre-

[1] The founding of the church and monastery of St. Mary de Latina by the merchants of Amalfi is related two centuries after by William of Tyre, lib. xviii. 4, 5; and by Jacob de Vitry, c. 64. But a church of St. Mary is mentioned in the same place by Adamnanus, A. D. 697; and in Bernhard's time, A. D. 870, the same church was still in existence, and also a hospital for Latin pilgrims. Not improbably these may have been destroyed at the capture of Jerusalem under Mu'ez, and again rebuilt by merchants of Amalfi. This may perhaps be the destruction of buildings around the Holy Sepulchre, which is mentioned by Cedrenus, as above quoted, p. 43. n. [3].

[2] This Khalif, el-Hâkim, is regarded as the prophet of the Druzes. He built a mosk in Cairo, which is still standing; and in an inscription over one of the doors, bearing date in A. H. 393, (A. D. 1003,) he is already treated as a prophet. See Wilkinson's Thebes, &c. p. 547. Gibbon, chap. lvii.

[3] Elmacin Hist. Saracen. iii. 6. p. 260.

[4] Christians even enjoyed the office of Vizier. Bar Hebr. Chron. Syr. p. 211.

garding the claims of usage and the concessions of his predecessors, he imposed upon his Christian subjects and upon the pilgrims enormous contributions and taxes; and forbade the celebration of the Christian worship in the churches. But this was not all. The houses of Christians were broken open, and the inmates hurried off, without accusation or trial, to death by the cross and by impalement. Sons and daughters were torn from the houses of their parents, and compelled, sometimes by the bastinado and sometimes by blandishments, to apostatize from their faith, or were delivered to the cross. No one was secure in his property or life; the former was confiscated and plundered at will. To crown this exhibition of hatred towards the Christian name, the Khalif gave orders to demolish the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and this order was fully carried into execution by the governor of Ramleh, to whom it was directed. The building was razed to the foundations; and much labour was expended to deface and destroy the sepulchre itself.[1]

The news of these atrocities was carried by the pilgrims to Europe; and awakened universal indignation and grief.[2] Yet instead of combining to take vengeance on the direct authors of these calamities, a report was spread abroad that the Jews had been the

[1] "Prædicta ecclesia usque ad solum diruta," are the words of William of Tyre. The above description is drawn chiefly from this writer; lib. i. c. 4, 5. See also Elmacin, lib. iii. 5, 6. Ademarus in Labb. Nov. Biblioth. Manuscr. tom. ii. p. 174; and in Bouquet, tom. x. p. 152. Albericus, as quoted in Le Quien Or. Christ. iii. p. 475. seq. Baronii et Pagii Annales, &c. A.D. 1009. The mother of el-Hâkim was a Christian; her brother Orestes was at this very time patriarch of Jerusalem, and was put to death. The extravagancies of the Khalif had probably been referred to his Christian origin and propensities; and, according to William of Tyre, it was to clear himself from this calumny, that he set on foot this persecution. Will. Tyr. i. 4.

[2] "Eodem anno (1010) Radulphus, Petragoricæ episcopus, Hierosolymis rediens, retulit quæ ibi viderat nefanda." Chron. Ademari in Labb. Nov. Biblioth. ii. p. 174. Bouquet, tom. x. p. 153.

cause of this persecution, by secretly informing the Khalif of a proposed warlike expedition against Jerusalem; thus instigating him to set on foot the persecution against the Christians. The Jews themselves now became the sufferers, and throughout all France were subjected to violent persecution; which, if perhaps less bloody than that which it was intended to avenge, was at least equally unjust.[1] Yet the Khalif himself, with an inconstancy common to weak and insane minds, afterwards repented of his violence; he allowed the multitudes who had apostatized from Christianity to return to their former faith; and gave permission to rebuild the churches which had been destroyed.[2] This concession would seem to have been long inoperative, or at least slowly acted upon; for, although el-Hâkim died in A. D. 1021, it was not until ten years afterwards, and on the application of the Greek emperor Romanus, that his successor edh-Dhaher confirmed the permission, so that the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Sepulchre could be commenced.[3] The successor of Romanus granted aid in the work.[4] Then there was joy throughout the Christian world; and pilgrims flocked exulting to Jerusalem, bearing gifts for the restoration of the House of God.[5] The church of the Sepulchre was completed in A. D. 1048; but instead of the former magnificent Basilica over the place of Golgotha, a small chapel only now graced the spot.[6]

[1] Rod. Glaber Histor. iii. 7; in Bouquet, tom. x. Duchesne, tom. iv. Chron. Ademari, in Bouquet, tom. x. p. 152. Le Quien, l. c. pp. 478, 480.

[2] Elmacin Hist. Sarac. iii. 6. p. 260. Chron. Ademari, l. c. Will. Tyr. i. 6. Bar Hebr. p. 216.

[3] Will. Tyr. i. 6. Albericus in Le Quien, l. c. p. 493. Cedrenus, p. 731. ed. Par. Comp. Baronii et Pagii Annales Ecclesiast. A. D. 1031.

[4] Will. Tyr. ibid.

[5] "Tunc quoque de universo terrarum orbe incredibilis hominum multitudo exultanter Hierosolymam pergentes, domui Dei restaurandæ plurima detulerunt munera." Rod. Glaber, iii. 7.

[6] "Oratoria valde modica." Will. Tyr. viii. 3.

The increase of pilgrims had indeed become very great; and it is not improbable that a dread of their power and vengeance, may have had an influence on the conduct of el-Hâkim and his successor. A wild idea had prevailed in some minds, that the Saviour's second coming was to take place in the year 1000; and others now saw in the disorders of the times a prognostic of the near approach of Antichrist.[1] Under the influence of these circumstances, and perhaps of the concessions of the Khalifs, multitudes of all ranks and classes flocked to the Holy City. It was no longer single pilgrims with staff and scrip, a monk or an abbot, or even perhaps a bishop with a few companions, who wended their way to the Promised Land, and were sustained wholly or in part by the alms of the pious; but henceforth also the common people and laity in great numbers, and especially noblemen and princes, often with a large retinue of armed followers, assumed the garb of pilgrims, and found their way into the East. Even noble ladies did not shrink from the hardships and dangers of the pilgrimage. Many of the pilgrims desired to find their death in the Holy Land.[2] It was perhaps in order to keep back these throngs, or more probably in order to derive the greater profit from them, that the Muslims about this time demanded of every pilgrim the tribute of a piece of gold, as the price of entrance into the Holy City.[3]

[1] Rod. Glaber, iv. 6.

[2] "Anno D. 1033, ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad Sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantam nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Primitus enim ordo inferioris plebis; deinde vero mediocres; posthæc permaximi quique, reges, comites, ac præsules; ad ultimum vero, quod nunquam contigerat, mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus, illuc perrexit. Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria reverterentur." Rod. Glaber, iv. 6.

[3] *Aureus, Bisantium aureum*, a gold Byzant, equivalent to about five Spanish dollars. First mentioned in the *Gesta Consulum Andegasensium*, in D'Achery Spicileg. tom. iii. p. 252, fol. William of Tyre mentions the imposition of the *aureus* in this century, but not the exact time; lib. i. 10.

Among the remarkable pilgrimages of this period, was that of Robert Duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, which was undertaken in A. D. 1035, in spite of the remonstrances of his barons.[1] Having settled the succession upon his illegitimate son William, and leaving him under the protection and guardianship of the French king, he set off with a large retinue of knights, barons, and other followers. He himself, like every pilgrim, went barefoot and in palmer's weeds, with staff and scrip. In passing through cities, he sent his train forwards; himself following alone in the rear in all humility, and bearing patiently the insults of the rabble. He took the way through Italy to Constantinople, where his piety and charity obtained for him the respect of the emperor and the Greek nobles. The former tendered him presents, and forbade his subjects to receive payment for articles furnished to the Norman duke; but the pilgrim refused the gifts, and ordered his people to pay for every thing. The emperor commanded that no wood should be furnished to him, in order that he might be compelled to receive it free from the royal magazines; but Robert purchased a large quantity of nuts, the shells of which he used as fuel. During his journey through Asia Minor he fell sick, and caused himself to be transported in a litter by Saracens. Meeting a Norman pilgrim, who was returning home and inquired if he had any message to send: "Tell my people," said he, "that thou hast met me where I was borne of devils into Paradise." Before the gates of Jerusalem Robert found a crowd of needy pilgrims, too poor to pay the entrance money, and awaiting the arrival of some wealthy and generous fellow-pilgrim, who might open

[1] Described in the cotemporary *Chronique de Normandie* in Bouquet's Recueil, tom. xi. p. 326. seq. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. i. p. 37.

for them the Holy City. For each of these he paid a golden Byżant. The Muslims admired his devotion and munificence; and an Emîr caused all that he had paid for the pilgrims to be restored to him; but Robert immediately distributed it among the poor pilgrims, and made to the Muslims also costly presents. He died on his way home, at the city of Nicea; and the relics that he had collected, were deposited in the abbey of Cerisy, which he had founded.

About this time the conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity, which took place gradually at the close of the tenth and in the first half of the eleventh centuries, opened a new route for pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre; since they could now traverse the whole distance to Constantinople by land, through a Christian country. One of the first to avail himself of this route, was the bishop Lietbert of Cambray in A. D. 1054. He was attended by so great a company of pilgrims, that the party was called "exercitus Domini," the Lord's host. The king of Hungary at first distrusted the intentions of this numerous body, having been but little accustomed to the sight of pilgrims; but he afterwards treated them with kindness. The pilgrims travelled by land as far as to Laodicea in Syria; and then took ship on account of the insecurity of the country. But being driven back by a storm, and learning from other pilgrims, that the Christians were then excluded from the holy places in Jerusalem, and treated with indignity, the bishop and his companions returned to France.[1] The same route was followed by Count William of Angoulême, about A. D.

[1] Vita Dom. Lietberti Episc. Camerac. in d'Achery's Spicilegium, fol. tom. ii. p. 138. seq. c. 29–43. This temporary exclusion of the Christians from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is also mentioned in the life of the cotemporary St. Wulfrannus, A. D. 1056, in Bollandi Acta Sanct. Mart., tom. iii. p. 157. fin. Pagii Critica, &c. A. D. 1056. vi.

1062, attended by some of his counsellors, several abbots, and a large company of noblemen. They too were treated with great courtesy by the king of Hungary in their passage through his dominions.[1]

But the most celebrated pilgrimage of this period was that of several German bishops in A. D. 1065, which is mentioned by all the chroniclers of that age.[2] The party was composed of Siegfried, archbishop of Maintz, and the bishops Günther of Bamberg, Otho of Ratisbon, and William of Utrecht; followed by no less than seven thousand persons both rich and poor. Among these was Ingulphus, the English secretary of William the Conqueror, who with others joined the party from Normandy, attracted by the fame of the immense preparations. The bishops travelled with great pomp; carrying with them dishes and vessels of gold and silver, and also costly tapestry, which was hung up around their seats whenever they made a halt.[3] Bishop Günther of Bamberg was celebrated for his personal beauty, as well as for his talents and learning; so that wherever the pilgrims came, a crowd ran together to get a sight of the handsome bishop; and made sometimes so much disturbance, that his companions had to urge him to show himself to the people. They set off in the autumn of A. D. 1064, taking the route through Hungary to Constantinople, and reached Syria in safety. But the rumour of their wealth, and the pomp with which they travelled, had

[1] "Magna caterva nobilium." Chron. Ademari in Bouquet, tom. x. p. 162. Labb. nov. Biblioth. tom. ii.

[2] Most fully in the chronicles of Lambertus Schafnaburgensis and Marianus Scotus, both printed in Pistorii Scriptores Rer. Germanic. tom. i. pp. 172. 452. Francof. 1613; or tom. i. pp. 332. 651. ed. Struve. Likewise by Ingulphus in his History; see Scriptores Rer. Angl. ed. Fell. p. 73. ed. Savill. p. 513. See also Baronii Annal. A. D. 1064. xliii–lvi.

[3] "Ubi episcopi sedebant, dorsalia pallia pendebant; scutellas et vasa aurea et argentea portabant." Mar. Scot.

preceded them, and excited the cupidity of the wandering predatory hordes with which Palestine has ever been infested. On the day before Easter they were attacked by a large body of these Arabs in the vicinity of Ramleh, and, after losing many of their companions, were compelled to take refuge in a neighbouring village, where was a decayed castle or place enclosed by a wall, in which they could defend themselves, and where they were besieged by the Arabs.[1]

On the third day, exhausted by hunger and thirst, they made known their readiness to capitulate. The chief Sheikh, with sixteen others, was admitted into the castle, but rejected all proposals for the purchase of their freedom and safe escort, and would hear of nothing but an unconditional surrender. Unwinding his turban, and making with it a noose, he threw it around the neck of bishop Günther, exclaiming that he was his property, and he would suck his blood and hang him up like a dog before the door. The bishop felled him to the earth with a blow; the Sheikh and his followers were seized and bound; and the pilgrims, elated by this turn of affairs, continued the contest with renewed vigour. The prisoners were exposed upon the walls, where the combat was hottest and the shower of arrows thickest; and a person with a drawn sword was stationed by each, threatening to cut off his head, if the Arabs did not cease from the attack. The son of the chief Sheikh now held back his followers, in order to save his father's life; and meantime the Governor of Ramleh came up with a

1 "Quoddam castellum nomine *Carvasalim*." Mar. Scot. Lambert of Aschaffenburg speaks only of a village and a "maceria" just ready to tumble down of itself. The pilgrims held this place to be Capernaum, from the supposed similarity of the name. A closer analogy is supplied by the ancient name *Capharsalama* (Καφαρσαλαμά), which Josephus describes as a village in or near Judea. 1 Macc. vii. 31, Joseph. Antiq. xii. 10. 4.

force in aid of the pilgrims; at whose approach the Arabs fled. The prisoners were delivered over to the governor; and he recognized with pleasure in the Sheikh a rebel chief, who had for many years given great trouble to the Egyptian Khalif, and several times defeated the forces sent against him. The governor now caused the pilgrims to be escorted in safety to Jerusalem, and back again to the sea; receiving for his civility and aid a present of five hundred gold Byzants. But of the original host of seven thousand pilgrims, only two thousand lived to return to their native land; and the bishop Günther also died on the way back in Hungary. Ingulphus and others returned through Italy; and he observes of his own companions, "that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well-appointed horsemen; but that they repassed the Alps, twenty miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand, and the wallet at their backs."[1]

But another revolution was now impending over Syria, still more disastrous in its immediate consequences to the Christians of the East; and destined to kindle up at last those Holy Wars, which for nearly two centuries deluged the soil of Palestine with the choicest blood of Europe.

Ever since the conquest of Syria by the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt in A.D. 969, the dynasty of the Abassides had still continued nominally to reign at Bagdad, in the possession of a mere shadow of honour and power; while their chief commanders, under the title of Emîr el-Omara, ruled with unlimited authority both the Khalif and his realms. This high post had now been held for a century by the race of the Bu-

[1] This is Gibbon's pompous paraphrase of the simpler language of Ingulphus: "Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Northmannia pingues exivimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini et omnes pedites macie multò attenuati reversi sumus." Ingulph. l. c.

ides[1], when the Turkish or Turkmân leader Togrul Beg, of the family of Seljûk, came with a large army from Khorasan to Bagdad, and extended his conquests to the Euphrates. This conqueror drove the Buides from the post of Emîr el-Omara, which he took upon himself; deprived the Khalif of even the remaining shadow of temporal power; and reigned as Sultan over all the lands of the Khalifate. His nephew, Alp Arslan, penetrated into Asia Minor as far as to Iconium; took prisoner in battle the Greek emperor Romanus Diogenes in A. D. 1071; and carried consternation to the gates of Constantinople. He was succeeded in A. D. 1072 by his son Melek Shah; who, following out the rude feudal system of the Turkmans, bestowed on his kinsman Suleimân Asia Minor and the adjacent countries west of the Euphrates, which he was to conquer and hold as a fief under the Sultan of Bagdad. Suleimân was successful in his operations, and established in A.D. 1073 the Seljûk kingdom and dynasty of Rûm, extending from the Euphrates to the shores of the Bosphorus, and having its metropolis first at Nicea, and afterwards at Iconium.[2]

While Suleimân was thus establishing his dominion in Asia Minor, Melek Shah despatched another of his generals, Atsiz the Kharismian, to make war upon the Syrian possessions of the Egyptian Khalif. He took the city of Damascus after a long siege in A. D. 1075; the inhabitants having been compelled to surrender by famine. During the two following years he subdued the greater part of Syria, marched against Egypt, and penetrated almost to Cairo. The Khalif trembled and fled by night; but his people rallied, defeated the invader, and drove him back upon Syria. Atsiz retired to Damascus, taking the route by Ramleh

[1] Deguignes Hist. des Huns, tom. I. i. p. 406. II. i. pp. 168. 170.

[2] Deguignes, l. c. lib. xi

and Jerusalem, which he pillaged, A. D. 1077.[1] In consequence of this defeat, Melek Shah now bestowed the Syrian provinces as a fief upon his brother Tutush; who in A. D. 1078 laid siege to Aleppo; got possession of Damascus by treachery; and carrying his victorious arms from Antioch to the borders of Egypt, established the Seljûk kingdom of Syria or Aleppo; which he held under the nominal sovereignty of his brother, the Sultan of Bagdad.[2]

Following out the same system of feudal reward, these Turkman leaders bestowed also upon their officers the hereditary command, or rather the property, of particular cities and districts, as a recompense for the services of themselves and their followers. In this way, in A. D. 1083 or 1084, the Holy City was made over by Tutush to his general Ortok, the chief of a Turkman horde serving under his banner. This chieftain continued to hold the city as Emîr of Jerusalem until his death in A. D. 1091; when it passed into the hands of his two sons, Ilghâzy and Sukmân.[3]

The permanent approach of the savage Turkman hordes to the shores of the Bosphorus, spread dismay not only among the Christians of the Constantinopolitan empire, but also throughout Europe. The Greek emperor wrote letters to the western Christians, imploring their aid against the terrific progress of the Turks.[4] The impetuous Hildebrand, as pope Gregory

[1] Deguignes, tom. ii. p. 216.—William of Tyre affirms that Jerusalem was subject to the Turks for thirty-eight years; which would give A. D. 1060 or 1061 for the time of their first conquest; lib. i. 6. vii. 19. This must at any rate be an error; for in the year 1065, when the pilgrim bishops visited the Holy City, it was still under the Egyptian Khalif.

[2] Deguignes, lib. xii.—A summary and chronology of all the four or five Seljûk dynasties, is given by Deguignes, tom. i. i. p. 241. seq.

[3] Abulfedæ Annales, ed. Adler, tom. iii. pp. 260. 280; comp. p. 253. Deguignes Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. ii. p. 134.

[4] One of these letters is preserved by Guibert, "verbis tamen vestita meis," as he frankly says; Guibert Abbot. Hist. Hieros. in Gesta Dei per Francos, pp. 475, 476.

VII., for a time took up the cause of his eastern brethren; and in A. D. 1074 wrote letters exhorting the western church in general, and also individuals, to take arms in behalf of the emperor and the churches of the East. He even held out the hope, that he himself would bear them company in this holy expedition.[1] But his attention was soon diverted from the dangers of the East, and absorbed in his own struggles for supremacy over the monarchs of the West. His successor, Victor III., was actuated by similar views; but as the unbelievers of Africa at this time often ravaged the Italian coasts, he first turned the vengeance of the Christians against them. In A. D. 1086 he caused a crusade to be preached in Italy against the African Muslims, promising to all who should take part in it the full absolution of their sins. A Christian host was collected and proceeded to Africa, under the standard of St. Peter; where it desolated the chief cities of the Arabs, and is said to have destroyed a hundred thousand of the inhabitants. This was a prelude worthy of the approaching crusades in the Holy Land.[2]

The dominion of the Turkmans in Palestine, these fierce sons of the eastern deserts, could only render the condition of the Christians and pilgrims still more deplorable. These wild hordes knew no law and no right, save that of the sword; they neither knew nor cared for ancient usage nor stipulation; and in their rage for gain and their rude fanatic zeal for the religion of the false prophet, they perpetrated every species of cruelty and outrage against the followers of the cross. In Jerusalem especially, under the dominion of Ortok and his sons, the native Christians and

[1] The general letter is found in Gregor. Epist. lib. ii. 37; and a particular one to Count William of Burgundy, ibid. i. 46. Mansi Collect. Concil. tom. xx.

[2] Chronicon Casinum auct. Leone Ostiensi, in Muratori Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. iv. p. 480.

pilgrims were overwhelmed with insult and driven to extremity. Troops of these savage oppressors often forced their way into the churches during divine service; terrified the worshippers by their wild noise and fury; mounted upon the altars; overturned the sacred cups; trod under foot the consecrated vessels; broke in pieces the marble ornaments; maltreated the clergy with contumely and blows; seized the patriarch himself by the hair and beard, and dragged him from his seat headlong to the ground; and several times threw him into prison, in order that the Christians might redeem him with large sums of money.[1]

It might be supposed that this state of things, when known in Europe, would have served to allay the rage for pilgrimage, and have deterred the Christians of the West from exposing themselves to dangers and contumelies hitherto unparalleled. But the custom had become too firmly established, and pilgrimages during this century had been too frequent, to be at once broken off. Multitudes of pilgrims still flocked to the Holy City; and as the Turkmans were now more rigorous in exacting the price of entrance than the governors of the Egyptian Khalifs formerly had been, thousands of pilgrims, who had consumed or lost their all upon the way, were compelled to lie waiting before the gates. Here many of them died, worn out with famine and nakedness. Whether living or dead, the pilgrims were now an intolerable burden to the inhabitants. If admitted into the city, they were the source of continual dread to the Christians, lest by their incautious behaviour they should excite the fury of their oppressors. So great also were their numbers and penury, that the convents and hospitals were unable to receive more than a small part of them; and

[1] Will. Tyr. i. 10. Comp. also ibid. i. 8.

the care of the remainder fell upon the citizens. Not one pilgrim in a thousand had the means of self-subsistence.[1] The Christians of the East now repaired to Europe, lamenting their misery and imploring help. The pilgrims who returned confirmed their accounts, and supported their appeal for aid.[2]

It was in the midst of these calamities that the celebrated Peter the Hermit repaired as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, in A. D. 1093 and 1094.[3] His soul was filled with indignation at the horrors he beheld, and his spirit roused to vengeance. He reproached the patriarch for his pusillanimity, and exhorted him no longer to submit to such indignities; but the patriarch had no power to break the chains of oppression, and could only commission Peter to go forth as his ambassador, to awaken the energies of Europe in behalf of their suffering fellow Christians. Peter hastened to Rome; obtained the ready sanction and support of the pope Urban II.; and traversed Italy and France, proclaiming to high and low the miseries of their brethern in the East, and urging them to arise for the deliverance of the Holy City and to take vengeance on the infidels. His efforts were crowned with astonishing success[4]; for, as we have seen, the ground was already prepared and the seed sown. The pope urged the cause with all his eloquence at the crowded Councils of Placentia and Clermont in A. D. 1095 and 1096; and Christian Europe roused itself in frenzy, for a crusade against the oppressors of the Holy Land.

1 Will. Tyr. i. 10.

2 Baldrici Archiepisc. Hist. Hieros. in Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 86. Wilken's Gesch. der Kr. i. p. 45.

3 The authorities for the following narrative are found in all the historians of the crusades.

4 In such veneration was Peter held by the people at large, that they even plucked hairs from his mule, and preserved them as relics; "præsertim cum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur!" Guibert Abbot. ii. 8. in Gesta Dei per Francos.

The first host of these pilgrim-warriors set off at once by way of Hungary, under the guidance of Peter himself; without preparation, without discipline, and without supplies. After many hardships and much turbulent dissension, they succeeded in reaching Constantinople; but had hardly set foot on the shores of Asia Minor, when the whole host was annihilated by the Turks. This was in A.D. 1097. A second and better appointed army was already on the way, under leaders of more renown and greater experience. They marched to Constantinople; and after many hindrances and several battles, succeeded in reaching Antioch, and encamped before that city on the 18th of October, A. D. 1097. After a long siege of nearly nine months, they became masters of the city by treachery, July 3, A. D. 1098. Scarcely were they in possession, when an immense Turkish host appeared before the walls, to which they gave battle on the 10th of July, and gained a complete victory. This opened to them the whole of Syria; and there was now nothing to hinder their advance upon Jerusalem. But the dissensions and indecision of the princes delayed the impatient warriors still four months; until at length, on the 24th of November, they broke up from Antioch, and proceeded on their march for the deliverance of the Holy City.

During the progress of these events, the affairs of Syria and Palestine had assumed a new aspect. On the death of the Sultan Melek Shah in A. D. 1092, his brother Tutush of Syria aspired to the empire of the Seljucides; made war upon his nephew Borkiaruk the son of Melek Shah; but was defeated and slain in battle, A. D. 1095.[1] Dissensions arose between his sons Rŭdhwân and Dekak for the succession in Syria;

[1] Deguignes Hist. des Huns, tom. I. i. p. 247. II. ii. p. 83.

and the Emîrs of the several cities and districts took occasion of the anarchy, to make themselves for the time independent. Such was the case with the sons of Ortok in Jerusalem; to which Rŭdhwân unsuccessfully laid siege in A. D. 1096.[1] In like manner the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, el-Mustâly, profiting at length by the distracted state of Syria and the dissensions of the Seljûk princes, despatched an army into that country under his Vizier Afdal, in order to reduce it again to his own dominion. Afdal marched through the land; summoned Rŭdhwân to acknowledge the Khalif of Egypt; took possession of Tyre; and having besieged Jerusalem for forty days, received the surrender of the city from the inhabitants.[2] The two sons of Ortok, Ilghâzy and Sukmân, retired to the region of Edessa, established themselves afterwards at Maredin and Haifa, where they founded the two dynasties of the Ortocides, which became famous in the wars of the crusades. The surrender of Jerusalem took place after the famous battle of Antioch.[3] The city was left in charge of the Emîr Iftikar ed-Dauleh; who had now governed it for eleven months in the name of the Egyptian Khalif, when on the 7th of June, A. D. 1099, the host of the crusaders appeared before its walls.[4]

It is not my province here to recount the events of this siege, nor the history of Jerusalem in general during the crusades. Suffice it to say, that after an

[1] Abulfedæ Annales ad A. H. 488. Deguignes, l. c. tom. I. i. p. 247. II. ii. pp. 84, 85. Kemaleddin in Wilken's Gesch. der Kr. bd. ii. Beyl. p. 28. seq.

[2] Abulfedæ Annal. ad A. H. 492. Deguignes, l. c. tom. II. ii. p. 134. I. i. p. 249. seq.

[3] So William of Tyre and Guibert expressly; Will. Tyr. vii. 19. Guib. Abb. vii. 3. p. 533. The former writer also says, that the Egyptians had been only eleven months in possession of the city, ix. 10. Yet Abulfeda places the Egyptian conquest two years earlier, in A. D. 1096; in which he is followed by Deguignes, tom. II. ii. p. 134. See Wilken Comment. de Bell. Cruc. Hist. pp. 30, 31.

[4] Deguignes, tom. II. ii. p. 99. Will. Tyr. viii. 5.

investment of nearly forty days, the Holy City was taken by storm on the 15th day of July. Some of the frightful scenes which then ensued I have already had occasion to describe.[1]

After order was restored, and the city purified, one of the first cares of the Christian warriors was to establish churches according to the Latin rites and constitution. It was also not long before convents of Latin monks and nuns sprang up in Jerusalem and in various parts of the country; and thus the mass of foreign tradition, of which the oriental church had long laid the foundation, was now built up and decorated anew, by the fresher zeal and lore of their western brethren.

The Christians retained possession of Jerusalem for eight and eighty years; until it was again wrested from their hands by Saladin in A. D. 1187. During this long period they appear to have erected several churches and many convents. Of the latter few if any traces remain; of the former, save one or two ruins, the church of the Holy Sepulchre is the only memorial that survives in the Holy City, to attest the power or even the existence of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. The crusaders found the buildings connected with the Sepulchre as they had been completed in A. D. 1048; a round church with an open dome over the Sepulchre itself, and a small separate chapel covering Calvary and the other sacred places. These edifices were regarded by the crusaders as too contracted; and they accordingly erected over and in connection with them a stately temple, enclosing the whole of the sacred precincts; the walls and general form of which probably remain unto the present day. The grand entrance then, apparently, as now, was

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 441. seq.

from the South.[1]—To the southward of this church, the site of the hospital or palace of the Knights of St. John continues to this day unoccupied, an open field in the heart of the city, where the foundations and a few broken arches alone remain to testify of its former solidity and splendour.

Of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, the subsequent demolition of the walls, the two successive surrenders of it by treaty to the Christians, and its varying fortunes until it finally reverted to the Muhammedans in A. D. 1244, I have already spoken, in tracing the changes which have taken place in the walls of the city.[2] In that year the forces of the Sultan Nijm ed-Dîn Eyûb of Egypt, the seventh of the Eyubite dynasty established by Saladin, took possession of the Holy City, after the defeat of the combined forces of the Christians and Syrian Muslims at Gaza. From that time onwards Jerusalem appears to have sunk in political and military importance; and its name scarcely occurs in the slight histories we have of the two successive Memlûk dynasties, the Baharites and the Circassians or Borgites, who reigned over Egypt and the greater part of Syria during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3] In all their wars in Syria, the nature of the country led the great and frequent military expeditions between Egypt and Damascus to take the route along the coast and the adjacent plains; and rarely did a Sultan turn aside to visit the neglected sanctuary in the mountains.[4] The pilgrims and travellers who found their way to Jerusalem

[1] Will. Tyr. viii. 3. The time when this edifice was erected is not mentioned; but it appears to have been after A. D. 1103; for Saewulf, who visited Jerusalem in that year, speaks only of the former church, which some held to be the work of Justinian! p. 260.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 469. seq.

[3] Deguignes Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. lib. 21, 22.

[4] Two visits of the Borgite Sultan Sheikh Mahmûd or Abu en-Nûsr, are recorded in A. D. 1414 and 1417. Deguignes Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. pp. 310. 313.

during this long period, make no mention of its immediate masters, nor of any military changes.

In A. D. 1517, Jerusalem with the rest of Syria and Egypt passed under the sway of the Ottoman Sultân Selim I.; who paid a hasty visit to the Holy City from Damascus after his return from Egypt.[1] From that time until our own days, Palestine and Syria have continued to form part and parcel of the Ottoman empire. During this period Jerusalem has been subjected to few vicissitudes; and its history is barren of incident. Suleimân, the successor of Selim, erected its new walls in A. D. 1542; and so recently as A. D. 1808, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was partially consumed by conflagration. A fire which commenced in the Armenian chapel on the 12th of October, destroyed the great dome, the Greek chapel, and various other parts, as well as many of the marble columns. The edifice was rebuilt by the Greeks; and after twelve months of labour and an enormous expense, was completed in September A. D. 1810. The funds were collected from the contributions of Christians in various countries. The stranger who now visits this imposing temple, remarks no obvious traces of its recent desolation.[2]

In A. D. 1832, Syria became subject to the dominion of Muhammed Aly, the present Pasha of Egypt; and the Holy City opened its gates to the victor without a siege. During the insurrection in the districts of Jerusalem and Nâbulus in A. D. 1834, the Fellâhîn seized upon Jerusalem, and held possession of it for a time; but under the stern energy of the Egyptian government, order was soon restored, and the

[1] V. Hammer Gesch. des Osmanischen Reichs, bd. ii. s. 526.

[2] Turner's Journal of a Tour in the Levant, vol. ii. p. 165. See also the general account of the fire drawn up in Italian by the Latin monks, Turner, ibid. Appendix, p. 507.

Holy City reverted to its allegiance upon the approach of Ibrahim Pasha with his troops.[1]

II.—CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The circumstances connected with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in the fourth century, and the erection of edifices over and around it under the auspices of Constantine and his mother Helena, have already been detailed.[2] In tracing the further history of the city of Jerusalem, we have also noted some of the changes to which this spot has been exposed. Twice, at least, the church of the Holy Sepulchre appears to have been totally destroyed; once in the seventh and again in the eleventh century; besides the various partial desolations to which it has been subjected.[3] After all the preceding details, topographical and historical, we are now prepared to enter upon the discussion of another question of some interest; I mean the genuineness or probable identity of the site thus ascribed to the Holy Sepulchre.

The place of our Lord's crucifixion, as we are expressly informed, was without the gate of the ancient city, and yet nigh to the city.[4] The Sepulchre, we are likewise told, was nigh at hand, in a garden, in the place where Jesus was crucified.[5] It is not therefore without some feeling of wonder, that a stranger, unacquainted with the circumstances, on arriving in Jerusalem at the present day, is pointed to the place of crucifixion and the sepulchre in the midst of the modern city, and both beneath one roof. This latter

[1] See the Report of the Rev. Mr. Thomson, &c. Missionary Herald, 1835, pp. 44-51. Marmont's Voyage, &c. tom. ii. iii. Mengin's Hist. de l'Egypte, &c., de l'an 1823 à l'an 1838, Paris, 1839, p. 73. seq.

[2] See above, p. 12. seq.

[3] See above, pp. 34. 43. 46.

[4] Heb. xiii. 12. John xix. 20. The same is also implied in John xix. 17. Matt. xxvii. 32.

[5] John xix. 41, 42.

fact, however unexpected, might occasion less surprise; for the sepulchre was nigh to Calvary. But beneath the same roof are further shown the stone on which the body of our Lord was anointed for burial, the fissure in the rock, the holes in which the crosses stood, the spot where the true cross was found by Helena, and various other places said to have been connected with the history of the crucifixion; most of which it must have been difficult to identify even after the lapse of only three centuries; and particularly so at the present day, after the desolations and numerous changes which the whole place has undergone.

The difficulty arising from the present location in the heart of the city, has been felt by many pious minds, from the days of St. Willibald and Jacob de Vitry to our own time; but it has usually been evaded, by assuming that the city was greatly enlarged under Adrian towards the north or west; or, sometimes, that the ancient city occupied a different site.[1]

The first to take an open stand against the identity of these holy places, was Korte the German bookseller, who visited Jerusalem in A. D. 1738, at the same time with Pococke. While the learned Englishman slightly passes over this topic, entering into no discussion and expressing no opinion[2], the honest simplicity of the unlearned German led him to lay before his countrymen a plain account of the impression made upon his own mind, and his reasons for distrusting the correctness of the common tradition. Unacquainted

[1] St. Willibaldi Hodœpor. ed. Mabillon, p. 375. Jac. de Vitriac. Hist. Hieros. c. 60. Will. de Baldensel, ed. Canis. p. 348. Monconys was not satisfied with this solution; tom. i. p. 307. Quaresmius disposes of the objections of "nonnullos nebulones occidentales hæreticos" in a summary way, but without making any new suggestion; ii. p. 515.—The absurd hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, which transports Zion across the Valley of Hinnom, serves as the fit basis of Buckingham's solution; Travels in Pal. pp. 284. 287.

[2] Pococke, Descr. of the East, vol. ii. p. 15. seq. fol.

with the historical facts, he confines himself solely to a common-sense view of the case; and urges the impossibility that the present site could have been without the ancient city, because of its nearness to the former area of the Jewish temple.[1] The reasoning of Korte seems to have made a considerable impression among the Protestants of the continent; and is often referred to.[2] But he had no follower among the travellers of the last century; though in the present, the voices of powerful assailants and defenders are heard among both Catholics and Protestants. Châteaubriand led the way, in a most plausible defence; and Dr. Clarke, a later writer though an earlier traveller, followed with a violent attack. In later years the parties have been reversed. Scholz, Catholic professor at Bonn, declares that the place of the crucifixion cannot have been where it is now pointed out, because this spot must have been within the ancient city; though he strangely enough admits the identity of the Sepulchre.[3] On the other hand, several Protestant travellers and writers take sides with the tradition, and support the genuineness both of the Sepulchre and Golgotha.[4]

A true estimate of this long agitated question must depend on two circumstances. As there can be no doubt, that both Golgotha and the Sepulchre lay outside of the ancient city, it must first be shown that the present site may also anciently have been with-

[1] Jonas Kortens Reise, &c. pp. 210. 212.

[2] The work of Plessing, "Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab," Halle, 1789, discusses the subject on historical grounds in connection with the report of Korte. The author exhibits great diligence, and has collected many good materials; but they are wrought up in such a way as to become 'a kernel of wheat in a bushel of chaff.'

[3] Scholz, Reise, &c. p. 190. De Golgothæ situ. Bonn, 1825, 4.

[4] So Berggren, Buckingham, Elliott, ii. p. 449, &c. Also Raumer, in his Palästina, p. 355. seq., followed by Schubert, Reise, &c. ii. p. 503. seq.

out the walls. Or, should this in itself appear to be impossible, then it must be shown, that there were in the fourth century historical or traditional grounds for fixing upon this site, strong enough to counterbalance such an apparent impossibility. The following observations may help to throw some light on both these points.

Our preceding investigations respecting the temple and the ancient walls of Jerusalem, seem to show conclusively, that the modern city occupies only a portion of the ancient site; a part of Zion and a tract upon the north, which were formerly included in the walls, being now left out. The nature of the ground and the traces of the ancient third wall which we found[1], demonstrate also that the breadth of the city from E. to W. is the same now as anciently. There can therefore be no question, that the site of the present Holy Sepulchre falls within the ancient city as described by Josephus. But as the third or exterior wall of that writer was not erected until ten or twelve years after the death of Christ[2], it cannot here be taken into account; and the question still arises, whether the present site of the Sepulchre may not have fallen without the *second* or interior wall; in which case all the conditions of the general question would be satisfied.

This second wall, as we have seen, began at the gate of Gennath, near the tower of Hippicus, and ran to the fortress Antonia on the N. of the temple.[3] Of the date of its erection we are nowhere informed; but it must probably have been older than the time of Hezekiah, who built within the city a pool, apparently the same which now exists under his name.[4] We have then

[1] See above, Vol. I. pp. 464–467. 471.
[2] See Vol. I. p. 465. Note [1].
[3] See above, Vol. I. p. 461. seq.
[4] See above, Vol. I. pp. 487, 488. This second wall was also apparently the northern wall attacked by Antiochus, adjacent to which there was a level tract or plain. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 8. 2.

three points for determining the probable course of this wall; besides the general language of Josephus and the nature of the ground. We repaired personally to each of these three points, in order to examine there this very question; and the first measurement I took in Jerusalem, was the distance from the western side of the area of the temple or great mosk to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. I measured from the western entrance of that area on a direct course along the street by the Hospital of Helena, to the street leading N. from the Bazar; and then from this street to a point in front of the great entrance of the church. The whole distance proved to be 1223 feet, or about 407 yards; which is 33 yards less than a quarter of an English mile.

On viewing the city from the remains of the ancient Hippicus, as well as from the site of Antonia, we were satisfied, that if the second wall might be supposed to have run in a straight line between those points, it would have left the church of the Holy Sepulchre without the city; and thus far have settled the topographical part of the question.[1] But, it was not less easy to perceive, that in thus running in a straight course, the wall must also have left the Pool of Hezekiah on the outside; or, if it made a curve sufficient to include this pool, it would naturally also have included the site of the Sepulchre; unless it made an angle expressly in order to exclude the latter spot. And further, as we have seen, Josephus distinctly testifies, that the second wall ran *in a circle* or curve, obviously towards the north.[2] Various other circumstances also, which go to support the same view, such as the nature of the ground, and the ancient towers at the Damascus Gate, have already been enumerated.[3] Ad-

[1] The reader will be able easily to follow the details upon the plan of Jerusalem.

[2] Κυκλούμενον. See Vol. I. p. 461.

[3] Ibid, pp. 462-464.

jacent to the wall on the north, there was a space of level ground, on which Antiochus could erect his hundred towers.[1] All this goes to show that the second wall must have extended further to the north than the site of the present church. Or again, if we admit that this wall ran in a straight course, then the whole of the lower city must have been confined to a small triangle; and its breadth between the temple and the site of the sepulchre, a space of less than a quarter of an English mile, was not equal to that of many squares in London and New York. Yet we know that this lower city at the time of the crucifixion was extensive and populous; three gates led from it to the temple; and ten years later Agrippa erected the third wall far beyond the limits of the present city, in order to shelter the extensive suburbs which before were unprotected. These suburbs could not well have arisen within the short interval of ten years; but must already have existed before the time of our Lord's crucifixion.

After examining all these circumstances repeatedly upon the spot, and as I hope without prejudice, the minds of both my companion and myself were forced to the conviction, that the hypothesis which makes the second wall so run as to exclude the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre, is on topographical grounds untenable and impossible. If there was prejudice upon my own mind, it was certainly in favour of an opposite result; for I went to Jerusalem strongly prepossessed with the idea, that the alleged site might have lain without the second wall.

But even if such a view could be admitted, the existence of populous suburbs on this part is strongly at variance with the probability, that here should have been a place of execution with a garden and sepulchre. The tombs of the ancients were not usually within their

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 6. 2.

cities, nor among their habitations; and excepting those of the kings on Zion, there is no evidence that sepulchres existed in Jerusalem.

Let us now inquire whether there were probably, in the time of Constantine, any such strong historical or traditional grounds for fixing upon this site, as to counterbalance the topographical difficulties, and lead us on the whole to a different conclusion.

Chateaubriand has furnished us with the clearest and most plausible statement of the historic testimonies and probabilities, which may be supposed to have had an influence in determining the spot; and from him later writers have drawn their chief arguments.[1] I give an epitome of his remarks. The first Christian church, he says, at Jerusalem, was gathered immediately after the resurrection and ascension of our Lord; and soon became very numerous. All its members must have had a knowledge of the sacred places. They doubtless also consecrated buildings for their worship; and would naturally erect them on sites rendered memorable by miracles. Not improbably the Holy Sepulchre itself was already honoured in this manner. At any rate there was a regular succession of Jewish-Christian bishops, from the Apostle James, down to the time of Adrian, who could not but have preserved the Christian traditions[2]; and although during the siege by Titus the church withdrew to Pella, yet they soon returned and established themselves among the ruins. In the course of a few months' absence, they could not have forgotten the position of their

[1] Itinéraire, Second Mémoire, tom. i. p. 122. seq. Par. 1837.

[2] Even here the usual looseness and inaccuracy of the French writer do not abandon him. He himself assigns A. D. 35 as the first year of James, and A. D. 137 as the beginning of the new succession of bishops from the Gentiles under Adrian; and then gravely affirms that the succession of thirteen Jewish bishops, between these two dates, occupied a space of 123 years, "cent vingt-trois ans!" pp. 123. 125.

sanctuaries; which, moreover, being generally without the walls, had probably not suffered greatly from the siege. And that the sacred places were generally known in the age of Adrian, is proved incontestably by the fact, that, in rebuilding Jerusalem, that emperor set up a statue of Venus upon Calvary and one of Jupiter over the Holy Sepulchre.[1] Thus the folly of idolatry, by its imprudent profanation, only made more public "the foolishness of the cross." From that time onward till the reign of Constantine, there was again a regular succession of bishops of Gentile origin; and the sacred places could not of course have been forgotten.

Such is the general case, as stated by Châteaubriand; and I am not aware of having in any particular weakened the strength of his argument. It is indeed a strong one at first view; and at one time made a deep impression on my own mind; though this impression was again weakened and in part done away, when he afterwards goes on to admit the alleged miracles which are said to have accompanied the finding of the cross. The long list of subsequent testimonies which he adduces, has no bearing on the question, and is a mere work of supererogation; for who has ever doubted the identity of the present site with that selected under Constantine? Let us now examine the argument more closely.

That the early Christians at Jerusalem must have had a knowledge of the places where the Lord was cru-

[1] Yet, in another part of the same work (vol. ii. p. 17), Châteaubriand refers with approbation to the *Epitome Bellorum Sacr.* for the rather remarkable circumstance, that Adrian, at the request of the Christians, enclosed the Holy Sepulchre and the adjacent sacred places with walls; and this is quoted by Prokesch (p. 54), as a permission granted by Adrian to erect a church over the Sepulchre! The Epitome in question is a legendary tract of the fifteenth century, and is found in Canisii Thesaur. Monumentor. Eccl. ed. Basnage, tom. iv. p. 423. seq. The passage referred to is on p. 446.

cified and buried, there can be no doubt; that they erected their churches on places consecrated by miracles, and especially on Calvary and over our Lord's Sepulchre, is a more questionable position. There is at least no trace of it in the New Testament, nor in the history of the primitive church. The four Gospels, which describe so minutely the circumstances of the crucifixion and resurrection, mention the sepulchre only in general terms; and although some of them were written thirty or forty years after these events, yet they are silent as to any veneration of the sepulchre, and also as to its very existence at that time. The writers do not even make in behalf of their Lord and Master the natural appeal which Peter employs in the case of David, "that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day."[1] The great Apostle of the Gentiles too, whose constant theme is the death and resurrection of our Lord and the glory of his cross, has not in all his writings the slightest allusion to any reverence for the *place* of these great events or the instrument of the Saviour's passion. On the contrary, the whole tenor of our Lord's teaching and that of Paul, and indeed of every part of the New Testament, was directed to draw off the minds of men from an attachment to particular times and places, and to lead the true worshippers to worship God, not merely at Jerusalem or in Mount Gerizim, but everywhere "in spirit and in truth."[2] — The position that the Christian churches in the apostolic age were without the walls of the city, is a mere fancy springing from the similar location of the sepulchre; and still more fanciful and absurd is the assertion, that those churches, if any such there were, might have escaped destruction during the long siege by Titus.

[1] Acts ii. 29. Comp. Gen. xxxv. 20. [2] John iv. 21. 23.

The alleged regular succession of bishops, from the time of St. James to the reign of Adrian, is also a matter of less certainty, than is here represented. Eusebius, the only authority on the subject, lived two centuries afterwards; and says expressly, that he had been able to find no document respecting them, and wrote only from report.[1]

More important is the circumstance related in connection with Adrian, that this emperor erected heathen temples on Golgotha and over the sepulchre, about A. D. 135. Could this be regarded as a well ascertained fact, it would certainly have great weight in a decision of the question. But what is the evidence on which it rests? The earliest witness is again Eusebius, writing after the death of Constantine; who merely relates that a temple of Venus had been erected over the sepulchre by impious men, but says not one word of Adrian. The historians of the following century relate the same fact in the same manner.[2] It is Jerome alone, writing about A. D. 395, or some sixty years later than Eusebius, who affirms that an idol had stood upon the spot from the time of Adrian.[3] There is moreover a discrepancy in the accounts. Eusebius and the other historians speak only of a temple of Venus over the sepulchre. Jerome on the other hand places the marble statue of Venus on the "rock of the cross," or Golgotha, and an image of Jupiter on the place of the resurrection. Here the Latin father is probably wrong; for Eusebius was an eye-witness; and the former is therefore equally liable to have been wrong in ascribing these idols to Adrian.

What then after all is the amount of the testimony relative to an idol erected over the place of the resur-

[1] Hist. Ecc. iv. 5.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 26. Socrat. H. E. i. 17. Sozom. ii. 1.

[3] Hieron. Ep. xlix. ad Paulin. tom. iv. ii. p. 564. ed. Martianay.

rection, and serving to mark the spot? It is simply, that writers *ex post facto* have mentioned such an idol as standing, not over the sepulchre known of old as being that of Christ, but *over the spot fixed upon by Constantine as that sepulchre.* Their testimony proves conclusively that an idol stood upon *that* spot; but it has no bearing to show that this spot was the true sepulchre. Eusebius, the cotemporary and eye-witness, makes no mention of any tradition connected with the idol. Jerome, sixty years later, is the only one to ascribe it to Adrian; and Sozomen in the middle of the fifth century is the first to remark, that the heathen erected it in the hope, that Christians who came to pay their devotions at the sepulchre, would thus have the appearance of worshipping an idol.[1] Yet from these slender materials, the skilful pen of Châteaubriand has wrought out a statement so definite and specious, that most readers who have not had an opportunity of investigation, have probably regarded the matter as a well-established fact.

Thus then the positive proofs alleged in favour of an earlier tradition respecting the Holy Sepulchre, vanish away; and there remains only the possibility, that a fact of this nature might have been handed down in the church through the succession of bishops and other holy men. Yet there are also various circumstances, which militate strongly even against such a probability.

One of these is the utter silence of Eusebius and of all following writers, as to the existence of any such tradition. Nor is this all; for the language both of Eusebius and of Constantine himself, seems strongly to imply, that no such former tradition could have been extant. Eusebius relates, in speaking of the place of the resurrection, that "hitherto impious men,

[1] Sozomen, H. E. ii. 1.

or rather the whole race of demons through their instrumentality, had made every effort to deliver over that illustrious monument of immortality to darkness and oblivion." They had covered it with earth, and erected over it a temple of Venus; and it was this spot, thus desecrated and wholly "given over to forgetfulness and oblivion,[1]" that the emperor, "not without a divine intimation, but moved in spirit by the Saviour himself," ordered to be purified and adorned with splendid buildings.[2] Such language, certainly, would hardly be appropriate, in speaking of a spot well known and definitely marked by long tradition. The emperor too, in his letter to Macarius, regards the discovery of "the token of the Saviour's most sacred passion, which for so long a time had been hidden under ground," as "a miracle beyond the capacity of man sufficiently to celebrate or even to comprehend."[3] The mere removal of obstructions from a well-known spot, could hardly have been described as a miracle so stupendous. Indeed the whole tenor of the language both of Eusebius and Constantine goes to show, that the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre was held to be the result, not of a previous knowledge derived from tradition, but of a supernatural interposition and revelation.

I have already alluded to the silence of Eusebius respecting the part which Helena bore in these transactions; and have detailed the circumstances under which, according to later writers, she was enabled to find and distinguish the true cross.[4] We have also seen that this supposed cross was certainly in existence

[1] Λήθῃ τε καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ παραδεδομένον.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 25, 26.

[3] Ibid. iii. 30. It is here doubtful whether the word γνώρισμα (sign) refers to the sepulchre or to the cross; most probably to the latter. See above, pp. 12, 13. 15.

[4] See above, p. 14. seq.

so early as the time of Cyrill, only some twenty years after its alleged discovery by Helena.[1] It would seem therefore to be a necessary conclusion, that this main circumstance in the agency ascribed to Helena, must have had some foundation in fact; and, however difficult it may be to account for the silence of Eusebius, it would also appear not improbable, that these later accounts may be in the main correct, at least so far as they ascribe to Helena the chief agency in searching for and discovering the supposed Holy Sepulchre. Yet even in these accounts, she is nowhere said to have acted in consequence of any known tradition; but only to have received a "divine suggestion," and also to have inquired diligently of the ancient inhabitants, and especially, according to some, of the Jews.[2] At any rate, therefore, the place of the Sepulchre was not then a matter of public notoriety; and the alleged miracle, which attended her discovery of the true cross, serves at least to show the degree of ready credulity with which the search was conducted.

Thus far the balance of evidence would seem to be decidedly against the probable existence of any previous tradition. But we are now prepared to advance a step further; and to show, that even were it possible to prove the existence of such a prevailing tradition, still this would not have been of sufficient authority to counterbalance the strength of the topographical objections.

The strongest assertion which can be made in the case, as we have seen, is the general probability, that such a tradition might have been handed down for three centuries in the church through the succession of bishops and other holy men. But for the value of such a tradition, supposing it to have existed, we have

[1] See pp. 15, 16.

[2] See the account and the authorities, as given above, pp. 14, 15.

a decisive test, in applying the same reasoning to another tradition of precisely the same character and import. The place of our Lord's ascension must have been to the first Christians in Jerusalem an object of no less interest than his sepulchre, and could not but have been equally known to them. The knowledge of it too would naturally have been handed down from century to century through the same succession of bishops and holy men. In this case, moreover, we know that such a tradition did actually exist before the age of Constantine, which pointed out the place of the ascension on the summit of the Mount of Olives. Eusebius, writing about A. D. 315, ten years or more before the journey of Helena, speaks expressly, (as we have already seen,) of the many Christians who came up to Jerusalem from all parts of the earth, not as of old to celebrate a festival, but to behold the accomplishment of prophecy in the desolations of the city, and to pay their adorations on the summit of the Mount of Olives, where Jesus gave his last charge to his disciples, and then ascended into heaven.[1] Yet notwithstanding this weight of testimony, and the apparent length of time and unbroken succession through which the story had been handed down, the tradition itself is unquestionably false; since it is contradicted by the express declaration of Scripture. According to St. Luke, Jesus led out his disciples as far as to Bethany, and blessed them; and while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.[2]— Yet Helena erected a church upon the Mount of Olives; and assuredly there could have been no tradition

[1] Τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἁπάντων πανταχόθεν γῆς συντρεχόντων, οὐχ ὡς πάλαι, κ. τ. λ. . . καὶ [ἕνεκα] τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν προσκυνήσεως . . . ἔνθα [τοῦ λόγου] τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ὄρους τὰ περὶ τῆς συντελείας μυστήρια παραδεδωκότος, ἐντεῦθέν τε τὸν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον πεποιημένον. Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. vi. 18. p. 288. Colon. 1688.

[2] Luke xxiv. 50, 51. See more in Vol. I. p. 375. note [1].

better accredited in respect to the Holy Sepulchre. Indeed, the fact that no pilgrimages were made to the latter, goes strongly to show that there was no tradition respecting it whatever.

We arrive at a similar, though less decided result, in following up another parallel tradition of the same kind. The Cave of the Nativity, so called, at Bethlehem, has been pointed out as the place where Jesus was born, by a tradition which reaches back at least to the middle of the second century. At that time Justin Martyr speaks distinctly of the Saviour's birth, as having occurred in a grotto near Bethlehem.[1] In the third century, Origen adduces it as a matter of public notoriety, so that even the heathen regarded it as the birthplace of him whom the Christians adored.[2] Eusebius also mentions it several years before the journey of Helena[3]; and the latter consecrated the spot by erecting over it a church. In this instance, indeed, the language of Scripture is less decisive than in respect to the place of the ascension; and the evangelist simply relates that the Virgin "brought forth her first-born son, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn."[4] But the circumstance of the Saviour's being born in a cave would certainly have not been less remarkable, than his

[1] Γεννηθέντος δὲ τότε τοῦ παιδίου ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, ἐπειδὴ Ἰωσὴφ οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκείνῃ ποῦ καταλῦσαι, ἐν δὲ σπηλαίῳ τινὶ σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης κατέλυσε· καὶ τότε αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ, ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ αὐτὸν ἐτεθείκει. Justin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. 78. p. 175. Hag. Com. 1742.

[2] Origen. c. Celsum, i. 51. Opp. tom. i. p. 367. ed. Delarue.

[3] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. vii. 2. p. 343. col. 1688. In this passage, instead of διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀγροῦ δείξεως, it should doubtless read διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἄντρου δείξεως. Comp. the τῆς γεννήσεως ἄντρον, as used of the same cavern, Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 43. — Jerome, seventy years later, affirms, that from the time of Adrian onwards Adonis was worshipped in this cavern; but, as all the earlier writers are silent as to any such desecration, it is perhaps nothing more than a rhetorical parallel to the statue of Venus in Jerusalem. Hieron. Ep. xlix. ad Paulin. Opp. tom. ii. ii. p. 564. ed. Mart.

[4] Luke ii. 7.; comp. vs. 12. 16.

having been laid in a manger; and it is natural to suppose that the sacred writer would not have passed it over in silence. The grotto moreover was and is at some distance from the town; and although there may be still occasional instances in Judea, where a cavern is occupied as a stable, yet this is not now, and never was, the usual practice, especially in towns and their environs. Taking into account all these circumstances, —and also the early and general tendency to invent and propagate legends of a similar character, and the prevailing custom of representing the events of the gospel-history as having taken place in grottoes[1],—it would seem hardly consistent with a love of simple historic truth, to attach to this tradition any much higher degree of credit, than we have shown to belong to the parallel tradition respecting the place of our Lord's ascension.

The two traditions which we have now examined, both present a much stronger case, than any thing which ever has been or can be urged in behalf of the supposed Holy Sepulchre. Yet one of them at least,

[1] On the subject of grottoes, I subjoin the very apposite remarks of Maundrell, *Journey*, &c. Apr. 19th: "I cannot forbear to mention in this place an observation, which is very obvious to all that visit the Holy Land, viz. that almost all passages and histories related in the Gospel are represented by them that undertake to show where every thing was done, as having been done most of them in grottoes; and that, even in such cases where the condition and the circumstances of the actions themselves seem to require places of another nature. Thus, if you would see the place where St. Anne was delivered of the blessed Virgin, you are carried to a grotto; if the place of the Annunciation, it is also a grotto; if the place where the blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth; if that of the Baptist's or of our Saviour's nativity; if that of the agony, or that of St. Peter's repentance, or that where the Apostles made the creed, or this of the Transfiguration; all these places are also grottoes. And, in a word, wherever you go, you find almost every thing is represented as done under ground. Certainly grottoes were anciently held in great esteem, or else they could never have been assigned, in spite of all probability, for the places in which were done so many various actions. Perhaps it was the hermit-way of living in grottoes, from the fifth or sixth century downward, that has brought them ever since to be in so great reputation." The historical notices in the text, show that this practice is of much earlier date than is here assigned.

and probably both, have no foundation in historic truth. On this ground then, as well as on all others, the alleged site of the Sepulchre is found to be without support.[1]

Thus in every view which I have been able to take of the question, both topographical and historical, whether on the spot or in the closet, and in spite of all my previous prepossessions, I am led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord. The alleged discovery of them by the aged and credulous Helena, like her discovery of the cross, may not improbably have been the work of pious fraud. It would perhaps not be doing injustice to the bishop Macarius and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating his see to a higher degree of influence and dignity.

If it be asked, Where then are the true sites of Golgotha and the sepulchre to be sought? I must reply, that probably all search can only be in vain. We know nothing more from the Scriptures, than that they were near each other, without the gate and nigh to the city, in a frequented spot.[2] This would favour the conclusion, that the place was probably upon a great road leading from one of the gates; and such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Joppa or Damascus.

III.—STATISTICS.

The details in the preceding pages have extended themselves far beyond the limits originally proposed; and will at least prove to the reader, that during our

[1] After this discussion, it would be of little avail to dwell upon the arguments usually drawn from the form and condition of the present sepulchre against its antiquity.

[2] John xix. 20.

sojourn in Jerusalem, our attention was directed more to the topography and antiquities of the Holy City, than to its present social and political relations. The facts, however, which we gleaned upon these latter points, may not be devoid of interest, and may help to fill out or correct the accounts of other writers.

The glory of Jerusalem has indeed departed. From her ancient high estate, as the splendid metropolis of the Jewish commonwealth and of the whole Christian world, the beloved of nations and 'the joy of the whole earth,' she has sunk into the neglected capital of a petty Turkish province; and where of old many hundreds of thousands thronged her streets and temple, we now find a population of scarcely as many single thousands dwelling sparsely within her walls. The cup of wrath and desolation from the Almighty has been poured out upon her to the dregs; and she sits sad and solitary in darkness and in the dust. The Saviour "beheld the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes!"[1] He wept at the calamities and the doom which were then coming upon the city, and which now for almost eighteen centuries have bowed her heavily to the ground. That which our Lord wept over in prospect, we now see in the terrible reality. Long since have the days come, when "her enemies cast a trench about her, and compassed her round, and kept her in on every side, and have laid her even with the ground, and her children within her; and have not left in her one stone upon another!" How fearfully, and almost to the letter, this 'burden' of Jerusalem has been accomplished upon her, the preceding pages may serve to testify.

Under the Egyptian rule in Syria, the former

[1] Luke xix. 41, seq.

Pashaliks of 'Akka and Aleppo have been done away. The whole country is united under one civil government, the seat of which is at Damascus; while the independent military command is intrusted to Ibrahim Pasha. The same system is also followed in the several districts into which the country is divided. Thus in the district of Jerusalem, which includes the hill country around the city from Sinjil on the north to about half way to Hebron on the south, there is a Mutesellim or civil governor, residing in the city, and likewise a military commander. The powers of these two chiefs, perhaps from policy, are not very distinctly marked, nor separated by any very definite line. The former, however, seems to be the responsible person for the due administration of justice; and he too was the actor in disarming several villages while we were there, which would seem to fall more naturally under the jurisdiction of his colleague. The district of Hebron is subordinate to that of Jerusalem, and is administered only by a deputy-governor. The Bedawîn tribes around Hebron and in the deserts further south, were under the superintendence of Sheikh Sa'îd, the civil governor of Gaza; who collected from them the tribute, and controlled their predatory excursions against other tribes.—The little intercourse which we had occasion to seek with the two governors of Jerusalem, has already been mentioned.[1]

A considerable body of troops usually lie in garrison at Jerusalem; but the number is variable, and we did not learn the average amount. They were at this time mostly Syrian troops, taken by force as soldiers in the country itself; and of course exceedingly discontented with the service. Shortly before our visit, a mutiny had occurred among them; a large number had deserted, many of whom had been retaken; while

[1] See above, Vol. I. pp. 360. 364.

others were still wandering about as outlaws and robbers. It was the usual policy of the Egyptian government to remove the Syrian regiments from their own soil to Egypt or other places, where they would be less reminded of their bondage; and during our stay in Jerusalem a large detachment of its garrison was sent off to Yâfa, intended for a more distant service. The troops we saw, were in general composed of fine-looking young men. They are lodged in Jerusalem in the citadel, adjacent to which new barracks had recently been erected; and also in the former house of the governor of the city, on the north of the Haram, now converted into a barrack. A military guard was regularly kept at each of the city-gates. We saw also several times parties of soldiers at the fountains and wells round about the city, washing their garments and spreading them upon the ground to dry.

The population of Jerusalem has been variously estimated according to the fancy of different travellers, from 15,000 up to nearly 30,000.[1] No doubt the number has varied much at different times; and entire certainty can never be hoped for under an oriental government, where a census of the whole population is a thing unknown. Indeed, until within the last few years, there would appear to have been no data whatever accessible to a traveller, on which to found a calculation. The more common estimate of late years among the Franks, has been the round number of 15,000 inhabitants; of which the greater part have been supposed to be Muhammedans. We found, however, reason to distrust the accuracy of both these statements.

[1] Turner, 26,000, vol. ii. p. 263. Richardson, 20,000, vol. ii. p. 256. Scholz, 18,000, p. 271. Jowett, 15,000, p. 238. Salzbacher, (in 1837) not less than 25,000, vol. ii. p. 119.

The introduction of the Egyptian system of taxation and military conscription into Syria, has led to the enumeration and registry of all the *males* who are of an age to be taxed or to bear arms. We could not learn that this age is very exactly defined; but it is usually reckoned as commencing at about eighteen or twenty years. According to the proportion generally assumed, this enumeration may thus be regarded as a loose census of one fourth of the population. As this measure was a great innovation, and led to consequences which excited much alarm and opposition, the number of persons thus registered in the different cities and villages became everywhere an object of interest to the inhabitants, and was very generally known. On our inquiring of different individuals respecting the number enrolled in a particular place, the answer given was almost uniformly the same. We found this therefore to be the best, and indeed the only positive basis, on which to found an estimate of the population of any city or village. Yet even this enumeration is not always correct; as the partiality or negligence of the authorities often causes the list to fall below the actual number. Among the multitudes belonging to different sects, there are always eyes keen enough to watch and detect the errors arising from this source; and we not unfrequently received two reports, one according to the official registry, and the other according to the alleged truth.—I have dwelt the longer upon this topic here; because these remarks apply not only to Jerusalem, but to all our subsequent travels in Palestine.[1]

[1] In regarding this partial enumeration as the only existing basis for a general estimate, I am happy to have the concurrence of my friend Dr. Bowring; whose researches into the resources and statistics of Egypt and Syria during the same year, as the accredited agent of the British government, were carried on under facilities and to an extent to which ours could make no pretension.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem dwell in separate quarters according to their religion, — Christian, Jewish, and Muhammedan. The Christian quarter extends along the upper or western part of the city, between the Latin convent at the N. W. corner, and the great Armenian convent in the S. W., including also the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Jewish quarter occupies the north-eastern part of Zion, and extends upwards so as to include the greater portion of the hill lying within the walls. The Muhammedans are in the middle and lower parts of the city. After careful inquiry, the information which we found most worthy to be relied upon, amounted to the following.

I. The MUHAMMEDANS are reckoned in the government books at 750 men, but amount really to 1,100. This gives at the utmost a round number of 4,500.

II. Of the JEWS only 500 males are enrolled; but there are actually many more. According to the careful estimate of the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, who has a better opportunity of judging than any other person, the whole number of the Jews at this time was about 3,000. In former years the number had sometimes amounted to 5,000.

III. CHRISTIANS. The *Greeks* are reckoned by the government at 400, but are actually 460; the *Latins* at 260; the *Armenians* at 130. Total 850 males, indicating a population of about 3,500 in all.—Hence

Muhammedans	4,500
Jews	3,000
Christians	3,500
Total Population	11,000

If to this we add something for possible omissions, and for the inmates of the convents, the standing population of the city, exclusive of the garrison, cannot well

be reckoned at over 11,500 souls. The Muhammedans, it will be seen, are more numerous than either the Jews or Christians alone, but fewer in number than these two bodies united.[1]

Of all this native population, as well as throughout Syria and Egypt, the Arabic is the vernacular language; as much so as the English in London or the French in Paris. The Jews are for the most part not natives of the country, and speak a corrupt medley of tongues among themselves. Among the other foreigners, the Greek, Armenian, and Italian languages are also found; but whoever desires to obtain access to the common people, whether Muhammedans or Christians, can do it only through the medium of the Arabic.

Of the Jews now resident in Palestine, the greater number are such as have come up to the land of their fathers, in order to spend the remainder of their lives and die in one of the four holy places—Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, or Safed. Those in Jerusalem desire to lay their bones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.[2]

[1] I have more recently learned (Oct. 1840) that some of our friends in Jerusalem, on the strength of later information, have been led to estimate the number of the Muhammedans at about 1,500 higher, or 6,000 in all; and the Jews at 7,000, according to the reported enumeration obtained by Sir Moses Montefiore in A. D. 1839. This would give for the whole population of the city about 17,000 souls. But I have yet to learn that the new sources of information as to the Muhammedans were more correct than ours. As to the Jews, the enumeration in question was made out by themselves, in the expectation of receiving a certain amount of alms for every name returned. It is therefore obvious, that they here had as strong a motive to exaggerate their number, as they often have in other circumstances to underrate it. Besides, this number of 7,000 rests merely on report; Sir Moses himself has published nothing on the subject; nor could his agent in London afford me any information so late as Nov. 1840. The Scottish deputation of clergymen in 1839, as I learned from some of its members, estimated the Jews in Jerusalem at 5,000 souls; while Mr. Calmon, who accompanied them, himself a converted Jew, still supposed them not to exceed 3,000 in all.—The estimate of the British Consul at Beirût, who makes the whole population of Jerusalem only 10,000, is on the other hand certainly too low. See Dr. Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 7.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 517.

They come hither from all parts of the Levant, and especially from Smyrna, Constantinople, and Salonika, in which cities there are many thousands of this people. Two years before our visit, the Jews were said to have flocked in great numbers to Syria, and particularly to Damascus and Tyre, where formerly they were not permitted to reside. But subsequently, as the high prices of provisions and of living in general increased, this circumstance prevented the coming of more, and compelled the return of many; so that the number of Jews in Jerusalem had been much diminished. They live here, for the most part, in poverty and filth. A considerable amount of money is collected for them by their emissaries in different countries; but as it comes into the hands of the Rabbins, and is managed by them without responsibility, it is understood to be administered without much regard to honesty; and serves chiefly as a means of increasing their own influence and control over the conduct and consciences of their poorer brethren.

Most of the Jews now in Palestine appear to be of Spanish or Polish origin; very few are from Germany, or are able to speak the German language. The very motive which leads them thus to return to the Land of Promise, shows their strong attachment to their ancient faith; and would of itself point *a priori* to the conclusion, which is found to be true in fact, viz. that the Jews thus resident in Palestine are of all others the most bigoted, and the least accessible to the labours of Christian missionaries. The efforts of the English Mission have as yet been attended with very slight success; and it remains to be seen, whether the proposed erection of a Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem will add to the influence and prosperity of the mission. The site was purchased during our stay

in the city; and the building is understood to be now in progress.

The Christians of the Latin rite live around the Latin convent, on which they are wholly dependent. They are native Arabs; know no other language than the Arabic; and are said to be descended from Catholic converts in the times of the crusades. They are in number about 1,100 souls, according to the preceding estimate; and live partly by carving crosses and beads for rosaries, and partly on the alms of the convent.[1]—The Latin convent in Jerusalem, like all those in the Holy Land, is in the hands of the Franciscans, or Minorites, of the class termed *Fratres Minores ab Observantia*. I have already mentioned their former residence on Mount Zion, and their removal to the present building in A. D. 1561.[2] This convent contains at present between forty and fifty monks, half Italians and half Spaniards, and takes rank of all the other Catholic monasteries in the East. In it resides the Intendant or Principal of all the Convents, with the rank of an Abbot, and the title of "Guardian of Mount Zion and Custos of the Holy Land."[3] He is always an Italian, and is appointed or at least confirmed at Rome every three years. The same individual is sometimes reappointed. There is also a Vicar, called likewise President, who takes the place of the Guardian in case of his absence or death. He is chosen in like manner for three years, and may be an Italian or a Spaniard.[4] The Procurator, who manages the

[1] Salzbacher gives the number at 1,500. Other native Catholics are found also in connection with the Latin convents at Bethlehem and Nazareth.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 358. note[3].

[3] "Guardianus sacri Montis Sion et Custos (Præsul) Terræ Sanctæ;" Quaresmius, tom. i. p. 465.

[4] "Vicarius sive Præses;" Quaresmius, i. p. 468. Formerly the Vicar was usually a French monk; but this seems no longer to be the case. Scholz, p. 195.

temporal concerns, is always a Spaniard, and is elected for life. The executive council, called *Discretorium*, is composed of these three officials, and of three other monks, *Patres discreti*.

The cost of maintaining the twenty convents belonging to the establishment of the "Terra Santa," is rated at 40,000 Spanish dollars per annum. They are said to be very deeply in debt, contracted in former years, when the wars in Europe cut off for a time their usual eleemosynary supplies. Under the Egyptian government, they are freed from the numerous exactions to which they were formerly subjected from the caprice and greediness of pashas and governors; and pay a regular tax for the property which they possess. For their buildings and lands in and around Jerusalem, including the holy places, the annual tax is said to be 7,000 piastres, or about 350 Spanish dollars.[1]

The Christians of the Greek rite (not monks) are all native Arabs; have their own native priests; and enjoy the privilege of having the service in their churches performed in their own mother-tongue, the Arabic. They amount in Jerusalem to nearly 2,000 souls.—The Greek convents are tenanted by foreign-

[1] See Scholz Reise, p. 194. seq. Salzbacher Erinnerungen, ii. p. 92. seq. The amount of the present tax is given on the authority of the latter writer; who, as Canon of St. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna, and a Catholic pilgrim of rank, may be supposed to have had access to the best information. Yet I am not sure that this alleged sum of 7,000 piastres (like so many other things) is not copied by him from Scholz, who was there in A. D. 1821; p. 197. —The following list of the Catholic convents now connected with that of Jerusalem is from the same authority: Bethlehem; St. John's in the Desert, an hour and a half S. W. of Jerusalem; Ramleh, Yâfa, Haifa, 'Akka, Nazareth, Sidon, Beirût, Tripolis, Larissa, Aleppo, Damascus, and one on Mount Lebanon; also in Alexandria, Rosetta, and Cairo in Egypt; and in Larnaka and Nicosia on the island of Cyprus. In Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, half the monks are Italians and half Spaniards; in Yâfa, Ramleh, and St. John they are all Spaniards; and in the other convents all Italians. The whole number of monks is about two hundred.

ers, all Greeks by birth, mostly from the Archipelago, speaking only the Greek language. There are eight convents for men, containing in all about sixty monks, viz. the great convent of Constantine near the Church of the Sepulchre, in which most of the monks and the officials reside; and those of Demetrius, Theodorus (Arabic Tâdrus), George, Michael, Nicolas, Johannes, and George in the Jewish quarter. All these minor establishments are chiefly used for the accommodation of pilgrims, and are kept by only one or two monks and lay brethren. There are also five convents of Greek nuns, containing in all about thirty-five, who are foreigners like the monks; viz. those of the Holy Virgin (Panagia, Arabic es-Seideh), Basil, Catharine, Euthymius, and another of the Virgin Mary. In the vicinity of Jerusalem the Greeks have also the convents of the Holy Cross (Deir el-Musŭllabeh) about three quarters of an hour W. S. W. of the city; that of Mâr Elyâs towards Bethlehem; one at the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem; and the renowned monastery of Mâr Sâba, founded about the beginning of the sixth century, and situated on the continuation of the valley of the Kidron, as it runs off to the Dead Sea.

All these Greek convents in and around the city are under the government of three vicars (Arab. *Wakîl*) of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who himself resides at Constantinople. The present vicars were the Greek bishops of Lydda, Nazareth, and Kerak (Petra). They were assisted by the bishops of Gaza, Nâbulus, es-Salt (i. e. Philadelphia), and Sebaste; who with the Archimandrites form a council. The vicars, with the concurrence of the council, appoint the superiors of the several convents; and all the priests within these dioceses are ordained at Jerusalem. Indeed all the bishops above named live there permanently, in the great convent near the Church of the Sepulchre. The

Greek bishop of 'Akka alone was said to reside in his own diocese.[1]

The Armenians have their large monastery on Mount Zion, said to be the wealthiest in the city, with the splendid church of St. James. Not far off is a convent of Armenian nuns, called ez-Zeitûny. Outside of the city, on Mount Zion, the pretended house of Caiaphas serves as a smaller convent, and is occupied by monks.[2] The Armenians are for the most part not natives; and those not attached to the convents are usually merchants.

The Coptic Christians consist only of monks in their convent of es-Sultân, situated on the north side of the pool of Hezekiah. At the time of our visit, it had just been rebuilt.[3] There is also a convent of the Abyssinians; and we were likewise told of one belonging to the Jacobite Syrians.[4]

Of these Christian sects, the Greeks, Latins, Armenians, and Copts, have their own Chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and the three former have also convents or dwellings within the walls of the church, for the monks who are shut up here to perform the regular offices day and night.[5] Along the walls of the circular church around the Sepulchre itself, are niches with altars for several of the minor sects; as the Abyssinians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, and others; but their service is performed in these chapels only occasionally. It is well known that a deep hatred exists among all these possessors

[1] Scholz, p. 205. The preceding information respecting the Greek Christians and convents was obtained from intelligent natives of that persuasion.

[2] See above, Vol. I. pp. 538, 539.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 488.

[4] Scholz, p. 275.

[5] These monks are confined to the church, provisions being brought to them daily from their respective convents. The Latin monks are relieved every three months. In 1837 there was only one Copt thus residing in the church. Salzbacher, vol. ii. pp. 77, 82.

of the Holy Sepulchre towards each other. Especially is this the case between the Greeks and Latins; in whom it seems to be irreconcileable, and gives occasion for constant intrigues and bitter complaints on either side. The Greeks have indeed the advantage in their greater cunning; in the far greater number of their pilgrims; and in their proximity to the regions whence their resources are derived. They are consequently enabled to prosecute their purposes more systematically and with greater effect. During the wars in Europe the Latins were comparatively forgotten; their pilgrims dwindled away to nothing; and their resources were in a measure cut off.

The Greeks took occasion of these circumstances to get possession by degrees of many of the holy places, in and around the churches of the Sepulchre and at Bethlehem, which had formerly been in the hands of the Latins; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the latter, these have not yet been recovered. Near the close of the year 1836, the Prince de Joinville, son of the king of France, visited the Holy City; and one of the first requests of the Latin fathers was, that the influence of the French monarch might be employed to recover for them all the sacred places, which the Greeks had so unjustly wrested from them ever since the crusades. The prince promised his support; and a representation is said actually to have been made by the French cabinet to the Turkish court, through their ambassador at Constantinople. A firmân was granted, commanding the Greek patriarch to deliver up to the Latins the possession of the sacred places in question; but still the Greek spirit of intrigue was able to evade the execution. A timely present of some 500 purses[1] to the governor of Syria, is said to

[1] A *purse* is equivalent to 500 piastres, or about 25 Spanish dollars.

have stayed all proceedings. Further negotiations were set on foot at Constantinople; but they appear to have led to no result.[1]

The kings of France have ever been the protectors of the Catholics in the East; and the French ambassador at Constantinople has always acted, and still acts, as their patron and advocate with the Porte. When we were in Jerusalem a splendid salver of gold, for the presentation of the host, had just arrived, a present from the Queen of the French to the convent. They possess also the portrait of king Louis Philip, a gift from himself.

Formerly all the Christians of Jerusalem paid their taxes to the government through their respective convents; that is to say, the monasteries became the collectors of the taxes; a system which gave opportunity for great extortion on the part of the convents. The Egyptian government has done away this system, and apportions and collects its own taxes from all the Christian sects, except the Latins. For these the Latin convent pays the *Kharâj* or extra tax for Christians, they being very poor. No *Firdeh* or ordinary capitation-tax is paid by any of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, whether Muslims, Christians, or Jews; because it is regarded as a sacred place, and because of the poverty of the people. The inhabitants of the villages pay the Firdeh, as well as the Kharâj and other taxes.[2]—At the same time, the Pasha of Egypt has abolished all the tolls and tribute which under the name of *el-Ghŭfr* were formerly so oppressive to the

[1] Salzbacher, ii. p. 98. seq.—In all such questions the Egyptian government declines to interfere; and gravely refers the parties to the Sultan at Constantinople, as the highest tribunal.

[2] The *Firdeh* is a tax laid upon every male inhabitant from 15 years upwards; varying from 15 to 500 piastres, according to the supposed ability of the individual. The *Kharâj* is a similar extra tax on Christians and Jews,—a species of toleration-tax. Compare Dr. Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 112.

pilgrims and traveller. Even the entrance-money, which for so many centuries was paid for admission to the Church of the Sepulchre, is in like manner done away.

From these facts, however, it must not be inferred, that the exactions of the Pasha are in themselves less oppressive than those of the Sultan. The preference lies rather in the more equal manner in which the extortions are now conducted. The burdens to be endured are more definitely known; and no distinction is made, as formerly, between the Christian and the Mussulman. Yet the whole mode of proceeding, as well as the enormous amount of taxation, is sufficiently oppressive; as we had abundant occasion to see in the course of our subsequent journies. While we were at Jerusalem, the value of the Turkish gold coins of twenty Piastres, which had always been the common currency of the country, was by a decree of the Egyptian government at once cut down to 17¼ Piastres, a loss of nearly fourteen per cent. It would be natural to suppose, that a measure of this sort would have been fixed to go into operation on a particular day, and that this day would have been publicly made known. Yet nothing of the kind took place. The measure was proclaimed on different days in different places, and in each went immediately into operation. In Beirût and in Yâfa, it was known and acted upon for nearly a fortnight before it was proclaimed in Jerusalem. It was said that the authorities of the latter city had a large quantity of this coin on hand, of which they wished first to rid themselves by paying it away at its full value. The consequence was the greatest confusion among the tradesmen, and the impossibility of guarding against loss.

The Bazars have been already alluded to, as situated in the middle of the city, on and near the princi-

pal street running N. to the Damascus Gate. They consist of two or three narrow lanes roofed over, with open shops on each side, occupied by merchants and sedentary artisans. They appeared not to be well furnished, even for an oriental city. The markets are supplied by the peasants from the neighbouring villages. There seemed to be no gardens of any importance round about the city, except those below Siloam. Wheat would appear not to grow well around Jerusalem, but is brought from other quarters. In one of our journies northward, we met a small caravan of camels belonging to Bethlehem, loaded with wheat from Nâbulus. The exhausted situation of the country arising from the maintenance of an immense army, the forced export of wheat to Egypt, and the general discouragement to labour and enterprise, have naturally caused an enormous increase in the cost of the necessaries of life. In 1838 the cost of living in Jerusalem had become threefold. To this succeeded plague, which has prevailed more or less ever since; and then the suspense and miseries of actual war; so that the prices of provisions, as I am informed, had in 1839 advanced to the quadruple of what they were only four or five years since.

Jerusalem has few manufactures; and no exports, except what is carried away by the pilgrims. The manufacture of soap is one of the principal. For this there are nine establishments, which appear to have been long in existence. The mounds of ashes which they have thrown out at some distance from the city on the North, have almost the appearance of natural hills. At Easter large quantities of perfumed soap are said to be sold to the pilgrims.[1] Oil of sesame is made to a considerable extent; for this there are nine

[1] Comp. Turner, vol. ii. p. 265

presses. There is also a large tannery for leather, just by the eastern entrance to the court before the Church of the Sepulchre. All these establishments are private property, not controlled by the government; and are in the hands of the Muslims.

The chief articles manufactured by the Christians, both here and at Bethlehem, are rosaries, crucifixes, models of the Holy Sepulchre, and the like, carved in olive-wood, the fruit of the Dôm-palm said to be brought from Mecca, mother of pearl, or sometimes in the species of black shining stone found near the Dead Sea. Some of these are neatly executed. The concourse of pilgrims at Easter converts the city into a sort of toy-shop or fair; and immense quantities of these tokens are carried away, after having been duly consecrated by the priests. Merchants also resort hither at that season from Damascus and other places, bringing their wares of various kinds; so that the whole city then wears an air of bustle and business, strikingly in contrast with its stillness and listlessness during the remainder of the year. The wares find a ready sale among the pilgrims; and the annual Easter fair of Jerusalem is relatively not much less important than those of Leipzig and Frankfort.

IV.—CLIMATE.

The climate of the mountainous tract on which Jerusalem is situated, differs from that of the temperate parts of Europe and America, more in the alternations of wet and dry seasons, than in the degrees of temperature. The variations of rain and sunshine, which in the West exist throughout the whole year, are in Palestine confined chiefly to the latter part of autumn and the winter; while the remaining months enjoy almost uninterruptedly a cloudless sky.

The autumnal rains, the early rains of Scripture, usually commence in the latter half of October or beginning of November; not suddenly, but by degrees; which gives opportunity for the husbandman to sow his fields of wheat and barley. The rains come mostly from the west or S. W.[1], continuing for two or three days at a time, and falling especially during the nights. Then the wind chops round to the north or east, and several days of fine weather succeed. During the months of November and December the rains continue to fall heavily; afterwards they return only at longer intervals and are less heavy; but at no period during the winter do they entirely cease to occur. Snow often falls in Jerusalem in January and February to the depth of a foot or more; but does not usually lie long.[2] The ground never freezes; but Mr. Whiting had seen the pool back of his house (Hezekiah's) covered with thin ice for one or two days.

Rain continues to fall more or less through the month of March, but is rare after that period. During the present season, there had been little or none in March, and indeed the whole quantity of rain had been less than usual. Nor are there at the present day any particular periods of rain, or succession of showers, which might be regarded as distinct rainy seasons. The whole period from October to March now constitutes only one continued season of rain, without any regularly intervening term of prolonged fair weather. Unless therefore there has been some change in the climate since the times of the New Testament, the early and the latter rains, for which the husbandman waited with

[1] Luke xii. 54. "When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it is." These words were spoken by our Lord at Jerusalem.

[2] So Shaw in 1722. Brown, near the close of the century, found here very deep snow for several days. Comp. Scholz, p. 138. The information in the text is derived from our resident friends.

longing, seem rather to have implied the first showers of autumn, which revived the parched and thirsty earth and prepared it for the seed; and the later showers of spring, which continued to refresh and forward both the ripening crops and the vernal products of the fields.[1]

During the whole winter the roads, or rather tracks, in Palestine, are muddy, deep, and slippery; so that the traveller at this season is subjected to the utmost discomfort and inconvenience. When the rains cease, the mud soon disappears, and the roads become hard, though never smooth. Whoever therefore wishes to profit most by a journey in Palestine, will take care not to arrive at Jerusalem earlier than the latter part of March. During the months of April and May, the sky is usually serene, the air mild and balmy, and the face of nature, after seasons of ordinary rain, still green and pleasant to the eye. Showers occur occasionally; but they are mild and refreshing. On the 1st of May we experienced showers in the city; and at evening there was thunder and lightning, (which are frequent in winter,) with pleasant and reviving rain. The 6th of May was also remarkable for thunder and for several showers, some of which were quite heavy. The rains of both these days extended far to the north; and overtook our missionary friends who were returning from Jerusalem to Beirût. But the occurrence of rain so late in the season, was regarded as a very unusual circumstance. Morning mists however are occasionally seen at a still later period.

In ordinary seasons, from the cessation of the showers in spring until their commencement in October or November, rain never falls, and the sky is usually serene. If during the winter there has been a suf-

[1] James v. 7. Prov. xvi. 15.

ficiency of rain, the husbandman is certain of his crop; and is also perfectly sure of fine weather for the ingathering of the harvest.[1] The high elevation of Jerusalem secures it the privilege of a pure atmosphere; nor does the heat of summer ever become oppressive, except during the occasional prevalence of the south wind, or Sirocco.[2] During our sojourn from April 14th to May 6th, the thermometer ranged at sunrise from 44° to 64° F., and at 2 P. M. from 60° to 79° F. This last degree of heat was felt during a Sirocco, April 30th. From the 10th to the 13th of June at Jerusalem, we had at sunrise a range from 56° to 74°; and at 2 P. M. once 86°, with a strong N.W. wind. Yet the air was fine, and the heat not burdensome. The nights are uniformly cool, often with a heavy dew; and our friends had never had occasion to dispense with a coverlet upon their beds during summer. Yet the total absence of rain soon destroys the verdure of the fields; and gives to the whole landscape the aspect of drought and barrenness. The only green thing which remains is the foliage of the scattered fruit-trees, and occasional vineyards and fields of millet. The deep green of the broad fig-leaves and of the millet, is delightful to the eye in the midst of the general aridness; while the foliage of the olive, with its dull grayish hue, scarcely deserves the name of verdure.

The harvest upon the mountains ripens of course later than in the plains of the Jordan and the sea-coast. The barley-harvest precedes the wheat-harvest by a week or fortnight. On the 4th and 5th of June the people of Hebron were just beginning to

[1] "Snow in summer and rain in harvest" were things incomprehensible to a Hebrew; Prov. xxvi. 1. Rain in wheat-harvest occurred only by a miracle; 1 Sam. xii. 17. Compare Amos iv. 7. and Jerome's Commentary upon the passage.

[2] Luke xii. 55. "And when ye see the south wind blow, ye say, There will be heat; and it cometh to pass."

gather their wheat; on the 11th and 12th the threshing-floors on the Mount of Olives were in full operation. We had already seen the harvest in the same stage of progress on the plains of Gaza on the 19th of May; while at Jericho, on the 12th of May, the threshing-floors had nearly completed their work. The first grapes ripen in July; and from that time until November, Jerusalem is abundantly supplied with this delicious fruit. The general vintage takes place in September. We found ripe apricots at Gaza in May; and they are probably brought to Jerusalem, though I do not recollect to have seen any there. The fine oranges of Yâfa were found in abundance both at Jerusalem and Hebron.

In autumn the whole land has become dry and parched; the cisterns are nearly empty; the few streams and fountains fail; and all nature, physical and animal, looks forward with longing to the return of the rainy season. Mists and clouds begin to make their appearance, and showers occasionally to fall; the husbandman sows his seed; and the thirsty earth is soon drenched with an abundance of rain.

V.—BETHANY.

It was on one of the last days of our stay at Jerusalem, (June 11th,) that mounting the spirited mules we had engaged for our journey northwards, and accompanied by our friend Mr. Lanneau, we rode out to Bethany. Passing along the wall from the Damascus Gate to that of St. Stephen's, we then descended and crossed the bridge in the valley, and followed the camel road which ascends obliquely the side of the Mount of Olives back of the village of Siloam, and crosses the ridge at a lower spot some distance south of the summit. It then winds N. around the head of

a Wady running off S. E., and, after crossing another lower ridge, passes on towards Jericho. Here, on the eastern slope, (strictly of the Mount of Olives,) in a shallow Wady, lies the village of Bethany; in a direction about E. S. E. from Jerusalem. We reached it in three quarters of an hour from the Damascus Gate. This gives a distance of a little less than two Roman miles from the eastern part of the city; corresponding well to the fifteen furlongs of the Evangelist.[1] On the W. N. W. is a hill partially separated from the higher ridge of the Mount of Olives by a deep valley; the head of which we went round in returning over the summit of the mount. Just south of the village is a very deep and narrow Wady or ravine running down towards the east; and on its further side on higher ground, S. E. from Bethany, about one third of a mile distant, is seen the deserted village of Abu Dîs.

Bethany is a poor village of some twenty families; its inhabitants apparently are without thrift or industry. In the walls of a few of the houses there are marks of antiquity,—large hewn stones, some of them bevelled; but they have all obviously belonged to more ancient edifices, and been employed again and again in the construction of successive dwellings or other buildings. The monks, as a matter of course, show the house of Mary and Martha, that of Simon the leper, and the sepulchre of Lazarus. The latter is a deep vault, like a cellar, excavated in the limestone rock in the middle of the village; to which there is a descent by twenty-six steps.[2] It is hardly necessary to remark, that there is not the slightest probability of its ever having been the tomb of Lazarus. The form is not that of the ancient sepulchres; nor does its position accord with the narrative of the New

[1] John xi. 18.

[2] In the days of Cotovicus there were twenty-two steps; Itin. p. 276.

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Testament, which implies that the tomb was not in the town.[1]

The Arab name of the village is el-'Âzirîyeh, from el-'Âzir, the Arabic form of Lazarus. The name Bethany is unknown among the native inhabitants. Yet there is no reason to question the identity of the place. The distance from Jerusalem and the situation on the road to Jericho are sufficiently decisive. The *Itin. Hieros.*, in A. D. 333, already mentions here the crypt of Lazarus; and Jerome some seventy years later speaks of a church as having been built over it.[2] In the seventh century it is further mentioned by both Antoninus Martyr and Arculfus; at that time the church (Basilica) was standing over the supposed sepulchre, and a large monastery had been established.[3]

About A. D. 1132, Melisinda, the queen of king Fulco of Jerusalem, wishing to found a nunnery over which her younger sister Iveta might preside as abbess, selected Bethany as the site, and obtained it from the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in exchange for Tekoa. She then established here a convent of Black nuns professing the rule and institutes of St. Benedict,—the same order of which her sister was already a member in the nunnery of St. Anna in Jerusalem.[4] The new convent was more richly endowed than any other in Syria; and for its protection, the queen caused a strong tower of hewn stones to be erected at a great expense. The buildings were not completed until near the death of king Fulco in A. D. 1143. An aged matron of approved piety was made the first abbess; who was soon succeeded by the high-born Iveta.[5] Two centuries

[1] John xi. 31. 38.

[2] Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 596. Hieron. Onomasticon, art. *Bethania*. Eusebius does not mention it.

[3] Adamnanus, i. 24.

[4] See above, Vol. I. p. 344.

[5] Will. Tyr. xv. 26. Jac. de Vitriaco, 58. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. ii. pp. 616, 617.

later, this convent was no longer in existence.[1] Brocardus in the thirteenth century does not allude to it; and Rudolf de Suchem in the fourteenth speaks only of three churches, one of which was used by the Arabs as a stall for cattle. In A. D. 1484 Felix Fabri found only the church over the sepulchre of Lazarus; and this in the days of Cotovicus had been converted into a mosk. Since then the place is often mentioned by travellers; and has been gradually falling more and more into decay.

Of the village of Bethphage no trace exists. In coming from Jericho our Lord appears to have entered it before reaching Bethany[2]; and it probably therefore lay near to the latter, a little below it towards the east. Of course, it could not well have been where Abu Dîs now stands[3]; and still less on the spot which the monks assign to it, half-way between Bethany and the summit of the Mount of Olives, where there is nothing to show that a village ever stood.

We returned to Jerusalem by the somewhat shorter route over the summit of Mount Olivet.

[1] Vertot relates, without citing his authority, that in A. D. 1254 the pope granted the Castle (fortified convent) of Bethany to the Knights Hospitalers; the nuns, after the destruction of Jerusalem, having retired to Europe. Histoire des Chev. Hospit. de St. Jean, &c. i. p. 400.

[2] Matt. xxi. 1. Luke xix. 29.

[3] Schubert suggests that Abu Dis may have been the site of the ancient Bahurim; Reise, iii. p. 70. This, of course, is a mere conjecture; though Bahurim was not far from Jerusalem, beyond the Mount of Olives; 2 Sam. xvi. 5. Joseph. Ant. vii. 9. 7. Yet, as David came to Bahurim on his way to the Jordan, after passing over the summit of the Mount of Olives, it would seem that this place must have stood further north than Abu Dîs. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. 5.

SECTION IX.

EXCURSION FROM JERUSALEM TO BETHEL, ETC.

HAVING thus been for several weeks diligently occupied in investigating the antiquities and interesting features of the Holy City, the time had now arrived, when, according to our plan, it became necessary to extend our researches to other parts of the country. We still regarded Jerusalem as our head-quarters; as the central point from which to make excursions; and by varying our routes in going and returning to and from different points, we were enabled to see much more of the country, than would have been possible by merely travelling once or twice along the same road. Our routes often crossed each other; but I do not recollect that we ever passed for any distance over the same ground twice, excepting the short interval between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and one or two like instances. Three times, for example, we were in Hebron; but in no instance did we enter or leave the town by the same route a second time.

Before entering upon the account of our further travels, I must beg the reader to recall to mind the remarks already made upon the mass of foreign ecclesiastical tradition, which has been fastened not only upon Jerusalem and its environs, but also upon the whole country west of the Jordan.[1] Besides this,

[1] See the beginning of Sect. VII. Vol. I. p. 371.

many travellers have exercised their own discretion, (not always the most enlightened,) in assigning the ancient Scriptural names of places to such sites as they might happen to fall in with or hear of; without stopping to inquire, whether some other place might not have an equal or better claim to the proposed appellation.[1] Others, and especially the older travellers, professedly give a description of the various parts of the Holy Land; but in such a way, that it is usually difficult and often impossible to distinguish what they have actually visited and seen, from that which they have only heard or read of, or relate perhaps merely from conjecture. Very rarely do they mention the modern names of the places, which they thus call only by Scriptural appellations; so that when the same ancient name has a diversity of application, as is often the case, it is only by close attention to minor circumstances, that we can determine what modern place is meant. Thus, for instance, under the name of Shiloh, it is difficult to tell whether a writer is speaking of Neby Samwîl, or of one of the various other points which have been assumed as its site. The true site appears to have been visited by no traveller.[2]

I have made these observations in order to draw the reader's attention to the confusion and discrepancies which prevail among the books of travels in Palestine; and also in order to found upon them this

[1] An instance of this is furnished by Dr. Clarke, who is very much disposed to convert the fortress Sânûr, (which he writes Santorri,) between Nâbulus and Jenîn, into the ancient city of Samaria; because *he* saw no other appropriate site for the latter town upon that route. Yet, as he admits, Maundrell and others had a century before found the name of Sebaste (Samaria), and described its site upon another route. The same is mentioned by Maundeville and William of Baldensel in the 14th century; and also by several other travellers. Clarke's Travels, &c. 4to, part ii. vol. i. p. 504.

[2] These remarks apply particularly to the tract of Brocardus, the travels of Breydenbach, and other like works. Even Cotovicus is not wholly free from the same fault; and Pococke's writings must be used with great caution.

further remark, viz. that if a traveller at the present day is unable to find many of the ancient places mentioned and described by earlier writers, the reason often lies not in his own ill-success; but in the fact, that those writers have described places which they never visited, and which in all probability no longer existed in their day.

As a preparation for our further journies in Palestine, my companion had taken great pains to collect from various quarters the native names of all the places in those parts which we hoped to visit. This practice he had commenced so early as the year 1834, during a journey through Haurân and the northern parts of Syria; and had afterwards continued it with express reference to our proposed investigations in Palestine. In Jerusalem itself, there was frequent opportunity of making the acquaintance of intelligent Sheikhs and other persons from the towns and villages in that and other districts; and they were in general ready to communicate all they knew respecting the places in their own neighbourhood. This mode of obtaining information we preferred to a direct application to the government; not wishing in any way to awaken distrust or risk a denial. The lists of names thus made out, were in some respects more complete than any which the government could have furnished; inasmuch as the latter has to do only with inhabited towns and villages, while our attention was directed in at least as great a degree to the deserted sites and ruined places of which the country is so full. The lists thus obtained were afterwards enlarged and corrected by our own observations and further inquiries; and subsequently revised and copied out by my companion. In this form, although far from complete, they are nevertheless more so than any thing of the kind which has hitherto been attempted in Palestine

and Syria; and by the advice of eminent scholars they are subjoined in the Second Appendix to the present work. They are to be regarded only as the first step towards a collection, which may hereafter become of great importance to biblical geographers.

Our first excursion from Jerusalem was towards the N. E. into a region which, so far as I know, has never been visited by any Frank traveller. We returned on the second day by a more western and better known route. Our friends had heard, that villages existed in that quarter, bearing names which might be regarded as the Arabic forms of Anathoth, Gibeah, and Bethel; but none of them had ever yet visited these places. They had however become acquainted in Jerusalem with some of the native Christian priests from Taiyibeh, a large village three hours or more N. E. of el-Bîreh, and from Râm-Allah, another village just west of the latter place. It was therefore proposed that some of our friends should join us in the excursion, in order that while they thus afforded us countenance and aid, they might also return the visits of the priests, and awaken in them an interest for the distribution of books and the diffusion of instruction. The party, as at length made up, consisted of Messrs. Lanneau, Nicolayson, Paxton[1], and ourselves; in all six persons, besides one of our servants. We were all on horseback, with an extra mule for the tent and baggage, and two

[1] The Rev. J. D. Paxton, also an American, resided for nearly two years at Beirût, and has since published a work entitled: *Letters on Palestine and Egypt, written during a residence there in the years* 1836-7-8. Lexington, Ky. 1839, 8vo. Reprinted Lond. 1839. This gentleman married the widow of Dr. Dodge, a former missionary in Syria; but was not himself connected with any Mission.—In his Letters, Mr. Paxton makes no allusion to his excursion with us; but introduces the names of the places which he now saw for the first time into a letter dated Oct. 1836; thus leaving upon the mind of the reader the impression, that he became acquainted with them nearly two years earlier. Lett. xv. p. 169. Lond.

attendants (Mukârîn, muleteers) on foot, who had charge of the animals.[1]

Friday, May 4th. We intended to have set off this morning with the rising sun; but the arrangements for a large party delayed us; so that it was seven o'clock before all was ready. Then occurred various other delays; some of the party went out at St. Stephen's gate, and others by that of Damascus; and it was not until 7½ o'clock that we mustered at the N. E. corner of the city-wall and took our departure. The road descends obliquely into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and then crosses the ridge extending between the Mount of Olives and Scopus, at a point just at the left of the northern summit of the former. We reached the top of the ridge in twenty-five minutes. This point, and more especially the adjacent summit, presents, I think, the finest view of Jerusalem anywhere to be found. The city is seen diagonally; and the view thus includes the Great Mosk and the deep valley, which are not seen so well from the Damascus road; while, at the same time, the domes and minarets are here exhibited to the eye with far better effect than from the other summit of Olivet. The Dead Sea was also visible, and the little village el-'Îsâwîyeh in a valley below us about a quarter of an hour distant, bearing N. 70° E. Far in the north was the high village er-Râm, the ancient Ramah, on the east of the Nâbulus road. Before us was a wide prospect of broken hills and vallies, extending to the plain of the Jordan.

Our course thus far had been N. 25° E. The way now became more winding, but in the general direction N. E. We lost sight of Jerusalem, and descend-

[1] The Mukâry is indiscriminately the owner or provider and driver of camels, horses, asses, mules, &c.

ing rather steeply came in twenty minutes to the bottom of Wady es-Suleim, here running E. by S. to join Wady Sidr further down, and afterwards the Fârah. In the same direction we were told of the ruins of a convent, called Deir es-Sidd. We thus left el-'Îsâwîyeh on the right behind a ridge; and crossing the valley obliquely, ascended another ridge skirting it on the north; beyond which runs also a deep parallel valley, called Wady es-Selâm. We kept along upon this ridge, which becomes gradually wider; and at $8\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock reached 'Anâta, situated on the same broad ridge at the distance of one hour and a quarter from Jerusalem. There can be no question that this is the ancient Anathoth, the birth-place of the prophet Jeremiah; which Josephus describes as twenty stadia distant from Jerusalem, and which Eusebius and Jerome also place in the tribe of Benjamin about three miles from the same city towards the north.[1] Ecclesiastical tradition, as is well known, has selected for Anathoth another site, at the village of Kuryet el-'Enab on the road to Ramleh, a distance of three hours from Jerusalem.[2]

'Anâta seems to have been once a walled town and a place of strength; but I do not find it directly mentioned by any writer since the days of Jerome.[3] Portions of the wall remain, built of large hewn stones, and apparently ancient; as are also the foundations of some of the houses. One of our party found the fragments of a column or two among the ruins.

[1] Jer. i. 1. et Hieron. Comm. in loc. "qui habitabant contra septentrionalem Jerusalem in tertio miliaro et viculo Anathoth." Onomast. art. *Anathoth*. Joseph. Ant. x. 7. 3. See the other authorities collected by Reland, Palæst. p. 561.

[2] Adrichomius, p. 14. Cotovicus, p. 146. Quaresmius, ii. p. 15.

[3] Brocardus, indeed, mentions Anathoth, but places it close by Ramah of Benjamin; c. vii. p. 179. He had probably heard of the name 'Anâta, without knowing its exact position. Breydenbach copies Brocardus. In like manner Nau has merely the passing remark, that Anathoth lies a league east of Jerusalem; Voyage, p. 49.

The houses are few, and the people seemed poor and miserable, amounting only to a few scores. The village lies where the broad ridge slopes off gradually towards the S. E. On this side are tilled fields; and we had passed several others on our way. The grain was still standing; the time of harvest not having yet come. Fig-trees and olive-trees are also scattered around. From the vicinity of 'Anâta a favourite species of building-stone is carried to Jerusalem; and we met several troops of donkies loaded in this manner with the materials of future dwellings; a hewn stone being slung upon each side of the poor animal. Larger stones are transported on camels.

From this point there is an extensive view over the whole eastern slope of the mountainous tract of Benjamin; including also the valley of the Jordan and the northern part of the Dead Sea. The region before us was that alluded to by the prophet Isaiah, near the end of the tenth chapter, where the approach of Sennacherib towards Jerusalem is described; and from the spot where we now stood, several of the places there mentioned were visible. Thus er-Râm (Ramah) bore N. N. W. on its conical hill; and Jeba' (Gibeah) was before us, bearing N. 10° E. The nearest village was Hizmeh N. 20° E., and far in the distance we could distinguish Taiyibeh lying N. N. E. ½ N. on a lofty hill, which was to be the limit of our excursion.

The whole tract over which we were now about to pass, is made up of a succession of deep rugged vallies running towards the east; with broad ridges of uneven table-land between, often broken and sometimes rising into high points. These terminate towards the east in high cliffs overhanging the plain of the Jordan. I have already remarked, that the great northern road from Jerusalem to Nâbulus passes along

the water-shed of the mountainous country; where the heads of the vallies running off in opposite directions often interlap.[1] Our present road lay at some distance further east; so that the vallies, where we crossed them, had now become very deep. The sides of these Wadys indeed are here so steep and high, that in descending into them, we were usually obliged to dismount from our horses. The whole district is a mass of limestone rock; which everywhere juts out above the surface, and imparts to the whole land an aspect of sterility and barrenness. Yet wherever soil is found among the rocks, it is strong and fertile; fields of grain are seen occasionally; and fig-trees and olive-trees are planted everywhere among the hills. Lower down the slope, towards the Jordan valley, all is a frightful desert.

With some difficulty we obtained a guide at 'Anâta to conduct us to Taiyibeh. Our object in this was not so much to learn the way; for that was tolerably plain; but rather to have a person always at hand, of whom we could inquire respecting the various villages and features of the country as they came into view. We continued this practice during our future journies, so far as possible; and found it generally necessary to obtain a new guide at the end of every few miles; inasmuch as the peasants, though well acquainted with the immediate neighbourhood of their own villages, seldom know much of the country at a distance from their homes.

Our route now led us to Hizmeh. Leaving 'Anâta at 9^h 10′, we descended very steeply in ten minutes to the bottom of Wady es-Selâm, which, with the Suleim, runs into Wady el-Fârah further down. Crossing a low ridge and a small shallow Wady, we ascended again more gradually, and came at 9^h 50′ to Hizmeh,

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 380.

situated on the top of the next high ridge, with a deep valley on the north. Its position is similar to that of 'Anâta; though the ridge is not so high. The village is about as large as 'Anâta, and was now deserted; the inhabitants having about two months before all fled across the Jordan to escape the conscription, leaving their fields of wheat and their olive and fig-trees with none to attend them. The houses are solidly built of stone; but we saw here no appearance of antiquity; nor do I know of any ancient name to which the form Hizmeh corresponds.

Here, as on all the high points we crossed, there was a wide view over the whole slope quite to the Jordan and its valley, including the Dead Sea and the eastern mountains. We could trace the course of the Jordan by the green trees along its banks. The transparency of the atmosphere rendered distant objects very distinct; so that the plain of the Jordan seemed not more than two hours distant, though its real distance was not less than four or five hours. In that direction we could see Wady el-Fârah as it ran off towards the plain, bearing S. 85° E.[1] From this point er-Râm bore N. 55° W.; and Jeba', the next village on our route, due north. A high conical hill near the Nâbulus road, called Tell el-Fûl, with a large heap of stones upon the top, was everywhere a sightly object, and bore from Hizmeh S. 70° W.

Leaving Hizmeh at 10 o'clock; it took us again ten minutes to descend into the deep valley on the north, which I suppose to be the Fârah. Here are enclosures of fig-trees; and on the projecting point of a low hill at the right of the road, are a few ancient walls, some

[1] The name of this Wady might suggest a coincidence with the Parah of Benjamin; Josh. xviii. 23. But these names come from different roots; the Hebrew word meaning 'a heifer,' while the Arabic signifies 'a mouse.' We could hear of no village called Fârah, as related by Buckingham, Travels, 4to, p. 312.

broad as if for terraces, and others apparently foundations; but there are not enough of them to be regarded as the ruins of a town or village. Our guide called them Ma'dâd. Ascending again, we now came out upon the table-land of the next ridge, and reached Jeba' at 10h 40′. It lies upon a low, conical, or rather a round, eminence on the broad ridge, which shelves down like all the rest toward the Jordan valley, and spreads out below the village into a fine sloping plain with fields of grain now in the milk. The views of the Dead Sea and Jordan and of the eastern mountains were here still more extensive; while across the deep ravine on the north we could see the next village on our route, Mŭkhmâs, the ancient Michmash, lying directly over against Jeba' in a direction about N. E.

The village of Jeba' is small, about the size of those already described; and is half in ruins. Among these are occasionally seen large hewn stones indicating antiquity. There is here the ruin of a square tower, almost solid; and a small building having the appearance of an ancient church. Two nights before our visit, robbers had entered the village; and breaking into the houses of the principal inhabitants, wounded them with swords. To-day the men were all out on the search; and we found only women.

Besides Mŭkhmâs, we could here see several other villages, viz. Deir Diwân N. by E. Taiyibeh N. 20° E. Burka lying this side of Deir Diwân N. 9° W. el-Kudeirah N. 3° E. Rŭmmôn N. N. E. ½ E. This latter village forms a remarkable object in the landscape; being situated on and around the summit of a conical chalky hill, and visible in all directions. There can be little doubt of its being the identical rock Rimmon, to which the remnant of the Benjamites fled after the slaughter of the tribe at Gibeah. A place of this name is also mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome,

as existing in their day fifteen miles north of Jerusalem.[1]

In respect to Jeba' itself, I was for some time in doubt, whether it is to be regarded as the ancient Gibeah of Saul, or as the Geba of the Scriptures. Both these places are described as lying over against Michmash towards the south, across a "passage;" which now proves to have been a very deep and rugged valley.[2] Gibeah also was situated near to Ramah[3]; and it would follow that Geba must have lain somewhat further down towards the east upon the same high ridge of land. Ramah (er-Râm) still lies about half an hour nearly west of Jeba'; but is not visible from it on account of intervening higher ground. The name Jeba' corresponds indeed more directly to the form Geba; and did there exist any traces of an ancient site between the present Jeba' and er-Râm, I should have had no hesitation in regarding that as the site of Gibeah of Saul, and making Jeba' and Geba identical. This point we could not now investigate; but at a subsequent period (May 15th) we examined carefully the ground between er-Râm and Jeba', and were convinced that no town or village had ever existed in that quarter. The surface is mostly covered over with rocks; and not a trace of foundations anywhere appears. There remains therefore little doubt, that the present Jeba' represents the Gibeah of Benjamin; and it is not improbable that future search may discover the foundations of Geba further down, although the

[1] Judg. xx. 45. 47. xxi. 13. Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Remmon.*

[2] So Gibeah, 1 Sam. xiii. 15, 16. xiv. 4. Geba, Isa. x. 29.—As these two names are only the masc. and fem. form of the same word, signifying 'hill,' they have sometimes been supposed to refer only to one and the same place. But that there were two distinct places is evident from Josh. xviii. 24. comp. vs. 28. 1 Sam. xiii. 2. comp. vs. 3. Isa. x. 39.—See, generally, Reland Palæst. pp. 801. 810. Gesenius Lex. Heb. art. גִּבְעָה Thesaur. art. גִּבְעָה.

[3] Judg. xix. 13, 14.

name has perished. Indeed, one of our guides afterwards assured us, that such ruins actually exist to the eastward of Jeba'; but it was then no longer in our power to seek them out, or ascertain the truth of his report.

Gibeah is often mentioned in Scripture. Here was the seat of an abominable transaction, which led in its consequences to the almost total destruction of the tribe of Benjamin.[1] Saul was born here, and continued to make Gibeah his residence after he became king; and here too was the scene of Jonathan's romantic adventure against the Philistines.[2] It was in Gibeah that the Gibeonites hanged up the seven descendants of Saul; and this was followed by the touching maternal tenderness of Rizpah, who "took sackcloth and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest until water dropped upon them out of heaven, and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest upon them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night."[3] Jerome mentions Gibeah as being in his day level with the ground[4]; and since that time it appears to have remained unvisited by travellers. Benjamin of Tudela indeed speaks of it, and Brocardus probably had heard the name of Jeba', which he calls *Gabaa Saulis;* but neither of them knew its exact position.[5]

We left Jeba' at 11h 10' for Mŭkhmâs. The descent into the valley was steeper and longer than any of the preceding. The path led down obliquely, and

[1] Judg. xix. 14. seq.

[2] Saul, 1 Sam. x. 26. xi. 4. xv. 34. xxiii. 19. xxvi. 1. Jonathan, 1 Sam. c. xiv.

[3] 2 Sam. xxi. 6–10.

[4] Ep. 86. ad Eustoch. tom. iv. ii. p. 673. ed. Mart. "In Gabaa urbe, usque ad solum diruta, paululum substitit, recordata peccati ejus," &c.—Schubert sought for Gibeah and also Anathoth just N. of Jerusalem, near the usual Nâbulus road. No wonder he found no traces of their sites. Reise, ii. pp. 581. 583.

[5] Benj. de Tud. par Barat. p. 102. Brocardus, c. vii. p. 178. Cotovicus mistook er-Râm for Gibeah; Itin. p. 331.

we reached the bottom in half an hour. It is called Wady es-Suweinît. It begins in the neighbourhood of Beitîn and el-Bîreh; and as it breaks through the ridge below these places, its sides form precipitous walls. On the right, about a quarter of an hour below where we crossed, it again contracts and passes off between high perpendicular precipices, which (our guide said) continue a great way down and increase in grandeur. In one of them is a large cavern called Jâihah. This Wady was said to run into another called the Fûwâr coming more from the north, which receives also the Fârah and then empties into Wady el-Kelt. This latter issues out upon the plain not far from Jericho. We doubted at the time the correctness of this information; but our own subsequent observations tended to confirm it.

This steep precipitous valley is probably "the passage of Michmash," mentioned in Scripture.[1] In the valley, just at the left of where we crossed, are two hills of a conical or rather a spherical form, having steep rocky sides, with small Wadys running up behind each so as almost to isolate them. One is on the side towards Jeba', and the other towards Mŭkhmâs. These would seem to be the two rocks mentioned in connexion with Jonathan's adventure[2]; they are not indeed so 'sharp' as the language of Scripture would seem to imply; but they are the only rocks of the kind in this vicinity. The northern one is connected towards the west with an eminence still more distinctly isolated. This valley appears to have been, at a later time, the dividing line between the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim.[3]

[1] 1 Sam. xiii. 23. Compare Isa. x. 29.

[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5.

[3] Geba on the south side of this valley was the northern limit of Judah and Benjamin, 2 Kings, xxiii. 8; while Bethel on its north side, further west, was on the southern border of Ephraim; Josh. xvi. 1, 2. xviii. 13. Judg. i. 22–26.

Crossing the valley obliquely, and ascending with difficulty for fifteen minutes, we came upon the slope on which Mŭkhmâs stands, a low ridge between two small Wadys running S. into the Suweinît; the ground rising towards the N. beyond to the still higher land which extends to Deir Diwân. The rocks here by the side of the path were cut away in several places. We reached the village at 12 o'clock. It was even more desolate than Anathoth, but bears marks of having been a much larger and stronger place than any of the others we had passed. There are many foundations of large hewn stones; and some columns were lying among them. Here the prospect towards the E. and N. is cut off by higher ground. We could look back upon Jeba'; and er-Râm bore S. 70° W.

There seems to be no reason for any doubt as to the identity of Mŭkhmâs with the Michmash of Scripture. Eusebius and Jerome describe the latter as a large village nine miles distant from Jerusalem, and not far from Ramah.[1] We were nearly three and a half hours in reaching it, over a very rough and difficult road.

Passing on without stopping, and taking a more northerly course, we ascended gradually, and soon crossed the high broad swell of land before us. We now struck upon the eastern side of a narrow but deep side valley running S. into the Suweinît nearly at right angles. This we followed up to its head at Deir Diwân. Opposite the point where we came upon it, at the bottom of the valley, in the steep western wall, are several sepulchres excavated in the rock. The path keeps along the verge of the high ground, gradually approaching the bottom of the valley as the latter ascends. At 12^{h} 35′ we were opposite the vil-

[1] Onomast. art. *Machmas*.—The monks have usually transferred the site of Michmash to el-Bîreh; Brocardus, c. vii. Quaresmius, ii. p. 786.

lage of Burka, bearing W. N. W. across the valley, high up on the hill-side, a quarter of an hour distant. The high point of Neby Samwîl had also been for some time in sight, and now bore W. S. W. The village of Kudeirah lay N. 18° W. and Deir Diwân N. 10° E. At 12h 50′ the valley had become more shallow; and tombs and quarries appeared again in its bottom on the left, near the low point of a hill between the valley and a more western branch. On this low hill, as we were afterwards told, there are traces of an ancient site, which we explored more fully at a later period.[1] We reached Deir Diwân at 1h 05′, in an hour and five minutes from Mŭkhmâs.

This is a large and tolerably wealthy place, compared with all the others we had seen to-day. It lies in an uneven rocky basin, at the head of the valley we had followed up; and its position is high, although shut in by hills. This is shown by the rapid ascent of the small Wady from the south; while on the north the place is skirted by another very deep and rugged valley running towards the east. The declivities around were now covered with grain, olive and fig-trees, all growing among the rocks as before; and every thing appeared thrifty. The place is said to produce large quantities of figs; and we had hoped to have obtained here some of the dried fruit; but their stock of it was exhausted. As we rode into the town, we were welcomed by a company of twenty or thirty men, who conducted us to the flat roof of a house, and treated us with great civility. They had never before seen a Frank among them. Their village, they said, was anciently situated on the low hill towards the south, where there are ruins; and on the present site was then a convent. But I apprehend

[1] See under May 14th.

that this was nothing more than a mode of accounting for the name Deir (convent). There are no marks of antiquity about the present village.

About an hour from Deir Diwân towards the northwest, lies Beitîn, the ancient Bethel, not in sight; and it follows from the scriptural account and from the nature of the country, that the city of Ai, destroyed by Joshua, must have been somewhere in the vicinity of the spot on which we now were.[1] The name however has utterly perished; we inquired diligently after it throughout the whole region, but without finding the slightest trace. The city might have been situated perhaps upon the site with ruins S. of Deir Diwân; or upon a rocky Tell (hill) bearing from the village N. 46° W. and overlooking the deep northern valley. Another place of ruins, el-'Alya, was also pointed out, bearing N. 50° E. at some distance across the same valley. But our researches to-day respecting Ai were so unsatisfactory, that we renewed them at a later period; though with not much better success.[2]

From this place Taiyibeh, our next stage, bore N. 23° E. situated on very high ground. The village of Kudeireh bore S. 50° W., er-Râm S. 40° W., Jeba' S. 12° W., and Rŭmmôn on its lofty rock E. N. E. ½ N.

Having remained for half an hour at Deir Diwân, we set off again at 1h 35′ for Taiyibeh; although our guide was very desirous of proceeding directly to Beitîn. His reason probably was the much shorter distance of the latter place. After five minutes we began to descend the very rugged wall of the valley on the north, the steepest and longest descent we had yet made. The valley here cannot well be less than two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet in depth. We dismounted

[1] Josh. c. vii. viii.

[2] See under May 14th.

as usual, the path being very difficult for the horses, even without a load. Before us, towards the right, was Rŭmmôn, on a naked conical point of the ridge, rising steeply on the N. side of the valley; the houses being apparently built in terraces around the hill from the top downwards. It took us thirty minutes to reach the bottom of the valley. This seemed to have here more than one name. Some called it el-Mŭtyâh; while another spoke of it as Wady el-'Asas. It is the great drain of the adjacent tract; and passes down to the plain of the Jordan, issuing from the mountains at some distance N. of Jericho under the name of Wady Nawâ'imeh, where we afterwards encountered it again.

We now entered a narrow branch-valley which comes into Wady el-Mŭtyâh from the N. nearly at right angles. It is called Wady el-'Ain, from a spring of water which descends into it further up, from the western hill. The region is very rocky; and we advanced by a rugged and often dangerous path. During the whole day we saw very little grass; the chief herbage everywhere was the furzy plant Bellân; and in this valley I was struck with the frequent appearance of the common sage of our gardens, interspersed with the fragrant Za'ter. At 2^h 25′ we came upon the fountain which gives name to the Wady; a pretty spring issuing from the rocky wall upon our left. The valley extends quite up to Taiyibeh, having its head in a basin on the N. W. of the hill, on which that place is situated.

Instead of following the direct road up the valley, which would have brought us to the village in one hour from the fountain, or at 3^h 25′, the guide at about half way mistook the path, and led us up a side Wady on the right, to the high open country lying between Rŭmmôn and Taiyibeh. Discovering the mistake,

we now struck across the fields towards the north without a path, passing over a high hill which afforded a wide prospect, and at length reached Taiyibeh; losing about twenty minutes by this *detour*.

The village of Taiyibeh crowns a conical hill, on the highest ridge or tract of land which we had yet crossed. On the very summit of the hill are the ruins of a tower, once similar apparently to those we had seen in almost all the villages. From these ruins the houses extend down the sides of the hill, chiefly towards the S. E. On the W. and N. are fertile basins of some breadth, forming the beginning of Wadys; and these are full of gardens of olive and fig-trees. Many olive-trees are also scattered upon the hills around. From the site of the old tower there is a splendid view over the whole eastern slope, the vale of the Jordan or el-Ghôr, the Dead Sea and the eastern mountains comprising the districts of the Belka and of Jebel 'Ajlûn. In the latter, towards the E. N. E. a break was seen, where the valley of the Zŭrka comes down; and just north of it, the ravine of 'Ajlûn with the Saracenic castle, Kŭl'at er-Rŭbŭd, perched on a lofty rock high up in the mountains, and bearing N. 55° E.[1] Further S. the site of Nimrîn was pointed out.[2] On the east of the sea the mountains seemed to come down in precipices close to the water; so that apparently no road could pass. Occasional ravines were visible in the naked rocks. Towards the S. the view took in the Frank mountain (el-Fureidîs) beyond Bethlehem. Neither Jerusalem nor the Mount of Olives was visible. Near at hand was Rŭmmôn,

[1] Burckhardt visited and describes this castle; Travels in Syria, &c. pp. 266, 267. Compare Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 306. From the inscriptions it appears to have been built under Saladin; and so Abulfeda, Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 13. 92. The same district was visited by my companion, Mr. Smith, in 1834; see Second Appendix, B. Part II. Nos. XI. XII.

[2] See further under May 13th.

now below us. The landscape exhibited little of verdure or beauty; yet its stern and desert features were strongly impressive.[1]

Close by Taiyibeh, S. E. ½ E. on the top of a lower hill sixty or eighty rods distant, are the ruins of a small church of St. George; of which the walls are still partially standing.

The inhabitants of Taiyibeh are all native Christians of the Greek rite. Their priests had visited the missionaries in Jerusalem, and we now found here friends, who seemed exceedingly glad to welcome us to their village. As we wished, if possible, to proceed further to-day, Mr. Smith and myself repaired immediately to the ruined tower, taking with us one or two of the inhabitants to point out and name to us the various objects in view. On returning, we found our companions sitting with the priests and others before the *Medâfeh*[2], sipping coffee out of small cups in the oriental style. The Mukârys had concluded to stop here for the night, and without asking leave had unloaded the horses; so that we were in a measure compelled to remain.

A place was now selected and the tent pitched; and we obtained a supply of mats, lights, and eatables from the village. We took this course both because we preferred our tent to the small and uncomfortable

[1] Here we took, among others, the following bearings: Rŭmmôn, S. 5° W. Frank Mountain, S. 17° W. er-Râm, S. 36° W. Neby Samwîl, S. 50° W. el-'Alya, S. 60° W. Khân Hŭdhrûr, a ruined Khân on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho, S. 15° E. Dead Sea, northwest bay, S. 35° E. N. end of the sea, S. 44° E. Wady Zŭrka, mouth, N. 60° E. Kŭl'at er-Rŭbŭd, N. 55° E. Deir Jerîr, a small Muslim village near Taiyibeh, N. 5° E.

[2] The Medâfeh is a sort of public house, set apart for the reception of travellers. Each village has one or more. In those parts of the country not yet corrupted by the frequency of foreign travellers, the stranger is hospitably entertained by the inhabitants, without the expectation of a reward. Of this we found several instances; see at Beit Nettîf under May 17th. See also Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c. pp. 295. 351. 384.

dwellings of the inhabitants, infested as they are with vermin; and because too we hoped thus to have more the command of our own time. But in this latter particular we reckoned without our host. The inhabitants crowded about us with their Sheikh and three priests, until the tent was completely full, besides a multitude standing around the door. Mr. Lanneau distributed among them several books and tracts in the Arabic language; and they became quite clamorous for more. They were especially delighted with the psalters; and each of the priests obtained the promise of a Bible, for which they were to come or send to Jerusalem. The Sheikh we did not like; he was shy, though cringing in his manner; and almost from the first, as he accompanied us to the ruined church, began to inquire about his *bakhshish*. Afterwards in the tent, he declared himself an American; and to convince us of it, drank milk in a cup of tea before the priests, although it was on Friday and therefore unlawful. It was only by ordering the people away that we could get room to eat; and it was quite late before we could even think of sleep.

At length, however, we made shift to arrange our couches within our somewhat narrow limits, and laid ourselves down. The captain or responsible guard of the village himself kept watch by our tent, accompanied by two or three others; and to beguile the night and keep themselves awake, they one after another repeated tales in a monotonous tone of voice. This served their own purpose; and had too the further effect of aiding to keep us awake; so that, what with the voices of the Arabs, the barking of dogs, the crawling of fleas, and the hum of muskitoes, we were none of us able to get much sleep all night.—Two or three nights before, robbers had entered the village and

stolen several sheep. The desert towards the Dead Sea was said to be full of them.

Taiyibeh contains seventy-five taxable inhabitants, showing a population of from three to four hundred souls. The only other villages north of Jerusalem within the province, containing Christians, were said to be Râm-Allah and Jifneh, which we afterwards visited; and the smaller ones of Bîr Zeit and 'Ain 'Arîk, each with twenty-five Christian men and the rest Muslims. The land of Taiyibeh is held by the peasants in freehold; except that in a certain sense the whole village belongs to the Haram esh-Sherîf, to the Mutawelly of which it pays annually seventy-five *Mids* (measures) of barley and wheat. The *Mid* is equal to sixteen *Sâ'a*, or twelve *Ruba'* of Egypt.[1] Besides this there are paid in taxes to the government: for each olive and fig-tree one piastre; for each she-goat and ewe one piastre; and for each ox seventy-five piastres, which is intended rather as a tax upon the land ploughed, than upon the oxen. Each man also pays one hundred piastres as *Firdeh* or capitation-tax; and being all Christians and free from the military conscription, each pays an additional tax of twenty-five piastres, which is reckoned to the *Kharâj* or toleration-tax.[2] The village was said to pay in all, not far from seventy-five purses annually, equivalent to 1875 Spanish dollars.—The *Sheikh el-Beled*, literally the "elder of the village," is here as elsewhere the chief man, and the medium of communication with the government.

The remarkable position of Taiyibeh would not probably have been left unoccupied in ancient times; but I am unable to identify it with any earlier site, unless it be

[1] The Egyptian *Ruba'* is the twenty-fourth part of an *Ardeb*.

[2] See above, p. 93. Note [2].

the Ophra of Benjamin. This city, according to Eusebius and Jerome, lay five Roman miles east of Bethel; which accords well with the position of et-Taiyibeh.[1]

Saturday, May 5th. Taking with us a guide from Taiyibeh, we set off at 4h 50′ for Beitîn, intending to visit on our way the ruins at el-'Alya. We followed down the narrow valley by the road of yesterday for forty minutes. Here we turned W. N. W. up another branch, and then passed up an ascent, reaching the top at 6 o'clock. From this point el-'Alya lay ten minutes towards the south. We found there only a few ruins of small houses on a high plateau, with a deep valley on the west and S. W., but no traces of antiquity. Not far off towards the east is a spring of water, called 'Ain el-'Alya, 'Upper Spring,' to distinguish it from that in the valley below, which we passed yesterday. The village probably derived its name from the fountain.[2]

Returning to the point where we had left our road, we now proceeded again at 6h 40′ on the same general course towards Beitîn. We soon crossed a broad shallow Wady, running nearly south, apparently one of the heads of that passing down on the north side of Deir Diwân; and at 7h 10′ reached the eastern branch of the great Nâbulus road on the higher land beyond. Hence Taiyibeh bore N. 76° E. and el-Bîreh S. 40° W. Descending gradually by this road S. W. we came to the site of Beitîn at 7½ o'clock, just at the left of the path; making a distance of two hours from Taiyibeh. The ruins lie upon the point of a low hill, between the heads of two shallow Wadys, which unite below and run off S. S. E. ½ S. into the deep and rugged val-

[1] Josh. xviii. 23. 1 Sam. xiii. 17. Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Aphra.*

[2] From 'Alya, Deir Diwân bore S. 5° W. Bîr Zeit, near Jifna, N. 55° W. 'Atâra, beyond Jifna, N. 30° W. 'Ain Yebrûd, on the Nâbulus road, N. 20° W. Tell 'Asûr, with a Wely, N. 15° E. For several of these places as seen from Jifna and the vicinity, see under June 13th.

ley es-Suweinît, which passes down between Jeba' and Mŭkhmâs. The spot is shut in by higher land on every side; so that the only places we could see distinctly from the ruins were el-Bîreh S. 48° W. and Sha'fât S. 10° W.

Perceiving however some ruins across the valley S. E. ½ E. on the higher ground, we immediately proceeded thither, and came in eight minutes to what the Arabs called Burj Beitîn and also Burj Makhrûn, 'Castle of Beitîn or Makhrûn.' It is the ruin of a small square fortress of hewn stones, including a Greek church. Several columns were lying among the ruins, on one of which a cross was carved in relief.—Proceeding still in the direction S. by E. ½ E. we came in ten minutes more to the ruins of another larger Greek church, situated on the highest spot of ground in the vicinity. The lower walls are still very distinct, and many columns are lying about; though it seems to have been long ago destroyed. To this ruin one of the Greek priests at Taiyibeh, who had been delving a little into Biblical history, had chosen to give the name of Ai; and we found the same name among some of the people of that village. But there is not the slightest ground for any such hypothesis. There never was any thing here but a church; and Ai must have been further off from Bethel, and certainly not directly in sight of it.[1]

We now returned to the site of Beitîn, and took a nearer survey of its ruins. They occupy the whole surface of the hill-point, sloping towards the S. E. and cover a space of three or four acres. They consist of very many foundations and half-standing walls of houses and other buildings. On the highest part, towards the N. N. W. are the remains of a square tower;

[1] From this church Beitîn bore N. N. W. ½ W. Taiyibeh, N. E. by E. 'Alya, N. 54° E. Deir Diwân, S. 65° E. er-Râm, S. 20° W.

and near the southern point the walls of a Greek church, standing within the foundations of a much larger and earlier edifice built of large stones, part of which have been used for erecting the later structure. The broken walls of several other churches are also to be distinguished. In the western valley are the remains of one of the largest reservoirs we saw in the country; measuring 314 feet in length from N. W. to S. E. and 217 feet in breadth from N. E. to S. W. The walls were built of massive stones; the southern one is still entire; those upon the sides are partly gone; while the northern one has almost wholly disappeared. The bottom was now a green grass-plat, having in it two living springs of good water. Here we spread our carpets on the grass for breakfast, by the side of these desolations of ages. A few Arabs, probably from some neighbouring village, had pitched their tents here for the summer, to watch their flocks and fields of grain; and they were the only inhabitants. From them we obtained milk and also butter of excellent quality, which might have done honour to the days, when the flocks of Abraham and Jacob were pastured on these hills. It was indeed the finest we found anywhere in Palestine.

There is little room for question, that both the name and site of Beitîn are identical with those of the ancient Bethel. The latter was a border city between Benjamin and Ephraim; at first assigned to Benjamin, but conquered and afterwards retained by Ephraim.[1] According to Eusebius and Jerome, it lay twelve Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the right or east of the road leading to Sichem or Neapolis (Nâbulus).[2] From Beitîn to el-Bîreh we found the distance to be forty-

[1] Josh. xvi. 1, 2. xviii. 13. 22. Judg. i. 22–26. 1 Kings xii. 29.

[2] Onomast. art. Βαιθήλ *Bethel*, Ἀγγαί *Agai*, Λουζάν *Luza*. See the other notices collected by Reland from Josephus and elsewhere, Palæst. p. 636.

five minutes, and from Bîreh to Jerusalem three hours, with horses. The correspondence therefore in the situation is very exact; and the name affords decisive confirmation. The Arabic termination *în* for the Hebrew *el*, is not an unusual change; we found indeed several other instances of it entirely parallel.[1] Yet the name has been preserved solely among the common people. The monks appear for centuries not to have boen aware of its existence; and have assigned to Bethel a location much further towards the north.[2] Our friends the Greek priests at Taiyibeh had also recognised the identity of Beitîn and Bethel; and had endeavoured to bring into use the Arabic form *Beitîl* as being nearer to the original; but it had found currency only within the circle of their own influence. From them the missionaries in Jerusalem had heard of the place and had learned the name Beitîl; though from others they had heard only of Beitîn.[3]

Bethel is celebrated in the Old Testament. Abraham first pitched his tent in Palestine on the high ground eastward of this spot, still one of the finest tracts for pasturage in the whole land.[4] Here Jacob slept on his way to Haran, and saw in his dream the ladder and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it; and hither he afterwards returned and built an altar, and called the place Beth-el, 'House of

[1] Thus for Heb. *Jezreel* we have *Zer'în*; instead of Wady *Isma'îl* (Ishmael), we heard Wady *Isma'în*; and the name *Beit Jibrîn* also occurs in Arabic writers under the form *Beit Jibrîl*, i. e. Gabriel.

[2] Brocardus places Bethel two leagues south of Samaria, on the way to Sichem (Nâbulus), upon a high mountain; c. vii. p. 177. Eugesippus sets it a mile from Sichem, on a part of Mount Gerizim; see in L. Allatii Symmikta, Col. Agr. 1653, pp. 111, 112. See also Breydenbach, Reissb. p. 127; and Quaresmius, tom. ii. pp. 792, 793. Maundrell looked for Bethel near Sinjil; March 25th. Schubert supposed himself to be near Bethel, 2½ hours north of el-Bireh; Reise, iii. p. 129.

[3] Elliott, travelling here with Mr. Nicolayson in 1836, saw this spot, and writes the name erroneously *Betheel*. Travels, vol. ii. p. 411.

[4] Gen. xii. 8.

God.'[1] Samuel came once a year to Bethel to judge the people.[2] In later times it became notorious as a seat of idolatrous worship, after Jeroboam had erected here one of his golden calves. This was denounced at the time by a prophet of the Lord, who then transgressed and was destroyed by a lion.[3] Bethel came afterwards into the possession of Judah; and king Josiah destroyed its altars and idols, burning upon them dead men's bones from the sepulchres.[4] After the exile, the place was again inhabited by the returning Jews; and was fortified by Bacchides the Syrian in the time of the Maccabees.[5]

In the New Testament Bethel is not mentioned; but it still existed, as we learn from Josephus; and was captured by Vespasian.[6] Eusebius and Jerome describe it as a small village in their day.[7] This is the last notice of Bethel as an inhabited place. The name is indeed mentioned by writers of the times of the crusades; but apparently only as a place known in Scripture history, and not as then in existence.[8] Yet the present ruins are greater than those of a small village; and show that after the time of Jerome, the place must probably have revived and been enlarged. The ruined churches upon the site and beyond the valley, betoken a town of importance even down to the middle ages; and it certainly is matter of surprise, that no allusion to the place as then existing occurs in the historians of the crusades. The site

[1] Gen. xxviii. 10–19. xxxi. 1–15.
[2] 1 Sam. vii. 16.
[3] 1 Kings xii. 28–33. c. xiii. 2 Kings x. 29. xvii. 28.
[4] 2 Chr. xiii. 19. Joseph. Ant. viii. 11. 3.—2 Kings xxiii. 15–18. We did not remark any sepulchres in the vicinity; but they may very probably exist in the deep rocky valley south of the town.
[5] Ezra ii. 28. Neh. vii. 32. xi. 31.—1 Macc. ix. 50. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 1. 3.
[6] Joseph. B. J. iv. 9. 9.
[7] Onomast. art. *Agai*. Jerome's words are: "Bethel . . . usque hodie parvus licet vicus ostenditur."
[8] Will. Tyr. viii. 1. Brocard. c. vii. p. 179.

would seem already to have been forgotten in ecclesiastical tradition. During the following centuries, Bethel was sought for near to Sichem[1]; and it is only within the last three or four years that its name and site have been discovered among the common people, by the Protestant missionaries in Jerusalem. The monks even now know nothing of it; and the traveller who communicates only with them, is still led to believe that Bethel and its very name have perished.[2]

We left Bethel at 9¾ o'clock, and ascending from the western Wady entered the Nâbulus road, and proceeded towards el-Bîreh. The path soon begins gradually to descend into the broad valley N. of Bîreh, which runs off E. S. E. forming the principal head of Wady es-Suweinît between Jeba' and Mŭkhmâs. We soon passed a fountain on our left, called 'Ain el-'Akabah; and not long after a cavern on the right, supported by two columns, and serving as a reservoir for water; being apparently supplied by a spring within. The bottom of the broad valley is cultivated, and seemed fertile. We reached Bîreh at half past ten, situated on the ridge running from W. to E. which bounds the northern prospect as seen from Jerusalem and its vicinity. A shallower valley has its head just on the south, which also runs E. and joins the northern one further down at the end of the ridge.

Bîreh may be seen at a great distance both from the N. and S. The houses are low; and many of them half under ground. Many large stones and various substructions testify to the antiquity of the site. Here are also the remains of a fine old church with pointed arches, which mark it as being of the time of the crusades. It was probably erected by the Knights

[1] So Brocardus, Eugesippus, Breydenbach, and many others. See above, p. 128, Note [2].

[2] So Lord Lindsay, Letters, &c. vol. ii. Schubert, Reise, iii. p. 129.

Templars, who then owned the place.[1] The walls, the recess of the altar, and the sacristies, are still standing; the former measured ninety feet in length by thirty-five in breadth. On the southern edge of the village is a Khân in ruins; and a few minutes further S. W. on the right side of the Jerusalem road, is a fine flowing fountain, with a trough of stone, connected with a small Muslim building or place of prayer. Here several females were employed in washing. The water was anciently conducted into two large reservoirs a little below on the other side of the path; in one of which, portions of two of the sides still remain tolerably entire, while the other is more in ruins.

Bîreh, as we were afterwards informed, now contained one hundred and thirty-five taxable persons; and sixty more had been taken away as soldiers. This gives a population of some seven hundred souls, all Muhammedans. The first seizure of soldiers took place after the rebellion in 1834. At that time all such as failed to produce the arms which the government required them to surrender, were at first imprisoned in Jerusalem, and then marched off to Yâfa; where all who were fit to serve as soldiers, were transferred to the army. Since that time there had been three regular conscriptions. The Nâzir (warden) of the sub-district in which el-Bîreh is situated, resided at this time at Beit Iksa, and was one of the former Sheikhs.

From el-Bîreh, Jerusalem (the city) bore S. 4° W. and el-Jîb (Gibeon) S. 32° W.[2]—The distance from Jerusalem is reckoned at three hours with horses or mules; although with fast travelling it may be passed over in $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours. From Bîreh to el-Jîb we travelled

[1] Brocardus, c. 7. p. 178.

[2] Other bearings from el-Bîreh were: Sha'fât, S. 4° W. Neby Samwîl, S. 30° W. Râm-Allah about W. Kefr Murr (ruins), N. 25° E. Tell-'Asûr, N. 42° E.

in an hour and a half by way of Râm-Allah; the direct route would occupy about fifteen or twenty minutes less.

I hold el-Bîreh to be the Beer or Beeroth of Scripture, unless these were names of two distinct places[1]; and in that case el-Bîreh corresponds to the latter, Beeroth. The correspondence of the names is in itself sufficiently decisive. And further, according to Eusebius, Beeroth was seen by the traveller in passing from Jerusalem to Nicopolis ('Amwâs), at the seventh Roman mile. This road was the present camel-path from Jerusalem to Ramleh passing near el-Jîb; and to this day the description of Eusebius holds true. The traveller, on emerging from the hills into the plain around el-Jîb, sees el-Bîreh on his right after a little more than two hours from Jerusalem.[2]—From the time of Jerome to the crusades there is no further mention of Beeroth. Brocardus first again speaks of *Bira*, which was regarded by the crusaders and later ecclesiastics as the site of Michmash. At that time it belonged to the Knights Templars, who probably

[1] Beer is mentioned only once in Scripture, as the place to which Jotham fled, Judg. ix. 21. It is merely the same word in the singular, 'well,' of which Beeroth is the plural, 'wells.' Yet Eusebius and Jerome place Beer in the great plain ten miles N. of Eleutheropolis (Onomast. art. Βηρά *Bera*); and I find in our lists a deserted village, el-Bîreh, at the present day, adjacent to the mouth of Wady el-Sŭrâr, not far from the site of Beth-shemesh. See Second Appendix, B. Pt. I. No. VI. 1.

[2] Onomast. art. Βηρώθ *Beeroth*. In the corresponding article of Jerome, a false translation, or more probably a corruption of the text, has occasioned great difficulty. Eusebius says that Beeroth was ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαών, i. e. belonged to the Gibeonites, as related in Josh. ix. 17. This Jerome translates "*sub colle Gabaon*," as if Beeroth was situated under the hill on which Gibeon stood. Yet, in the article Χεφιρά, *Chephira*, also one of the Gibeonitish cities, he correctly renders the very same phrase, πόλις ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαών, by "vicus *ad civitatem pertinens Gabaon*." The former instance, therefore, is either an error in translation, or a corruption.—Instead of Nicopolis, the text of Jerome also has *Neapolis*; making Beeroth to be seven miles from Jerusalem, on the road to the latter city. This is also an error; for the actual distance is three hours, equivalent to nine Roman miles. The text of Eusebius is here, in every respect, the correct one. See further Reland Palæst. p. 618.

erected here the church now in ruins. Maundrell seems to have been the first to remark its coincidence with the ancient Beer.[1]

Leaving el-Bîreh at 11h 10′, we crossed the low ridge or swell west of the fountain, and came in twenty minutes to Râm-Allah. This swell forms here the dividing line between the waters running to the Jordan and those of the Mediterranean. On our right as we approached the village, was a deep rugged Wady running S. W. and issuing from the mountains (as we afterwards found) not far from the lower village of Beit 'Ûr, the ancient Beth-horon. Râm-Allah itself lies on high ground, though there are higher swells in the vicinity, especially towards the S. E. It overlooks the whole country towards the west, including portions of the great plain, as far as to the sea; which latter was in sight for a long distance. The hills of white sand which skirt the shore south of Yâfa were distinctly visible.[2]

The inhabitants of Râm-Allah are all Christians of the Greek rite; and are reckoned at two hundred taxable men, giving a population of eight or nine hundred souls. The priests had heard from Jerusalem of our coming; and as we entered the house of the principal priest, the large room was speedily filled with guests, who came to bid us welcome. They soon ranged themselves along the walls, squatting upon their feet or sitting cross-legged; while we were accommodated with mats and a carpet by the side of the priest, and

[1] Brocardus, c. 7. p. 178. Maundrell's Journey, Mar. 25th. See above, p. 117, and Note.

[2] From Râm-Allah we obtained the following bearings: Mount of Olives, S. 11° E. Râfât, S. 11° W. Neby Samwîl, S. 18° W. Biddu, a village, S. 37° W. Beit Ûnia, S. 60° W. Deir Kadis, N. 62° W. Râs Kerker, a castle towards the plain, N. 57° W. el-Jânieh, N. 55° W. Deir Abu Mesh'al, N. 45° W. (For this and the three preceding places, see other bearings which determine their position, under June 9th, at Beit 'Ûr el-Fôka and Um Rûsh.) Abu Shukheidim, ruins, N. 12° W. 'Atâra, N. by E. ½ E. Tell 'Asûr, N. 50° E.

permitted to stretch our limbs at full length. Coffee was served round to all; and was brought to us by a young man, who was in training for the priesthood. The conversation became animated, and was well sustained by the priests. The staff which I had brought from Sinai, excited great curiosity, as coming from one of their holiest places, and as being professedly of the same species of wood with Moses' rod. It was a festival day; and the inhabitants seemed all to be well-dressed and in good circumstances. Indeed the village had more the appearance of thrift and wealth, than any we had yet seen. The houses are substantially built, and are all modern; there being here apparently no traces of antiquity. The country around is fertile and well cultivated, yielding grain, olives, figs, and grapes in abundance.

Râm-Allah belongs, like Taiyibeh, to the Haram, or great Mosk; to which it annually pays about three hundred and fifty mids of grain.[1] Besides this, it was said to pay to the government for each olive tree one and a quarter piastre; for each ass ten piastres; for each ox seventy-five piastres; and on every *feddân* (acre) of figs and grapes thirty piastres. For each man, the *Firdeh* was sixty-five piastres; and the *Kharâj* from thirty to sixty piastres.

We now bent our course towards el-Jîb, lying S. by W. ½ W. Leaving Râm-Allah at 12½ o'clock, and crossing first a swell of land which forms the watershed, we then followed down the shallow and somewhat winding Wady ed-Deir among low hills. Our friend the priest had furnished us with a guide, who proved to be the schoolmaster of Râm-Allah. He had however only five or six boys under his care; and considered their education as completed, when they had read through the Arabic Psalter. His pay consisted

[1] See p. 124. above.

in fifty piastres received for each boy thus carried through his education; besides ten paras (¼ piastre) every Saturday, and three piastres on finishing each of the seven lessons of the Psalter.

As we were following down the Wady just mentioned, we were disturbed by a loud quarrel between our Muslim muleteer and a Christian of Râm-Allah, who had joined the party. The latter showed a bloody face; having been beaten, he said, by a Muslim in a neighbouring village. He was in a state of great excitement; and said he was going to take us to his enemy, that we might beat him in return. His claim on us was founded solely on the fact of his being a Christian; and it was some time before he could be persuaded, that it was none of our business to interfere in his quarrel.

We left Beit-Ûnia at some distance on the right; and at 1h 10′ passed near a village (Râfât?) on our left. Here we came upon a beautiful plain, which extends far west, nearly to the brow of the mountains, and also towards the east and south; in which direction it is bounded by the lofty ridge of Neby Samwîl. In this plain towards the south, separated from the base of Neby Samwîl by a narrow fertile tract, is the isolated oblong hill or ridge on which el-Jîb is situated. It is composed of horizontal layers of limestone rock, forming almost regular steps, rising out of the plain; in some parts steep and difficult of access, and capable of being everywhere very strongly fortified. The camel-road from Jerusalem to Ramleh leads along the northern side of the hill, passing onwards across the plain till it divides, and descends the mountain both at Beit 'Ûr and through Wady Suleimân. In the west is spread out the fine meadow-like plain, with a large neglected well at some distance, called Bîr el-'Özeiz. The hill may be said to stand in the midst of a basin;

composed of broad vallies or plains, cultivated and full of grain, vineyards, and orchards of olive and fig-trees. It was decidedly the finest part of Palestine, that I had yet seen.

Indeed the whole tract west of the main water-shed, seems to be less rocky and sterile than that along the eastern slope. The rock is apparently softer, and is more easily disintegrated into soil. The open tract or basin around el-Jîb, however, lies upon a secondary division of the waters; those of its western end descending directly towards the Mediterranean; while those of the middle and eastern parts flow around the northern end of the ridge of Neby Samwîl into the deep valley, which runs off S. W. between that ridge and Jerusalem to the western plain.

We reached the village of el-Jîb situated on the summit of this hill at a quarter before two o'clock. It is of moderate size; but we did not learn the number of souls. The houses stand very irregularly and unevenly, sometimes almost one above another. They seemed to be chiefly rooms in old massive ruins, which have fallen down in every direction. One large massive building still remains, perhaps a former castle or tower of strength. The lower rooms are vaulted, with round arches of hewn stones fitted together with great exactness. The stones outside are large; and the whole appearance is that of antiquity. Towards the east the ridge sinks a little; and here, a few rods from the village, just below the top of the ridge towards the north, is a fine fountain of water. It is in a cave excavated in and under the high rock, so as to form a large subterranean reservoir. Not far below it, among the olive-trees, are the remains of another open reservoir, about the size of that at Hebron; perhaps 120 feet in length by 100 feet in breadth. It was doubtless anciently intended to receive the superfluous

waters of the cavern. At this time no stream was flowing from the latter.[1]

It is not difficult to recognise in el-Jîb and its rocky eminence the ancient Gibeon of the Scriptures, the Gabaon of Josephus; although the specifications which have come down to us respecting the position of that place, are somewhat confused.[2] There is however enough, in connection with the name, to mark the identity of the spot. The name *Jib* in Arabic is merely the abridged form of the Hebrew Gibeon; and presents perhaps the most remarkable instance that occurred to us, in which the *'Ain* of the Hebrew, that most tenacious of letters, has been dropped in passing over into the Arabic.[3] In respect to the site of Gibeon the Scriptures are silent; but Josephus relates, that Cestus, marching from Antipatris by way of Lydda, ascended the mountains at Beth-horon, and halted at a place called Gabaon, fifty stadia from Jerusalem.[4] Jerome also relates of Paula, that passing from Nicopolis, she ascended the mountains at Beth-horon, and saw upon her right, as she journied, Ajalon and Gabaon.[5] This ascent at Beth-horon is on the present camel-road from Jerusalem to Ramleh and Yâfa, which now passes along on the north side of el-Jîb, as it anciently in like manner passed by Gibeon. These

[1] From el-Jîb, Neby Samwîl bore S. 21° W. Biddu, S. 70° W. Râm-Allah, N. by E. ½ E. Jedîreh, N. 60° E. Kulûndia, N. 65° E. Bir Nebâla, S. 77° E.

[2] Josephus in one place gives the distance of Gabaon from Jerusalem at fifty stadia, and in another at forty stadia. B. J. ii. 19. 1. Antiq. vii. 11. 7. This shows that both are merely conjectural estimates. Eusebius places Gibeon at four Roman miles west of Bethel; while the corresponding article of Jerome sets it at the same distance on the east; Onomast. art. Γαβαών, *Gabaon*. The text of Jerome is here probably corrupted. The nearest route between el-Jib and Jerusalem by Neby Samwîl is about 2½ hours or sixty stadia (7½ Roman miles); while the camel-road cannot well be less than three hours, or some seventy stadia. — See further notices in Reland Palæst. p. 810.

[3] See above, Vol. I. p. 376. Note [2].

[4] Joseph. B. J. ii. 19. 1.

[5] Hieron. Ep. 86. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, Opp. t. iv. ii. p. 673. ed. Mart.

circumstances taken together, leave little room for doubt as to the identity of the two places.[1]

Gibeon is celebrated in the Old Testament; but is not mentioned in the New. It was "a great city, as one of the royal cities;" and to its jurisdiction belonged originally the towns of Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kirjath-Jearim.[2] The city is first mentioned in connection with the deceit practised by its inhabitants upon Joshua; by which, although Canaanites (Hivites), they induced the Jewish leader not only to make a league with them and spare their lives and cities; but also in their defence to make war upon the five kings by whom they were besieged. It was in this great battle that "the sun stood still on Gibeon."[3] The place afterwards fell to the lot of Benjamin, and became a Levitical city[4]; where the tabernacle was set up for many years under David and Solomon.[5] Here the latter youthful monarch offered a thousand burnt-offerings; and in a dream by night communed with God, and asked for himself a wise and understanding heart instead of riches and honour.[6] Here too it was, that Abner's challenge to Joab terminated in the defeat and flight of the former, and the death of Asahel; and here also at a later period Amasa was treacherously slain by Joab.[7]—The notices of Gibeon by Josephus, and by Eusebius and Jerome, have already been

[1] Pococke saw el-Jib from Neby Samwîl, and also held it to be Gibeon. Descr. of the East, ii. p. 49. fol. So, too, Von Troilo in 1666; Reisebeschr. p. 290.

[2] Josh. x. 2. ix. 17.

[3] Josh. c. ix. x. 1–14.

[4] Josh. xviii. 25. xxi. 17. 'In these passages the three towns, Gibeon, Geba, and Gibeah (Gibeath), are distinctly enumerated; comp. xviii. 24. 28. These names, however, were sometimes confounded; e. g. Gibeon for Geba, 1 Chron. xiv. 16. Comp. 2 Sam. v. 25.

[5] 1 Chron. xvi. 39. xxi. 29. 2 Chron. i. 3.—The ark at this time was at Jerusalem; 2 Chron. i. 4.

[6] 1 Kin. iii. 4–15. 2 Chr. i. 3–13.

[7] 2 Sam. ii. 12–32. xx. 8–12. The 'Pool of Gibeon,' mentioned in the story of Abner, may well be the waters of the fountain described in the text; and these are also probably 'the great (or many) waters in Gibeon,' spoken of in Jer. xli. 12.

referred to in the preceding paragraph. The name Gabaon is mentioned by writers of the times of the crusades, as existing in the present spot; and among the Arabs it already bore the name el-Jîb.[1] It seems afterwards to have been overlooked by most travellers; until in the last century the attention of Pococke was again directed to it.

We left el-Jîb at 2h 25′, descending on the southern quarter through orchards of pears, apples, figs, and olives, and also vineyards, into the narrow strip of plain which skirts the hill upon this side. We now had before us the elevated ridge of Neby Samwîl; which, beginning at no great distance on the left, rises rapidly towards the S. W. into the highest point of land in the whole region; and then sinks off gradually in the same direction into lower and less marked hills and ridges. Its general course is thus from N. E. to S. W. The elevation cannot be less than some 500 feet above the plain; and is apparently greater than that of the Mount of Olives. The waters of the plain are drained off eastward by a valley around its northern end; and here passes also a road to Jerusalem which we took at a later period.[2] Our way now led us directly to the summit, up the steep but not difficult ascent of the north-western side. The top is crowned by a small miserable village and a neglected mosk. This point we reached at 2h 55′, in half an hour from el-Jîb; and found ourselves upon the most sightly spot in all the country.

The mosk is here the principal object; and is regarded by Jews, Christians, and Muhammedans, as covering the tomb of the prophet Samuel. It is now in a state of great decay. We were admitted without

[1] Will. Tyr. viii. 1. Benj. de Tud. par Barat. i. 85. Brocard. c. ix. p. 184. Marin. Sanut. p. 249. Breydenbach copies Brocardus. Bohaeddin mentions el-Jîb; Vita Saladin. p. 243.

[2] See under June 9th.

ceremony to every part of it; ascended to its flat roof and minaret; and examined, so far as we chose, the pretended tomb in a more private apartment. This is only a box of boards. The building was evidently once a Latin church, built up on older foundations in the form of a Latin cross; and probably dates from the time of the crusades. There are few houses now inhabited; but many traces of former dwellings. In some parts, the rock, which is soft, has been hewn away for several feet in height, so as to form the walls of houses; in one place it is thus cut down apparently for the foundation of a large building. Two or three reservoirs are also in like manner hewn in the rock. These cuttings and levellings extend over a considerable space.

The view from the roof of the mosk is very commanding in every direction. Below in the S. E. is the deep Wady Beît Hanîna stretching off towards the S. W., and further in the former direction are seen Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, the Frank Mountain, and a large portion of the eastern slope, with the mountains beyond the Jordan and Dead Sea. In the N. W. the fertile plain of el-Jîb lies immediately below; and further on, the eye embraces a large extent of the great lower plain along the coast, as well as of the Mediterranean itself. In a clear day Yâfa may be distinctly seen; a slight haze now intercepted it from our view. A large number of villages were visible on every side. The most important bearings which we got here, were the following: Mount of Olives S. 40° E. Jerusalem S. 35° E. Frank Mountain S. 10° E. el-Kŭstŭl S. 50° W. Sôba S. 54° W. Ramleh N. 66° W. el-Jîb N. 21° E. el-Bîreh N. 30° E. Taiyibeh N. 50° E.[1]

[1] Other bearings of minor places were: Beit Hanîna, across the valley below, S. 72° E. Sha'fât, S. 60° E. Lifta, in the great

The tradition that here is the tomb of the prophet Samuel, necessarily includes the supposition that this spot is the Ramah or Ramathaim-Zophim of the Old Testament, the birth-place, residence, and burial-place of that prophet.[1] That this was a different city from the Ramah near Gibeah of Saul (now er-Râm) on the east of the Nâbulus road, is obvious; for the latter is only half an hour from Gibeah, Saul's residence; and its situation does not at all accord with the circumstances of his first visit to Samuel when in search of his father's asses, nor with David's subsequent flight to Samuel for refuge.[2]—But the same difficulties lie with almost equal force against the supposition, that the present Neby Samwîl can be the Ramah of the prophet. As such, it could not well have been unknown to Saul; since as being the highest point in the country and not more than an hour and a half or two hours distant from his native place, it must have been before his eyes, if not in Gibeah itself, yet whenever he went out into the adjacent fields.

But there are still greater difficulties. There can be little doubt, that the visit of Saul to Samuel, above alluded to, took place in Ramah, where the prophet entertained him in his own house. At his departure in order to return to Gibeah, the prophet anoints him as king, and describes his way home as leading him "by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin."[3] This circumstance is decisive against the identity of Neby Samwîl with Ramah. We have already seen that the site of Rachel's tomb cannot well be called

valley, S. 12° E. Mâr Elyâs, S. of Jerusalem, S. 7° E. Bethlehem, S. 1° E. Beit Iksa, below us on the hills, S. 4° W. 'Ain Kârim, with the convent of St. John, S. 20° W. Deir Yesîn, S. 57° W. Beit Dukkah, N. 77° W. Biddu, N. 48° W. Beit Ûnia N. 4° W. Râm-Allah, N. 18° E. Jedîreh, N. 37° E. Kulŭndia, N. 44° E. Bîr Nebâla, N. 51° E. Rŭmmôn, N. 55° E. er-Râm, N. 75° E.

[1] 1 Sam. i. 1. 19. ii. 11. viii. 4. xix. 18. xxv. 1. xxviii. 3.

[2] 1 Sam. c. ix. xix. 18.

[3] 1 Sam. x. 1, 2.

in question[1]; and therefore the Ramah of the prophet must have been so situated, that a person going from it to Gibeah would naturally, or at least without difficulty, pass near to the present sepulchre N. W. of Bethlehem. But from Neby Samwîl, Gibeah lies about E. N. E. and not more than two hours distant; while the tomb of Rachel bears directly south at the distance of nearly three hours. Hence, every step taken from Neby Samwîl towards the sepulchre of Rachel, only carries a person away from Gibeah.—I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the probable site of the Ramah of the prophet; my sole object here is to show, that it could not have been the present Neby Samwîl.

The true site of the Ramah of Samuel seems to have been early forgotten; since both Eusebius and Jerome place it, with still less probability, in the plain near Diospolis or Lydda.[2] Yet the present tradition as to the prophet's tomb must have sprung up not long after their day; for apparently Procopius alludes to this spot, when he relates that Justinian caused a well and a wall to be constructed for (the monastery of) St. Samuel in Palestine.[3] At the close of the seventh century Adamnanus describes the ground north of Jerusalem as rocky and rough, as far as to the city of Samuel or Ramah.[4] The crusaders found here the name of St. Samuel; and with little regard to consistency, held the place to be also the Shiloh of Scripture; or, as Brocardus expresses it, "Mount Shiloh, which is now called St. Samuel."[5] Here stood a Latin convent of the order of Præmonstrants; which was plundered

[1] See above, Vol. I. pp. 322, 375.

[2] Onomast. art. *Armatha Sophim.*

[3] Procop. de Ædific. v. 9.

[4] De Loc. Sanct. i. 21.

[5] "*Mons Silo*, qui nunc *ad St. Samuelem* dicitur;" Brocardus, c. 9. p. 184. Will. Tyr. viii. 1.—The true Shiloh lay north of Bethel, towards Shechem or Nâbulus; Judg. xxi. 19.

by the troops of Saladin as he was preparing to besiege Jerusalem in A. D. 1187.[1] To the same period probably belongs the Latin church now converted into a mosk. From that time onward to the present day, the natives have known the place only as Neby Samwîl; while the monks and travellers have varied in describing it either as Shiloh or Ramah. In later centuries the name of Ramah has predominated.[2] Most travellers have been contented to adopt the information of their monastic guides; although a few have ventured to call in question its accuracy.[3]

As however Neby Samwîl is one of the most marked places in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and was unquestionably the site of an ancient town, it became to us a matter of interest, to ascertain if possible, what city of antiquity had occupied this sightly spot. Among the scriptural names after which we made diligent search in this region, (though without success,) was that of Mizpeh, a city of Benjamin renowned in the Old Testament; where the tribes often assembled; where Samuel offered sacrifice and judged the people;

[1] Rad. Coggesh. Chron. Anglican. in Martene et Durand Coll. ampl. tom. v. p. 565. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. iii. ii. pp. 298, 299.—Benjamin of Tudela also has the name *San Samuel de Scilo;* and relates the legend, that when the Edomites (Christians) took Ramleh from the Ishmaelites, they found there, near the Jews' Synagogue, the tomb of Samuel, from which they transferred his body to the present St. Samuel, after erecting there a large church; Benj. de Tud. par Baratier, i. p. 102. Nothing of all this is found in any of the historians of the crusades, who would not have been likely to overlook such a transaction; while, too, as we have seen, the present name is older than the time of the crusades. Besides, Jerome relates that the bones of Samuel were removed to Thrace, under the emperor Arcadius; Hieron. adv. Vigilant. p. 283. Reland Palæst. p. 965.

[2] Thus we find *Shiloh* in Marin. Sanut. p. 249. Breydenbach in Reissb. pp. 130. 136. Nau, p. 501. Zuallardo names it both Shiloh and Ramah, Viaggio, p. 119. Quaresmius gives it as *Ramah,* ii. p. 727; and so Von Troilo, p. 290. Pococke, ii. p. 48. fol. Elliott, Travels, ii. p. 412.

[3] Cotovicus appears to confound this spot with Sôba; his description of Sôba applies only to the present Neby Samwîl; pp. 316, 317. Doubdan, following the authority of Jerome, transfers the tomb to Ramleh; pp. 488, 489; comp. p. 114. Sandys also questions the report of his monkish guides, p. 135. Lond. 1658.

where Saul was chosen king by lot; and where, under the Chaldeans, Gedaliah the governor resided and was assassinated.[1] The position of this city is nowhere described, neither in the Old Testament nor by Josephus; and we only know that it must have lain near Ramah of Benjamin; since king Asa fortified it with materials brought from the latter place.[2] The name too, which signifies "a place of look out, watch-tower," implies that it was situated on an elevated spot.

There are two such high points, which in these respects might correspond to the site of Mizpeh. One is Tell el-Fûl (Bean-hill) lying about an hour south of er-Râm (Ramah) towards Jerusalem. This we afterwards visited. It is high, and overlooks the eastern slope of the mountains, and has upon it the remains of a large square tower; but there are here no traces of any former city, either upon or around the hill.[3] The other point is Neby Samwîl, which, though somewhat further distant from er-Râm, is a higher and more important station than the other. On these grounds, as well as from the traces of an ancient town upon it, I am inclined to regard Neby Samwîl as the probable site of Mizpeh. And further, the writer of the first book of Maccabees describes Mizpeh as situated "over against Jerusalem," implying that it was visible from that city[4]; a description which is true of Neby Samwîl, but not as to Tell el-Fûl. Eusebius also and Jerome describe Mizpeh as lying near to Kirjath-Jearim, which must have been on the west of Gibeon, perhaps at Kuryet el-'Enab; and this too points to Neby Samwîl rather than to the other hill.[5]

[1] Josh. xviii. 26. Judg. xx. 1. xxi. 1. 1 Sam. vii. 5–16. x. 17. seq. 2 Kings xxv. 22–25. Jer. c. xl. xli.

[2] 1 Kings xv. 22. 2 Chron. xvi. 6.

[3] See above, p. 112, and also under May 15.

[4] Κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ, 1 Mac. iii. 46.

[5] Onomast. art. Μασσηφά, *Massefa*. Both writers confound here the Mizpeh of Gilead, where Jephthah dwelt (Judg. xi. 34.) with the Mizpeh of the text. Comp. also Jer. xli. 10. 12. 16.

From Neby Samwîl we bent our course towards Jerusalem. The distance is reckoned at two hours; but as our horses were now travelling homewards, we accomplished it in one hour and fifty minutes. Leaving at $3\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock we descended along smaller spurs and ridges towards the great valley, the declivity on this side being in general much less steep than the ascent from el-Jîb. We had here on the left Beit Hanîna across the valley; and on the right Beit Iksa on the hills; while before us low down in the Wady on its eastern side was seen the village of Lifta, where many mules are kept. Here, somewhere towards the right, is situated apparently the fountain of St. Samuel mentioned by travellers, in a sort of grotto.[1] At 4^h 20′ Beit Hanîna bore N. 45° E. and Lifta S. 10° W.

We reached the bottom at 4^h 40′, which is here narrow and very stony, but planted with fine vineyards and orchards of fig and olive trees. This valley has two main heads; one coming from the plain around el-Jîb, down which passes a different road to Jerusalem; and the other from near er-Râm. They unite just below Beit Hanîna, which stands on the ridge between, and gives its name to the Wady below, as it passes off towards the S. W.[2] We crossed the bottom very obliquely, having over us on the right a little village with green gardens around it; and began immediately to ascend by a small branch Wady on the opposite side. After ten or fifteen minutes we left its bed, and passed up the very rocky slope to the Tombs of the Judges and head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

[1] Most distinctly by Doubdan, p. 114. Also by Quaresmius, ii. p. 728. Von Troilo, p. 291. Pococke, ii. p. 48. fol.

[2] For the lower part of this valley, see under May 17th. Ecclesiastical tradition regards it as the valley of Elah (Terebinth), in which David slew Goliath, 1 Sam. xvii. 2. seq. Hence travellers usually give it the name of the Terebinth or Turpentine valley. But the scene of that battle was unquestionably in a different place; see under May 18th.

This point we reached at 5h 50′, and came in another half hour to the Damascus Gate. Here we found a quarantine guard stationed, to watch against the entrance of persons coming from Yâfa, where the plague was now raging. In Jerusalem itself no new cases had occurred; and we hoped the alarm was over.

One of the two Mukârîyeh who accompanied us on this excursion was from Kŭlônieh, a village overhanging the western side of the great valley below Lifta, at the point where it is crossed by the direct road from Jerusalem to Ramleh.[1] As we came from Neby Samwîl, he gave us the following account. The village of Kŭlônieh belongs to Omar Effendi[2], to whom it pays 110 mids of grain annually. The tax to the government consists of one piastre for every ewe and she-goat, ten piastres for every ass, twenty for every horse and mule, thirty for every camel, and seventy-five on every ox; one piastre for every olive-tree, and thirty-five on each Feddân of fig-trees or vineyards. The Firdeh or capitation tax the preceding year was sixty-nine piastres. As fast as men are taken away for soldiers, or die, the Firdeh is divided among the remainder; so that the government takes care to lose nothing. Our attendant had been taken as a soldier, but proved unfit, and was therefore released. Yet he had to pay thirty dollars to procure a man to serve in his place. To raise this sum he sold an ox and several sheep; and after they were sold, had to pay taxes upon the proceeds.

The price of our horses and mules on this and other

[1] Kŭlônieh is an hour and a half from Jerusalem. From the convent of St. John ('Ain Kârim) it bears N. 10° E. The part of the great valley between is broad, and planted with trees. Prokesch, Reise, p. 120.—The name seems to come from the Latin *Colonia*; but I know of no historical fact to account for such an etymology. According to Scholz there are here many old walls built of hewn stones. Reise, p. 161.

[2] Apparently the same personage who figures in Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 239. seq.

excursions was fifteen or sixteen piastres a day for each animal; or if at any time we chose to lie by, the half of this price only was to be paid for every such day of rest. With the keeping of the animals or attendants, we had no concern; nor was any thing extra paid for the men. The horses we had now and afterwards, were slender and active, and also exceedingly hardy. They were fed usually only at night; commonly on barley or other grain, with straw; and occasionally when there was a scanty herbage around the tent, they were suffered to crop it. Their gait is a fast walk; never a trot; for upon the mountains the state of the roads renders this for the most part impossible. They are sure-footed, and exceedingly sagacious in picking their way among the rocks; and we found little difference in this respect between horses and mules. These remarks apply of course only to horses for hire; and not to the sleek and well-fed animals (usually mares) of the Sheikhs and wealthy individuals; which, with equal hardiness, exhibit a wonderful degree of activity and fleetness.

The caparison of the animals for hire is also not very splendid. Arab riding-saddles with stirrups are sometimes given; but they are usually narrow and hard; so that we at last came to prefer the common huge pack-saddles. These are very long and broad, stuffed with a large mass of straw; and cover almost the whole of the poor animal, from whose back they are seldom removed. We had our own stirrups; and usually were able (though not always) to muster a bridle for each of ourselves; while our servants were quite contented, if they made out to obtain a halter.

Our rate of travel with horses and mules appears to have been on the average very nearly three Roman miles the hour; which is equivalent to 2.4 geographical miles of 60 to the degree, or 2.78 (nearest $2\frac{3}{4}$)

English miles.[1] This would apply, I think, very accurately, during our present excursion, to the distance passed over between Beitîn and el-Jîb. But on the other hand, between 'Anâta and Taiyibeh, where we had to cross several very deep and rugged vallies, and found the whole road rough, a considerable allowance must be made from this average. On the plains again, where the roads were level and smooth, the rate of travel naturally rose somewhat above the average.

This excursion was to us deeply interesting, and we returned from it highly gratified. It had led us through scenes associated with the names and historic incidents and deeds of Abraham and Jacob, of Samuel and Saul, of Jonathan and David and Solomon; and we had been able to trace out the places where they had lived and acted, and to tread almost in their very footsteps. True, in Jerusalem itself the associations of this kind are still more numerous and sacred; but they are there so blended together, as to become in a measure indistinct and less impressive; while here in the country, they stand forth before the soul in all their original freshness and individuality. It was like communing with these holy men themselves, to visit the places where their feet had trod, and where many of them had held converse with the Most High. I hope that in this respect the visit was not without its proper influence upon our own minds; at any rate, it served to give us a deeper impression of the reality and vividness of the Bible-history, and to confirm our confidence in the truth and power of the sacred volume.

The region through which we passed on the first day, as I have already remarked, was that described

[1] The Roman mile is usually reckoned at 75 to the degree. See more in Note VII. at the end of Vol. I.

by the prophet Isaiah as the scene of Sennecharib's approach to Jerusalem.[1] This approach is portrayed in the most vivid colours; indeed the whole description is the highly-wrought poetic expression of a prophetic vision. Every thing lives and moves; the various towns upon the conqueror's route, tremble and cry aloud and flee away in terror. All this is probably to be viewed in the light of a divine threat or prophetic warning; for although Sennecharib at a later period actually invaded Judea, yet he himself did not come against Jerusalem; but sent Rabshakeh thither from Lachish with an army.[2] The route too which the prophet describes, can never have been a common way of approach to Jerusalem. It presupposes, that the monarch and his army, instead of keeping along the great feasible northern road to the city, turned off at or near Bethel towards Ai, situated doubtless in the vicinity of the present Deir Dîwân; from which point to Jerusalem by Michmash and Anathoth, they would have to cross not less than three very deep and difficult vallies.

However this may be, the route itself is very distinctly traced, and we were able in a great measure to follow it out. Of the probable sites of Ai and Geba I have already spoken; and we ourselves visited Michmash, Gibeah of Saul, Ramah, and Anathoth. Of the other places mentioned, no further trace remains. Migron must have been situated somewhere between Deir Dîwân and Michmash; and Gallim and Laish, Madmenah and Gebim, were probably further south and nearer to Anathoth.[3] Arrived at Nob, the Assy-

[1] Isa. x. 28–32.

[2] Isa. xxxvi. xxxvii. 2 Kings xviii. xix.

[3] All these places obviously lay within this tract, and almost within sight of each other. It is contrary to all the circumstances of the case, to connect this Laish with that on the northern border of Palestine; Judges xviii. 7. 29. It more probably had some relation to the person of that name, a native of Gallim; 1 Sam. xxv. 44.

rian makes a halt; and "shakes his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion." This language implies that the Holy City was in sight from Nob; which therefore must have been situated somewhere upon the ridge of the Mount of Olives, north-east of the city.[1] We sought now and afterwards all along this ridge, from the Damascus road to the summit opposite the city, for some traces of an ancient site which might be regarded as the place of Nob; but without the slightest success. This was probably the city of the priests destroyed by Saul; for although there appears to have been another Nob near the plain towards Lydda, yet the ark of God after its return from the Philistines in the days of Samuel, seems never again to have departed from the mountains.[2]

As one result of this excursion, as well as of our subsequent researches, the remark presents itself, that while very many of the ancient Hebrew names have in this way perished, there exists at the present day a class of names, which, although not occurring in the Scriptures, are nevertheless probably of Hebrew origin, and have come down from the earliest times. Thus, I apprehend that all (or nearly all) those appellations in which the Arabic word *Beit* appears as a component part, are only the successors of ancient Hebrew names with *Beth* (house), whether found in the Scriptures or not. Many of these indeed do thus occur, as Bethlehem, Bethel, Beth-horon, and the like; but a still larger number exist at the present day, of which the Bible makes no mention. Such are Beit

[1] So Jerome professedly from Hebrew tradition: "Stans in oppidulo Nob et procul urbem conspiciens Jerusalem;" Comm. in Esa. x. 32. Nob is also mentioned as one of the cities of Benjamin near to Anathoth, Neh. xi. 32.

[2] 1 Sam. c. vi. xxi. 1–9. xxii. 9–19. Jerome mentions a *Nobe* not far from Lydda; probably the Beit Nûba of the crusaders and of the present day; see under June 9th. Hieron. Ep. 86. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 673.

Hanîna, Beit Iksa, Beit Ûnia[1], Beit Jâla, which have been already noticed, and very many others. The same is true of names like el-Hizmeh, Tell 'Asûr, 'Atâra, and others similar; which, although apparently of Hebrew origin, are not distinctly found in connection with the district in which they now exist.[2]

That such should be the general fact is not surprising; although, so far as I know, it has never been distinctly brought into notice. The Bible does not claim to be a geographical work, nor to enumerate all the towns and villages of the Promised Land. Indeed, in most of the recorded lists of Hebrew cities, we find the express addition of "their villages," and sometimes of "their towns and villages," of which no names are given.[3] Among these unknown names were doubtless many of those which have survived to our time.

Another trait of the ancient Hebrew topography is the repeated occurrence of the same name. Thus there were several Ramahs and Gibeahs, two Carmels, two Mizpehs, two Aróers, two Socohs, and many similar instances. The same trait appears also in respect to the Arabic names of the present day. We found not less than three Jeba's, three or four Taiyibehs, two el-Bîrehs, two 'Atâras, two Shuweikehs (Socoh), two Râfâts, and many other like examples.

[1] This name might be supposed to correspond to the Hebrew Bethulia; but the Bible mentions no such place in this region. See Reland Pal. pp. 638, 639.

[2] Does Tell 'Asûr perhaps correspond to the *Azor* of Benjamin, which is mentioned with Ramah and Anathoth? Neh. xi. 33. If so the Hebrew ח has passed over into the Arabic *'Ain*, as in Beit 'Ûr for Beth-horon. We saw Tell 'Asûr from el-'Alya, el-Bîreh and Jifna.—'Atâra is the Heb. *Ataroth*, but seems hardly to correspond to the place so called on the border of Ephraim, Josh. xvi. 5. 7. See more under May 15 and June 13.

[3] So Josh. xv. 32. 36. 41. 47. &c. xviii. 24. 28. xix. 7, 8. 16. 23. &c. 1 Chron. viii. 12. Neh. xi. 25–31.

SECTION X.

EXCURSION TO 'AIN JIDY, THE DEAD SEA, JORDAN, ETC.

We remained in Jerusalem after our return, only so long as was necessary to make preparations for another journey. Our former excursion had led us along the eastern slope of the mountains on the north of the Holy City; and we now proposed to explore the continuation of the same tract on the south, comprising the district lying between the Hebron-road and the Dead Sea, as far south at least as to the place called 'Ain Jidy; and then along the western shore of that sea to the Jordan. A prominent object in my own mind, was to find (if possible) somewhere upon or near the coast two high points, from which we might obtain a view of the whole extent of the Dead Sea, and make observations in order to determine its length and breadth. In this however we were only partially successful; the nature of the country and the basin of the sea turning out to be very different from what I expected.

The districts we were now about to visit are usually regarded as among the most insecure in Palestine. The desert along the sea is inhabited, if at all, only by a few Bedawîn, of whom we heard the worst reports as thieves and robbers. The tract was said now also to be full of deserters and outlaws, who lay here concealed and subsisted by thieving and robbery; as was

likewise the case on the north of Jerusalem.[1] Whether this reputation of the country be well founded or not, I will not undertake to decide; but certainly the district has a right to it by ancient prescription; for it is the very same region into which David with his band of six hundred adventurers withdrew from the pursuit of Saul, and dwelt long in the caves and lurking-places.[2] The plain of the Jordan too, around Jericho, is considered as very unsafe; partly because of the thievish character of the inhabitants, and partly as being exposed to excursions from the lawless Arabs of the eastern mountains. Three weeks before this time, some of our friends had accompanied the annual caravan of pilgrims to the Jordan; and had there spoken with several merchants from Damascus, who were going to es-Salt and Kerak. The very next day, these merchants were shot dead and their goods plundered.

As our intended journey became known, our ears were filled with stories of this kind; and we were urged to take with us a guard of soldiers from the governor of Jerusalem. For this we had no sort of inclination; partly because we must then have been in a measure under their control, and not they under ours; and partly because, with such a guard, we could only expect to excite the ill-will and perhaps the hostility of the Arabs we might fall in with; and thus frustrate in a degree the very object of our journey. Still, as it was not prudent to travel without some escort, we thought it more advisable to obtain the services of the supposed robbers themselves, or of persons on good terms with them, who might at the same time act both as guards and guides. Sheikh Mŭstafa, the head of a wandering tribe of half Derwishes who frequent the vicinity of Jericho, was spoken of; but

[1] See under Jeba' and Taiyibeh, pp. 113. 123.

[2] 1 Sam. xxiii. 13–26. c. xxiv.

was not then to be found at Jerusalem. Another person was then recommended, who had been a leader in the rebellion of 1834; a price was set upon his head, and he had been ever since an outlaw, but had never been taken. He was known to be often in Jerusalem, and was on good terms with the convent in Bethlehem. Indeed, a few days before, he had been guide and escort to a party of our friends, including several ladies, in an excursion from that convent to several places in the vicinity of Bethlehem. As he was of course on good terms with all the other outlaws and Arabs, and could thus protect us from any attack, we commissioned our Arab-Greek friend and agent Abu Selâmeh, to find him out and engage him. The latter applied to the Greek convent at Bethlehem, which readily undertook the matter; but they afterwards sent word, that as the country was now very unsafe, it would be prudent to take a larger escort, and not trust ourselves to the care of a single person. They accordingly sent to us the Sheikh of the Ta'âmirah, a tribe of Arabs living S. E. of Bethlehem towards the Dead Sea, and noted as being among the foremost on occasions of rebellion and robbery. He was a noble-looking man, and we at once made a bargain with him, that he should accompany us with three of his men. We were to pay him ten piastres a day for himself, and five or six piastres for each of his attendants. He fulfilled his contract honourably; and we had no reason to repent of our choice.

The Christian Sabbath passed away in quiet enjoyment; and Monday was occupied in writing out our journals and various other preparations. We hoped for a time that Mr. Whiting would have accompanied us; but it was not convenient for him; so that the party was limited to our own original number of three, with our two servants. We engaged six horses, inclu-

ding one for the tent and luggage; with the condition that they should be accompanied by three men, in order to render our party as large as possible. At evening our Sheikh came and slept in the house; having appointed his men to join us at Bethlehem.

Tuesday, May 8th. The horses were brought between 6 and 7 o'clock; but with only two men and without bridles. We demurred to this state of things; and a difficulty arising, they went off again, leaving their earnest-money in our hands. While we were endeavouring to procure other horses, Abu Selâmeh came in, and immediately set off after the men to bring them back; as the owner of the horses seemed to be his particular friend. In this he succeeded, as he said; the men and the horses came back, and a brother of the owner with them. But we found that our Arab friend had gone a little beyond his instructions in the terms of conciliation; we were indeed to have the bridles, but the owner was to send only the two men; the third was to be furnished by our Sheikh from his tribe, and we were to pay for him. We thought it best on the whole to submit to this imposition, rather than to lose more time; and accordingly got all things in readiness to mount. We took our tent as before; but carried all our bedding and blankets upon our own saddles. Our provisions and utensils were distributed in small sacks; which were then deposited in capacious saddle-bags, slung across the horses of our servants.

But another delay now arose; the brother of the owner and the muleteers all affirming that in order to visit Jericho, where there is a small garrison, it was necessary to have a *Tezkirah* from the governor. We doubted the fact, and afterwards found that we were right; yet in order to be on the safe side, we sent Komeh with our Firmân to the governor, accompanied by the owner's brother, in order to obtain the desired

paper. This latter was a man of enterprise and daring; some ten years before, he had combined with a few others and suddenly got possession of the citadel, turning out the garrison and afterwards closing the gates of the city for a time against the Turkish government. As our messenger he was now courteously received by the governor; and it so happened that the Aga in command at Jericho was present. The governor immediately gave him verbal orders to receive us at Jericho, and attend to all our wants; and also to send with us an escort of soldiers to the Jordan. This latter kindness we afterwards took care to avoid.

All these matters being at length arranged, we left the Yâfa Gate at ten minutes before 10 o'clock, on our way to Bethlehem, across the valley of Hinnom and along the plain of Rephaim, by the same route by which we had first approached Jerusalem.[1] At 10 o'clock we were opposite to Wady el-Werd, leading out between high hills from the S. W. corner of the plain. It here runs W. by S. and is soon joined by the Wady Ahmed. In this valley, in sight of our road lies the village of Beit Sŭfâfa; and further off in the same direction, esh-Sherâfât, on the southern hill. Both of these now bore West. On the northern hill, over against the latter place, we could see the village el-Mâlihah, bearing N. 70° W. Further down the valley, out of sight, lies 'Ain Yâlo, a fountain, from which water is often brought to Jerusalem.[2] At 10h. 45′

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 323, 324.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 482. We were not able to ascertain whether this is the fountain regarded by the monks as St. Philip's, where they suppose him to have baptized the eunuch; but this is not improbable. This latter is situated in Wady el-Werd, east of the village of el-Welejeh, (the St. Philip's of the monks,) on one of the ways leading from Bethlehem to the convent of St. John ('Ain Kârim), through Wady Ahmed. Maundrell makes it less than an hour from Beit Jâla; Pococke rather more; and Doubdan describes it as being at the point where the Gaza road crosses the valley. Maundrell, Apr. 2. Pococke, ii. pp. 45, 46. Doubdan, p. 178.

Sherâfât bore N. 80° W. and Mâlihah N. 55° W.[1] When we reached the gate leading to the Greek convent Mâr Elyâs, ten minutes later, these villages were already shut out from view by intervening hills.

We had lingered on the way, so that we were now as long in passing over this interval to the convent with horses, as we formerly had been with camels. It is usually reckoned one hour. The convent lies in the fields at some distance from the road, on the verge of the ridge, having a wide prospect across the deep vallies on the South.[2]

From this point two paths lead to Bethlehem; one direct, descending and crossing the deep valley on the South; the other passing more to the right around the head of the valley, and so by Rachel's Tomb. We took the latter, now as before; and at 11h 10′ Mâr Elyâs behind us bore N. 44° E. and Beit Jâla S. 60° W.—At 11h 20′ there was a little ruin on the right, called el-Khamîs. We came to Rachel's Tomb in five minutes more, which has already been described.[3] The Muslims keep the tomb in order; and those of Bethlehem were formerly accustomed to bury around it. The whole tract before us was full of olive-groves, especially in Wady Ahmed and on the slopes of Beit Jâla, and also in the vallies on the east of the low swell or water-shed; while towards Bethlehem were likewise many orchards of fig-trees.

Passing on towards Bethlehem, we met a mule laden with water, said to be from Bethlehem for the

[1] Prokesch passed from Beit Sûfâfa to Mâlihah in half an hour; and thence to the village of St. John ('Ain Kârim) in three quarters of an hour. Reise, pp. 118, 119.

[2] From the well at the gate leading to the convent we took the following bearings: Jerusalem, N. 25° E. Neby Samwîl, N. ½ W. Bethlehem, S. 15° W. Convent of Bethlehem, S. 10° W. Beit Sâhûr, S. 50° E. Frank Mountain, S. 16° E.

[3] See above, Vol. I. p. 322.—From Rachel's Tomb, Bethlehem bears S. 5° E. distant 25 minutes; and Beit Jâla, S. 85° W. distant about 20 minutes.

Armenian convent in Jerusalem. We took this at first as a confirmation of the excellence of the water longed for by David[1]; but we were afterwards able to find no well in Bethlehem, and especially none "by the gate," except one connected with the aqueduct on the south. That to which the monks give the name of the 'Well of David,' is about half or three quarters of a mile N. by E. of Bethlehem, beyond the deep valley which the village overlooks; it is merely a deep and wide cistern or cavern now dry, with three or four narrow openings cut in the rock.[2]

At 11h 35′ we came upon the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools; which having wound far to the east around the ridge on which Bethlehem and the convent stand, curves here again to the west in order to preserve its level. It had lately been repaired, and the water was now flowing in it at this point. Crossing the low water-shed we now ascended gradually towards Bethlehem around the broad head of a valley running N. E. to join that under Mâr Elyâs. The town lies on the E. and N. E. slope of a long ridge; another deep valley, Wady Ta'âmirah, being on the south side, which passes down north of the Frank Mountain towards the Dead Sea, receiving the valley under Mâr Elyâs not far below.[3] Towards the west the hill is higher than the village, and then sinks down very gradually towards Wady Ahmed.

We reached Bethlehem at ten minutes before noon, in just two hours from Jerusalem. As we entered the gate, we were met by a procession or party of armed Bedawîn on horseback, passing through the town apparently towards Jerusalem. Some had fire-arms, and the rest swords and long spears. They seemed

[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 15–17. 1 Chron. xi. 17–19.

[2] Quaresmius, ii. p. 614. Maundrell, Apr. 1. Turner's Tour in the Levant, ii. p. 270. Monro, i. pp. 251, 252.—Brocardus calls it *cisterna*; c. ix. p. 184.

[3] See more under May 11th.

much disposed to be on good terms with us; saluted us courteously; and some of them in passing reached us their right hand. We hardly knew what to make of all this; and our Sheikh was too much of a diplomatist to inform us at the time; but we afterwards found that they belonged to a larger party of the Tiyâhah and Jehâlîn, who were on their way to cross the Jordan, on a marauding expedition against their enemies, under the sanction of Sheikh Sa'îd governor of Gaza. The result we learned at a later period from the Jehâlîn.[1]

We proceeded directly through the town, and stopped for fifteen minutes on the level part of the ridge between it and the convent. The latter is some thirty or forty rods distant from the village towards the east, and overlooks the deep valley on the north. It is occupied by the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians; and encloses the church built by Helena over the alleged cave of the Nativity. The monks had now shut themselves up in quarantine on account of the plague; so that we did not enter the convent. We were expecting at the time to visit Bethlehem again, and examine it more at leisure; but this hope was afterwards frustrated; and I am therefore able to add little to the stock of information already known.[2]

No one has ever doubted, I believe, that the present Beit Lahm, 'House of Flesh,' of the Arabs, is identical with the ancient Bethlehem, 'House of Bread,' of the Jews; and it is therefore not necessary here to dwell upon the proofs.[3] Not only does the name coincide; but the present distance of two hours from

[1] See under May 26th.

[2] From this point, between the town and convent, we took the following bearings: Frank Mountain, S. 27° E. Beit Ta'mar, the village of the Ta'âmirah, S. 40° E. Beit Sâhûr, S. 55° E. Deir Ibn 'Obeid, not far from Mâr Sâba, S. 80° E. This seems to be the Der-Benalbede of Pococke, on the way to Mâr Sâba; ii. p. 34. fol.

[3] They may be seen in Reland Palæst. p. 642. Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Bethleem.*

Jerusalem corresponds very exactly to the six Roman miles of antiquity. Tradition moreover has never lost sight of Bethlehem; and in almost every century since the times of the New Testament, it has been visited and mentioned by writers and travellers.[1] Helena built here a church, which appears to have been the same that still exists.[2] Jerome afterwards took up his residence in the convent, which early sprung up around it; and the Roman matron Paula came and erected other convents, and spent here the remainder of her days.[3] As to the value of the early tradition, which fixes the birth-place of the Saviour in a cavern at some distance from the village, I have already expressed a judgment.[4] Although in this respect I felt no desire to visit the spot; yet it would have been gratifying to have seen it, as the place where Jerome lived and prepared his version of the Bible and so many other works. His cell or cave is still professedly shown.[5]

The crusaders, on their approach to Jerusalem, first took possession of Bethlehem, at the entreaty of its Christian inhabitants. In A. D. 1110, king Baldwin I. erected it into an episcopal see, a dignity it had never before enjoyed; but although this was confirmed by pope Pascal II., and the title long retained in the Romish church, yet the actual possession of the see appears not to have been of long continuance.[6] In

[1] By Justin Martyr in the second century; by Origen in the third; and then by Eusebius, Jerome, the Bourdeaux pilgrim, and so on by hundreds to the present day. See above, p. 78.

[2] One of the churches, that of St. Catharine, is supposed by Quaresmius to have been built by Paula; but he assigns no better reason than mere conjecture; ii. pp. 675, 676. He is followed by some later writers. Early history, so far as I know, makes no mention of any such fact.

[3] See above, pp. 12. 20.

[4] See above, pp. 78, 79.

[5] The monks have fixed the spot where the angels appeared to the shepherds, in a valley about half an hour eastward from Bethlehem.

[6] Will. Tyr. xi. 12. Le Quien Oriens Christ. iii. p. 1275. seq. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. ii. p. 366.

A. D. 1244, Bethlehem like Jerusalem was desolated by the wild hordes of the Kharismians.[1]

The present inhabitants of Bethlehem are all Christians; and are rated at eight hundred taxable men, indicating a population of more than three thousand souls. There was formerly a Muhammedan quarter; but, after the rebellion in 1834, this was destroyed by order of Ibrahim Pacha. The town has gates at the entrance of some of the streets; the houses are solidly built, though not large. The many olive and fig-orchards and vineyards round about, are marks of industry and thrift; and the adjacent fields, though stony and rough, produce nevertheless good crops of grain. Here indeed was the scene of the beautiful narrative of Ruth, gleaning in the fields of Boaz after his reapers; and it required no great stretch of imagination to call up again those transactions before our eyes.[2] The present inhabitants, besides their agriculture, employ themselves in carving beads, crucifixes, models of the Holy Sepulchre, and other similar articles, in olive-wood, the fruit of the Dôm-palm, mother of pearl, and the like, in the same manner as the Christians of Jerusalem.[3] Indeed the neatest and most skilfully wrought specimens of all these little articles, come from Bethlehem.

The Bethlehemites are a restless race, prone to tumult and rebellion, and formerly living in frequent strife with their neighbours of Jerusalem and Hebron.[4] In the rebellion of 1834 they naturally took an active part; and the vengeance of the Egyptian government fell heavily upon them. The Muslim quarter was laid in ruins; and all the inhabitants, like those of other

[1] Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. vi. p. 635.
[2] Ruth, c. ii—iv.
[3] See above, p. 96.
[4] Such was the case in Hasselquist's day, A. D. 1751; Reise, p. 170. See, too, Ali Bey's Travels, vol. ii. p. 231.

towns and villages, disarmed. The manner in which this disarming of the population is carried into effect, is highly illustrative of the character of oriental despotism. A town or village is required to surrender, not what arms they may actually have; for this would hardly be effectual, and many might be concealed; but a requisition is made upon them, and rigidly enforced, to deliver up a certain amount of muskets and other weapons, whether they have them in possession or not. The consequence is, that the people of a place are often compelled to search out and purchase arms elsewhere at an enormous price, in order thus to deliver them up; or, if unable to do this, they are thrown into prison, and sometimes marched off as conscripts.[1] In either case the intentions of the government are answered.

When this process was going on at Bethlehem after the rebellion, an interesting circumstance took place, which serves to illustrate an ancient custom. At that time, when some of the inhabitants were already imprisoned, and all were in deep distress, Mr. Farran, then English Consul at Damascus, was on a visit to Jerusalem, and had rode out with Mr. Nicolayson to Solomon's Pools. On their return, as they rose the ascent to enter Bethlehem, hundreds of the people, male and female, met them, imploring the Consul to interfere in their behalf, and afford them his protection; and all at once, by a sort of simultaneous movement, "they spread their garments in the way" before the horses.[2] The Consul was affected unto tears; but had of course no power to interfere. This anecdote was related to me by Mr. Nicolayson; who however had never seen or heard of any thing else of the kind, during his residence in Palestine.

[1] See the case of el-Bireh, p. 131, above.

[2] Matt. xxi. 8. Mark, xi. 8. Luke, xix. 36.

Bethlehem is celebrated in the Old Testament as the birthplace and city of David; and in the New, as that of David's greater Son, the Christ, the Saviour of the world. What a mighty influence for good has gone forth from this little spot upon the human race, both for time and for eternity! It is impossible to approach the place, without a feeling of deep emotion, springing out of these high and holy associations. The legends and puerilities of monastic tradition may safely be disregarded; it is enough to know that this is Bethlehem, where Jesus the Redeemer was born. Generation after generation has indeed since that time passed away, and their places now know them no more. For eighteen hundred seasons the earth has now renewed her carpet of verdure, and seen it again decay. Yet the skies and the fields, the rocks and the hills, and the vallies around, remain unchanged; and are still the same, as when the glory of the Lord shone about the shepherds, and the song of a multitude of the heavenly host resounded among the hills, proclaiming "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men."[1]

We were joined at Bethlehem by the remainder of our escort; and left the place five minutes past noon, for Solomon's Pools; taking the path which follows the aqueduct around the hills, considerably to the eastward of our former route. Going down the steep descent from the town, we came after a few rods to what seemed at first to be two wells; but they proved to be only openings over the aqueduct, which here passes through a sort of deep vault or reservoir, from which the water is drawn up about twenty feet. Many females were drawing water, and bearing it away in skins upon their shoulders. They assured us, that there is no well of living water in or near the town.

1. Luke, ii. 8–14.

The Wâdy Ta'âmirah, into which we now descended, has its head just at the right, around which the aqueduct is carried. The declivities are full of gardens and vineyards and fine olive-trees. Ascending upon the other side, at 12h 20′, Bethlehem behind us bore N. 30° E. Ten minutes later we struck the aqueduct again, and followed it now quite to the Pools, along and around the eastern and southern sides of a steep hill, looking down on the south into the deep Wady Ŭrtâs, which also runs towards the east. At 12h 50′ the ruined village Ŭrtâs was on the declivity below us, with a fine fountain and streamlet, which waters many gardens in the valley. A few minutes higher up, the valley divides; one branch comes in from the S. S. W. which I suppose to be the continuation of Wady et-Tuheishimeh[1]; the other leads westward directly up to the Pools. Just at the foot of these, it is joined by another small parallel valley from the left with an aqueduct.[2] Above the fountain at Ŭrtâs all these valleys are comparatively sterile.

We reached the Pools, called by the Arabs el-Burak, at ten minutes past 1 o'clock. These three huge reservoirs, built of squared stones and bearing marks of the highest antiquity, lie one above another in the steep part of the valley, though not in a direct line; and are so situated, that the bottom of the one is higher than the surface of the next below, rising one above another towards the west. The top of the side-walls is not entirely level; for the water-mark extending from the lower end along the sides, strikes several feet below the top as it reaches the upper end. The upper pool was by no means full, though the whole of the bottom was covered with water. In the two others, water stood only in the lower part. In these the bottom is formed by the naked shelving rocks, which

[1] See Vol. I. p. 320. [2] Ibid. p. 321.

constitute the steep sides of the valley; leaving only a narrow channel through the middle, and having several offsets or terraces along each side. The inside walls and bottoms of all the reservoirs, so far as visible, are covered with cement; and the lower one had been recently repaired. Flights of steps lead down in various places into all the pools.

Our first business was to measure the several pools; and the following is the result in English feet.

I. LOWER POOL.

Length 582 feet. Breadth { E. end 207 feet. W. end 148 "

Depth at E. end 50 feet; of which 6 feet water.
Direction of N. side N. 45° W.

II. MIDDLE POOL.

Distance above Lower Pool 248 feet.

Length 423 feet. Breadth { E. end 250 feet. W. end 160 "

Depth at E. end 39 feet; of which 14 feet water.
Direction of S. side W. N. W.

III. UPPER POOL.

Distance above Middle Pool 160 feet.

Length 380 feet. Breadth { E. end 236 feet. W. end 229 "

Depth at E. end 25 feet; of which 15 feet water.
Direction of N. side N. 65° W.

The road by which we had formerly come from Hebron, passes along at the western end of the upper pool; adjacent to which on the north stands the old Saracenic fortress already mentioned.[1] The main source from which these reservoirs have always been supplied, (when supplied at all,) appears to be a sunken fountain situated in the open and gradually ascending fields, about forty rods N. W. of the castle. Here one sees only the mouth of a narrow well; which at this time was stopped by a large stone, too heavy for us to remove. This is the entrance to

[1] See Vol. I. p. 321.

the fountain below, which my companion had formerly explored. It cannot perhaps be better described than in the words of Maundrell: "Through this hole you descend directly down, but not without some difficulty, for about four yards; and then arrive at a vaulted room fifteen paces long and eight broad. Joining to this, is another room of the same fashion, but somewhat less. Both these rooms are covered with handsome stone arches very ancient, and perhaps the work of Solomon himself. You find here four places at which the water rises. From these separate sources it is conveyed by little rivulets into a kind of basin; and from thence is carried by a large subterraneous passage down to the pools."[1]

This passage terminates at the N. W. corner of the upper pool; not in the pool itself, but in a sort of artificial fountain just above, so arranged that the water here divides. A part now passes off through the aqueduct, which runs along the northern side of the pools; while another part is turned down a descent into a vaulted subterranean chamber, twenty-four feet long and five or six feet wide; at the further end of which it runs off through a square passage in the side, apparently to the adjacent pool. The aqueduct above mentioned continues along on the north side of all the reservoirs; giving off in like manner a portion of its waters to the middle pool, and another portion to the lower one. It then passes down a steep declivity to join a similar channel issuing from the lower end of the lower pool.

This main supply of water, however, was originally not the only one. The aqueduct which we had for-

[1] Maundrell's Journey, Apr. 1st. —In a similar way the fountain of Gihon was probably "stopped" by Hezekiah; see above, Vol. I. p. 513. The monks hold the fountain here described to be the "sealed fountain" of Cant. iv. 12. Quaresmius, ii. p. 764.

merly seen in the parallel valley on the south[1], is brought down across the point of the southern hill, and descends steeply to the lower pool, one hundred feet west of its S. E. corner. We traced this up for some distance; and found that still another branch joined it above. We were told in Jerusalem, that the principal source was in this southern valley; but that two or three years ago a large mass of rock fell into the fountain and stopped it, or at least diverted its waters from the aqueduct, which was now dry. We doubted the truth of the story; for the aqueduct in question seemed to have been long neglected.—The southern valley itself comes in just below the lower pool; and along or near its bed passes another similar aqueduct, which we traced up. There is here a well of some depth, across the bottom of which the water was seen running; it then flows down and joins the channel coming from the lower pool.

At the eastern end of the lower pool, a large abutment is built up, in which is a passage and a chamber extending under the massive wall of the reservoir quite up near to the water. The manner in which the water is drawn out or let off, we could not distinguish, as we had no lights; but it seemed to trickle out in a small stream, and passed off below in a narrow channel.

Thus the aqueduct which leads from hence to Bethlehem and Jerusalem, is here formed by the union of three branches, viz. first, that coming from the fountain N. W. of the castle along the north side of the pools; second, that from the eastern end of the lower pool; and third, that from the mouth of the small southern valley. It would seem, however, to have been the original intention, that the aqueduct should be ordinarily and mainly supplied from the fountain

[1] Vol. I. p. 321.

above the castle; its superabundant waters being turned off at three points as above described, in order to aid in filling these great reservoirs; while these latter again, in time of need, could be drawn off gradually to supply the aqueduct. They thus form all together an immense work, which is still of incalculable importance to Bethlehem, and might easily be made so to Jerusalem.—The form and general course of the aqueduct, and its termination in Jerusalem, have already been described; and all the historical traces that I have been able to find relating either to the aqueduct or the pools, have in like manner been given.[1]

We left the pools at 3¼ o'clock for the Frank Mountain; returning for ten minutes by the way we came, and then striking down to the ruined village of Ŭrtâs near the bottom of the valley, which we reached at 3h 35′. The place is still inhabited, though the houses are in ruins; the people dwelling in caverns among the rocks of the steep declivity. Here are manifest traces of a site of some antiquity,—the foundations of a square tower, a low thick wall of large squared stones, rocks hewn and scarped, and the like. If we are to look anywhere in this quarter for Etam, which was decorated by Solomon with gardens and streams of water, and fortified by Rehoboam along with Bethlehem and Tekoa; and whence too, according to the Rabbins, water was carried by an aqueduct to Jerusalem; I know of no site so probable as this spot.[2] The fountain here sends forth a copious supply of fine water, and forms a beautiful purling rill along the bottom of the valley. This to me was the more delightful, as being the first I had seen in Asia.

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 514–516.

[2] See the historical references in Vol. I. p. 515. The monks make the gardens below to be the *hortus conclusus* 'garden enclosed,' of Cant. iv. 12. Quaresmius, ii. p. 764.

After stopping here five minutes, we passed down the valley on a general course about E. S. E. along the streamlet, and through the midst of gardens and fields fertilized by its waters. In the valley and on the hills were flocks of sheep and goats mingled together; and this would seem to have been also the patriarchal mode of pasturage.[1] The sheep of Palestine are all of the broad-tailed species; the broad part being a mere excrescence of fat, with the proper tail hanging out of it. A few camels were also seen, and many neat cattle, all looking in fine case; thus showing that this is a good grazing district, however rocky and sterile it may be in appearance. The little stream was soon absorbed in the thirsty gravelly soil of the valley, and the gardens ceased.

Our Sheikh had been all day unwell, and now became quite ill; so that we persuaded him to mount the horse of one of our servants. At a quarter past four, the valley turned more to the right, and we sent off our servants and baggage with the Sheikh to the encampment of his tribe, where we had concluded to pass the night. The Sheikh had told us that he would kill a sheep for us, if we would do him this honour. Taking with us the other attendants, we now struck up the hill-side on the left to the high table-land above, and so continued our course towards the Frank Mountain. Crossing another small Wady running down S. E. to the Urtâs, we had at 4h. 50′ the foundations of a ruined village on our left, called el-Munettisheh. The hills around, though now desolate and arid, had once been built up in terraces and cultivated. At 5h 10′ we reached the base of the mountain; which bears in Arabic, for what reason I know not, the name el-Fureidîs, a diminutive of the word signifying Paradise.

[1] Gen. xxx. 35. seq.

The mountain here rises steep and round, precisely like a volcanic cone, but truncated. The height above the base cannot be less than from three to four hundred feet; and the base itself has at least an equal elevation above the bottom of Wady Ŭrtâs in the southwest; towards which there is a more gradual descent. There are traces of terraces around the foot of the mountain, but not higher up; and even these would seem to have been intended for cultivation rather than for defence. We did not notice any road to the top, nor any fosse upon the south, as described by Pococke[1]; though our attention was not particularly drawn to these points. Indeed the sides of the mountain above, present now no appearance of any thing artificial.—Just on our left, in the direction N. N. W. from the mountain, a large tract had once been levelled off and built up on the eastern side with a wall. In the midst of this tract was a large reservoir, some two hundred feet square, now dry; and in the middle of it a square mound like an island. There seemed also to be ancient foundations round about; though we did not remark the church of which Pococke speaks; and traces of an aqueduct were seen coming from the north.

Leaving here our horses, a steep ascent of ten minutes brought us to the top of the mountain, which constitutes a circle of about seven hundred and fifty feet in circumference. The whole of this is enclosed by the ruined walls of a circular fortress, built of hewn stones of good size, with four massive round towers standing one at each of the cardinal points. Either the ruins have formed a mound around the circumference, or the middle part of the enclosure was once excavated; it is now considerably deeper than the circumference. The tower upon the east is not so

[1] Descr. of the East, ii. p. 42. fol.

thoroughly destroyed as the rest; and in it a magazine or cistern may still be seen.[1]

This mountain commands, of course, a very extensive view towards the north; less so towards the south and west; while on the east, the prospect is bounded by the mountains of Moab beyond the Dead Sea. A slight haze prevented us from distinguishing the site of Taiyibeh and also Kerak. In the view of the Dead Sea I was greatly disappointed. I had hoped to have got sight here perhaps of both its extremities; or at least to have ascertained some other high points from which that would be possible; but we found that very little more of its surface is visible from this spot, than is seen from the Mount of Olives. The mountain is too far from the sea to command a view over it; and other mountains intervene, which, though rugged and desolate, are low; so that while they serve to shut out the prospect, they present among themselves no better point of view.[2]

The present name of the "Frank Mountain" is known only among the Franks; and is founded on a report current among them, that this post was maintained by the crusaders for forty years after the fall of Jerusalem.[3] But, to say nothing of the utter silence of all the historians of the crusades, both Christian and Muhammedan, as to any occupation whatever of this post by either party, it is justly remarked by Irby and Mangles, that "the place is too small ever to have

[1] The Frank Mountain has not usually been ascended by travellers. Among the few who speak of having been upon it, are Von Troilo, Nau, Le Brun, Pococke, Irby and Mangles, and some others.

[2] We took on the Frank Mountain the following bearings: Abu Nujeim a Wely, W. Bethlehem, N. 27° W. Beit Sâhûr, N. 21° W. (This is the Bethsaon of Pococke, ii. p. 34.) Beit Ta'mar, N. 20° W. Mâr Elyâs, N. 16° W. Neby Samwîl, N. 10° W. Mount of Olives, N. 10° E. Abu Dîs, near Bethany, N. 20° E. Khûreitûn, S. 15° W. Tekû'a, S. 50° W. Beit Fejjâr, S. 77° W.

[3] Some say by the Knights of St. John. Most travellers who mention the report, seem to doubt its truth. Von Troilo, p. 314. Pococke, ii. p. 42. fol.

contained half the number of men, which would have been requisite to make any stand in such a country; and the ruins, though they might be those of a place once defended by the Franks, appear to have had an earlier origin, as the architecture seems to be Roman."[1] The present appellation appears to have sprung up near the close of the seventeenth century.[2] Before that time most travellers who mention the mountain, call it Bethulia, and give the same name to the ruins at its foot[3]; though on what conceivable ground this latter name was adopted, I have not been able to discover.

The earliest direct mention of the mountain in modern times, as well as of this story of the Franks, is apparently by Felix Fabri in A. D. 1483. According to him the Franks had plenty of water in cisterns, and land enough within the fortress to raise corn and wine and fruits sufficient for each year; and they might have held out indefinitely, had not a pestilence broken out among them after thirty years, and destroyed most of the men and all their wives and daughters; after which the remnant withdrew to other lands.[4] Subsequent travellers have repeated this report in different forms; but all the circumstances lead only to the conclusion, that it is in all likelihood a legend of the fifteenth century.[5]

[1] Travels, &c. p. 340.

[2] I have not found it in any writer earlier than Le Brun, Voyage, p. 279. So Maundrell, Mar. 31st. Morison, p. 487.

[3] So Felix Fabri in 1483, Reissb. p. 287. Zuallardo, p. 218. Quaresmius, ii. p. 687. Doubdan, p. 366. Von Troilo, p. 313. Morison has both names, p. 487. Rauwolf, and also Cotovicus, confound this mountain with Tekoa; Reissb. p. 645. Cotovic. p. 225.—Brocardus speaks of a "collis Achillæ" over against Tekoa, c. ix. p. 184. This Breydenbach and Adrichomius refer to the site of Masada on the Dead Sea; Reissb. p. 132. Adrichom. p. 38. De Salignaco, on the contrary, seems to make it the Frank Mountain; tom. x. c. 2. I have not been able to trace this name any further.

[4] Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 287. Morison, in 1698, makes this story refer to the time of the conquest by Selim in 1517! Relat. p. 487. I cannot find that Quaresmius mentions the story.

[5] Compare the similar legend

More probable is the suggestion, that this spot is the site of the fortress and city Herodium, erected by Herod the Great. According to Josephus, that place was situated about sixty stadia from Jerusalem, and not far from Tekoa.[1] Here on a hill of moderate height, having the form of the female breast, and which he raised still higher or at least fashioned by artificial means, Herod erected a fortress with rounded towers[2], having in it royal apartments of great strength and splendour. The difficult ascent was overcome by a flight of two hundred steps of hewn stone. At the foot of the mountain he built other palaces for himself and his friends; and caused water to be brought thither from a distance, in large quantity and at great expense. The whole plain around was also covered with buildings, forming a large city, of which the hill and fortress constituted the acropolis.[3] So important indeed was the city, that one of the toparchies afterwards took the same name; and Ptolemy also mentions it as a town of note.[4] To the same place apparently the body of Herod was brought for burial, two hundred stadia from Jericho, where he died.[5]—All these particulars, the situation, the mountain, the round towers, the large reservoir of water and the city below, correspond very strikingly to the present state of the Frank Mountain; and leave scarcely a doubt, that this was Herodium, where the Idumean tyrant sought his last repose.[6]

relative to the leaving out of Zion at the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in 1542; see above, Vol. I. p. 470. note 6.

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xv. 9. 4. B. J. i. 21. 10. Also, in B. J. iv. 9. 5, it is related, that Eleazar, who had laid siege to Tekoa, sent messengers "to the garrison in Herodium, which was near," πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἡρωδίῳ φρουροὺς, ὅπερ ἦν πλησίον.

[2] Κυκλωτερέσι πύργοις, Antiq. xv. 9. 4. Στρογγύλοις πύργοις, B. J. i. 21. 10.

[3] See, generally, Joseph. Antiq. xv. 9. 4. B. J. i. 21. 10.

[4] Joseph. B. J. iii. 3. 5. Ptolem. v. 14. See Reland, Pal. p. 820.

[5] Joseph. Ant. xvii. 8. 3. B. J. i. 33. 9.—Another castle of the same name was built by Herod on a mountain of Arabia; Joseph. B. J. i. 21. 10.

[6] The first suggestion as to the

An earlier mention of this mountain, or indeed any mention of it in the Scriptures, cannot be assumed with the like certainty. Pococke indeed suggests, that it may have been the Beth-haccerem of the prophet Jeremiah, where the children of Benjamin were to "set up a sign of fire," while they blew the trumpet in Tekoa.[1] Jerome also says that there was a village Bethacharma, situated on a mountain between Tekoa and Jerusalem.[2] All this accords well enough with the position and character of the Frank Mountain; but is too indefinite to warrant any thing more than conjecture. And besides, if Beth-haccerem was indeed succeeded by the fortress and city of Herod, it is difficult to see why Jerome, who usually employs the Greek names by preference, should here and elsewhere make no allusion to the later and more important Herodium.

Mounting again at 4 o'clock, and descending from the table-land towards the S. W. we came in twenty minutes to the bottom of Wady Ŭrtâs. There another valley joins it from the S. W. which we now followed up for some distance. The former Wady here runs about S. E. passing at some distance south of the Frank Mountain; and soon contracts into a narrow picturesque gorge, with high precipitous walls upon each side. High up on the southern side, at some distance below the entrance of the ravine, are the remains

identity of the Frank Mountain with Herodium, so far as I have been able to find, is in Mariti; Viaggi, &c. Germ. p. 545. He relates, that the Greek monks of St. Saba, who accompanied him towards Bethlehem, pointed out, on a mountain towards the south, the castle of Herod, which they called Erodion. This seems to have been the Frank Mountain; though Mariti does not name it, and perhaps did not recognise it. The same suggestion is made by Berggren, Resor, &c. iii. p. 50. Stockh. 1828; and in the Modern Traveller in Palestine, p. 183. Then by Raumer, Paläst. p. 220.

[1] Jerem. vi. 1. Pococke, ii. p. 42. fol.

[2] Hieron. Comm. in Jer. vi. 1. Neither Eusebius nor Jerome mention Herodium, nor elsewhere Beth-haccerem.

of a square tower and village, called Khŭreitûn, which we had seen from the mountain; and further down among the rocks on the same side, is an immense natural cavern, which my companion had formerly visited, but which we were now prevented from examining by the lateness of the hour. The mouth of the grotto can be approached only on foot along the side of the cliffs. My friend's description accorded well with the account of Irby and Mangles; according to whom, the cave "runs in by a long, winding, narrow passage, with small chambers or cavities on either side. We soon came to a large chamber with natural arches of a great height; from this last there were numerous passages, leading in all directions, occasionally joined by others at right angles, and forming a perfect labyrinth, which our guides assured us had never been thoroughly explored; the people being afraid of losing themselves. The passages were generally four feet high, by three feet wide; and were all on a level with each other. There were a few petrifactions where we were; nevertheless the grotto was perfectly clear, and the air pure and good."[1]—The valley here takes the same name, and is known as Wady Khŭreitûn.

This remarkable cavern is regarded in monastic tradition, reaching back to the time of the crusades, as the cave of Adullam, in which David took refuge after leaving Gath of the Philistines.[2] But Adullam is enumerated among the cities of the plain of Judah; and Eusebius and Jerome place it in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis, west of the mountains.[3]

Following up the branch-valley among the open hills, and then gradually ascending the higher ground

[1] Travels, &c. pp. 340, 341. See also Pococke, ii. p. 41. fol. Turner's Tour in the Levant, ii. p. 238.

[2] 1 Sam. xxii. 1. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13.—Will. Tyr. xv. 6. Quaresmius, ii. p. 766.

[3] Josh. xv. 35. Onomast. art. *Adollam.*

towards the left, we came in twenty minutes (at 6h 40') to the encampment of the Ta'âmirah belonging to our guides; where we found our tent already pitched, and our home for the night prepared. The situation was high, lying on the northern declivity of the high land around Tekoa; and overlooking a large tract of country towards the north.[1]

The Ta'âmirah were said to muster in all about three hundred men. The limits of their territory are not very distinct; but they may be said to occupy, in general, the district lying between Bethlehem, Tekoa, and the Dead Sea; the eastern part of which is a mere desert. At the place where we now were, there were only six tents; the rest of the tribe being dispersed in other similar encampments. They have but a single village, Beit Ta'mar, and this is rarely inhabited; here they store their grain in subterranean magazines like cisterns, as is common in other villages. The Ta'âmirah occupy indeed a sort of border ground, between the Bedawîn and Fellâhîn; between the wandering tenants of the desert who dwell only in tents, and the more fixed inhabitants of the villages. Hence, being acknowledged by neither and distrusted by all, they are regarded as a sort of Ishmaelites whose "hand is against every man;" and have acquired for themselves a notorious character as restless and daring robbers and rebels. As a matter of course, they took part in the insurrection of 1834; and at the capture of Jerusalem, our Sheikh was said to have been the first man who entered the city.

They also held out till the very last against the government. Fearing the consequences of their activity in the rebellion, and dreading especially the thought of being subjected to the conscription, they refired into

[1] From the encampment the Frank Mountain bore E. N. E. Bethlehem, N. Tekû'a, S. 6° E. distant 25 minutes.

the desert and encamped near the Dead Sea. In order to bring them to terms, the Mudîr of 'Akka came with several thousand men and encamped in their territory for some months; and it was only when they saw their flocks and stores seized, their crops destroyed, and famine staring them in the face, that they returned and submitted. They were disarmed, and compelled to pay an annual capitation tax of one hundred piastres for each man; but no soldiers were taken from them, nor as yet had any other tax been demanded in any form. But during the very last year, orders had come from Ibrahim Pasha to take of them for soldiers; upon which all the young men immediately fled to the east side of the Dead Sea. The Sheikh made representations to the authorities at Jerusalem, and the orders were recalled; though in the meantime five men had been already seized, some of whom were now dead, and the others not yet given up.

Such were the character and circumstances of the tribe, in the midst of whom we now were, and into whose care and keeping we had committed ourselves. But we had already learned enough of common reports, to know that they were in general exceedingly exaggerated; and we felt ourselves quite as secure here as within the walls of Jerusalem. To judge from our own intercourse of eight days with the Ta'âmirah, they are much like other Bedawîn; though I think braver, and more faithful and trustworthy in danger. The Sheikh and his four men who accompanied us, were personally brave, and would probably have laid down their lives at any moment in our defence. Yet, like most Arabs, they have no regard for veracity, whenever there is the slightest personal motive to tell a lie; and like most Arabs too, their notions of *meum* and *tuum* are not very strictly defined, except towards one another, and towards those to whom they are bound in honour.

In this particular, we at least had no occasion for complaint.

Our Sheikh was in every respect something more than a common Arab. In stature he was more than six feet high, well built and finely proportioned; and there was in his movements a native dignity and nobleness, which we did not find in other Bedawîn. His countenance was intelligent, and had a mild and pensive cast; indeed there was a seriousness and earnestness about him, which could not but give him influence in any situation. He was also more than an ordinary Sheikh; he could read and write; and was likewise the Khatîb or orator and Imâm of his tribe. In this capacity he was very regular in the performance of the Muslim devotions, and often chanted long prayers aloud. This seemed indeed to be his chief character, and he was addressed only as 'Khatîb;' so that we hardly heard him called by his real name, Muhammed. There was said to be one or more other Sheikhs of the tribe; though we saw no one but him. The learning of the tribe is confined to the Khatîb, no other individual being able to read or write; but as even this is an exception to Bedawy custom, the Ta'âmirah stand degraded by it in the eyes of their brethren.

As the Khatîb was unwell, we saw no more of him that night. When we sent forward our servants, we had given them a hint to evade (if possible) the sheep, which the Sheikh had proposed to kill in our honour; for which we were told in Jerusalem, a present of not less than two dollars to the Sheikh's wife would be a necessary acknowledgment. This they had been able to do without difficulty. The Sheikh had indeed brought to the tent, not the proffered sheep, but a kid, to be killed as a present; and our servants had told him rather unceremoniously, that we did not eat goat's flesh, and counselled him to take it away again; which he did.

It was now late; and in the bright light of the moon, the scene was highly romantic. We were here on the lofty hill-side, looking out upon the dark mass of the Frank Mountain and the sacred region of Bethlehem; while around us were the black tents, the horses picketed, and the numerous flocks of sheep and goats, all still like the silence of the desert.

We had noticed on our arrival a fine mare with many trappings picketed near the tents; and were told the animal belonged to a Sheikh of the Jehâlîn, who was here on a visit. He came to our tent during the evening, and proved to be Defa' Allah, the chief Sheikh of that tribe. He was gaily dressed, and wore red boots, which he kicked off with some difficulty on entering our tent. As we were expecting to visit Wady Mûsa with an escort from his tribe, we were glad to meet him here and obtain the necessary preliminary information. He had lately been there himself; having accompanied Lord Prudhoe thither directly across the desert from Suez. He said they were accustomed to take travellers from Hebron either on horses or dromedaries; but the latter were preferable, because in case of necessity they were fleeter, and could hold out longer. He was quite talkative, and seemed good-natured and spirited; but as I could not follow his talk, and was exceedingly weary, I could not resist falling into a deep sleep as I leaned on my couch; however little honour this might reflect upon my courtesy. He however did not take it ill; and after some weeks we met again as old acquaintances at Hebron.

The object of Defa' Allah's visit here we did not learn at the time; but it afterwards turned out that he belonged to the warlike party we had met in Bethlehem, and had come hither to induce the Ta'âmirah to join in the expedition. But they had already suf-

fered enough from war, and were too wary to make any movement which might draw upon them the notice of the Egyptian government; so that the Sheikh of the Jehâlîn did not effect his purpose, and left the encampment during the night to overtake his party. But the Khatîb was still too much of a diplomatist not to keep all this for the present to himself; and it was only after our return to Jerusalem, that he gave us this information.

Wednesday, May 9th. We rose soon after 4 o'clock, and looked about upon the encampment. All was already in motion at this early hour. There were about six hundred sheep and goats, the latter being the most numerous; and the process of milking was now going on. They have few cows. The six tents were arranged in a sort of square; they were made of black hair-cloth, not large; and were mostly open at one end and on the sides, the latter being turned up. The tents formed the common rendezvous of men, women, children, calves, lambs, and kids. The women were without veils, and seemed to make nothing of our presence. Here we had an opportunity of seeing various processes in the housekeeping of nomadic life. The women in some of the tents were kneading bread, and baking it in thin cakes in the embers or on iron plates over the fire. Another female was churning the milk in a very primitive way, which we often saw afterwards in differents parts of the country. The churn consists of a common water-skin, i. e. the tanned skin of a goat stripped off whole and the extremities sewed up. This is partly filled with the milk; and being then suspended in a slight frame, or between two sticks leaning against the tent or house, it is regularly moved to and fro with a jerk until the process is completed.

In another tent a woman was kneeling and grinding at the hand-mill. These mills are doubtless those

of scriptural times; and are similar to the Scottish *quern*. They consist of two stones about eighteen inches or two feet in diameter, lying one upon the other, with a slight convexity between them and a hole through the upper to receive the grain. The lower stone is fixed, sometimes in a sort of cement, which rises around it like a bowl and receives the meal as it falls from the stones. The upper stone is turned upon the lower, by means of an upright stick fixed in it as a handle. We afterwards saw many of these mills; and saw only women grinding, sometimes one alone and sometimes two together. The female kneels or sits at her task, and turns the mill with both hands, feeding it occasionally with one. The labour is evidently hard; and the grating sound of the mill is heard at a distance, indicating (like our coffee-mills) the presence of a family and of household life. We heard no song as an accompaniment to the work.[1]

As we were looking round upon this scene of busy life, the sun rose gloriously over the wide prospect, and shed his golden light upon a landscape, not rich indeed in appearance, for all is rocky and sterile to the view; yet fertile in pasturage, as was testified by the multitude of flocks. The curling smoke ascending from various Arab encampments in the distance, added to the picturesque effect of the landscape.

We left the encampment at 6h 10′ for Tekû'a, keeping along the eastern brow of the high ground. The Khatîb had shaken off his illness during the night; and now marched as our leader with vigour and spirit. As his tribe had been disarmed, our guides could law-

[1] "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken and the other left;" Matt. xxiv. 41. Luke xvii. 35. Comp. Ex. xi. 5.—"Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the mill-stones and the light of the candle;" Jer. xxv. 10. Compare Rev. xviii. 22, 23.

fully carry no better weapons than short clubs and staves; but they prided themselves on bearing our muskets and pistols; and took with them also a gun of their own, which was clandestinely kept among them.

We reached Tekû'a at 6h 35′. It lies on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad on the top, and covered with ruins to the extent of four or five acres. These consist chiefly in the foundations of houses built of squared stones, some of which are bevelled. At the N. E. part are the remains of a large square tower or castle, still the highest point of all. Near the middle of the site are the ruins of a Greek church; among which are several fragments of columns, and a baptismal font of rose-coloured limestone verging into marble. The font is octagonal, five feet in diameter on the outside, four feet on the inside, and three feet nine inches deep. There are many cisterns excavated in the rocks; and not far off is a living spring, from which our Arabs brought us fine water. The ruins of a church lying a mile further south, as mentioned by Pococke, we did not see.[1]

The high position of Tekû'a gives it a wide prospect. Toward the N. E. the land slopes down towards Wâdy Khŭreitûn; on the other sides the hill is surrounded by a belt of level table-land; beyond which are vallies and then other higher hills. This belt is tilled to a considerable extent, and there were now several fields of grain upon it. On the south at some distance, another deep valley runs off S. E. towards the Dead Sea. The view in this direction is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab, with frequent bursts of the Dead Sea, seen through

[1] Probably the fountain is that mentioned by Pococke, as being in a grotto towards the N. W. Vol. ii. p. 41, fol.

openings among the rugged and desolate intervening mountains. In the E. S. E. were seen also two isolated towers, Kŭsr 'Antar and Kŭsr Um el-Leimôn, between Tekû'a and the continuation of Wady Khŭreitûn; but there seemed to be nothing remarkable about them.[1]

Here then are the remains of the Tekoa of the Old Testament; whence Joab called the "wise woman" to plead in behalf of Absalom; and which, fortified by Rehoboam, was afterwards the birth-place of the prophet Amos, and gave its name also to the adjacent desert on the east.[2] Not only is the present name decisive; but the ancient specifications as to its site are equally distinct. Eusebius and Jerome describe Tekoa as lying twelve miles from Jerusalem and six miles from Bethlehem towards the south; and the latter further remarks, that from Bethlehem he had Tekoa daily before his eyes.[3] We did not indeed travel the direct route between these two places; but the distance is still reckoned at two hours.[4] In the beginning of the sixth century, St. Sabas established in this vicinity a new *laura*, in connection with the greater one which still bears his own name; and this became afterwards a seat of strife and controversy, as has already been related.[5] About A. D. 765, Tekoa was visited by St. Willibald; it was then a Christian

[1] At Tekû'a we obtained the following bearings: Frank Mountain N. 50° E. Mount of Olives N. 15° E. Sûr Bâhil, a village towards Jerusalem, N. 13° E. Mâr Elyâs N. 5° E. Bethlehem N. Neby Samwîl N. 2° W. Abu Nujeim N. 15° W. Beit Fejjâr S. 85° W. esh-Shiyûkh, a well-built village, S. 51° W.

[2] 2 Sam. xiv. 2. 2 Chron. xi. 6. Amos i. 1. 2 Chron. xx. 20. 1 Macc. ix. 33.

[3] Onomast. art. *Elthei*, Ἐκθεκυί. Hieron. Comm. in Amos Proœm. Comm. in Jerem. vi. 1, "Thecuam quoque viculum in monte situm . . . quotidie oculis cernimus." See the authorities collected in Reland Palæst. p. 1028. — Jerome in the Onomasticon gives the distance of Tekoa from Jerusalem at nine miles; which is inconsistent with Eusebius and with himself, and is probably a corruption.

[4] Comp. Turner's Tour, &c. ii. p. 240.

[5] See above, pp. 27, 28.

place and had a church.[1] In the time of the crusades it was still inhabited by Christians, who afforded aid to the crusaders during the siege of Jerusalem; and the place was afterwards assigned by king Fulco to the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in exchange for Bethany.[2] In A. D. 1138, Tekoa was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan; but the inhabitants had mostly taken refuge in the cavern above described at Khŭreitûn, which was held to be that of Adullam.[3]

Whether Tekoa ever recovered from this blow, we are not informed; nor do we know any thing further as to the time of its abandonment.[4] In the days of Quaresmius it was, as now, desolate, and was not visited for fear of the Arabs; though Morone in the same century mentions the baptismal font among the ruins.[5] A few years later (A. D. 1666) Von Troilo visited the spot; and describes its appearance much as it exists at present.[6] Since that time travellers have not unfrequently passed this way; sometimes on their route between Bethlehem and Hebron.[7]

We had been hesitating, whether to go from Tekoa to Hebron, about four hours distant; or keep upon the hills more towards the left, and thus explore the country between us and 'Ain Jidy more thoroughly. Adopting the latter course, as presenting a route hitherto untrodden by travellers, we proceeded on our way at 7^h 40′, descending towards the S. W. We

[1] Hodœporicon, p. 377. ed. Mabillon.

[2] Will. Tyr. viii. 7. xv. 26. See p. 102, above.

[3] Will. Tyr. xv. 6. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. ii. p. 682. See above, p. 175.

[4] Brocardus and Marinus Sanutus mention Tekoa; but merely as an ancient place. Broc. c. ix. p. 184. Marin. Sanut. p. 247. So too Breydenbach, Reissb. p. 132. Rauwolf mistakes the Frank Mountain for it; ibid. p. 645.

[5] Quaresmius, ii., p. 687. Morone, p. 298.

[6] Reisebeschr. p. 314. Dresd. 1676.

[7] E. g. le Brun, p. 279. Morison, p. 487. Pococke, ii. p. 41. Turner, ii. p. 240. Irby and Mangles and party, p. 341.

soon struck upon a small Wady, and followed it down in the same direction until ten minutes past eight. Here, the larger Wady 'Arrûb comes in from the S. W. and the united valley, under the name of Wady Jehâr, now runs off towards the S. E. to join the great Wady el-Ghâr, which empties into the Dead Sea a short distance S. of 'Ain Jidy. Following up the Wady 'Arrûb, we took the branch that leads to a small village called Sa'îr[1], being also the usual road to Hebron. At 9 o'clock, before reaching this village, (which lies half an hour beyond, or two hours from Tekoa,) we turned to the left into a side-valley; and following it upwards to its head, we then passed up a steep ascent. The vallies along which we thus travelled, and the sides of the hills around, were sprinkled and sometimes covered with arbutus, dwarf oaks, small firs, and other bushes, with an abundance of the Za'ter; presenting the same general features as the country around Hebron.

At the top of the ascent, which we reached at 9^h 20′, is a cistern marked by two or three trees. The spot is called Bîr ez-Za'ferâneh.[2] The country before us was now a high rocky tract, exhibiting on our left no appearance of cultivation, though there are occasional traces of its having been formerly inhabited. A few villages appeared at a distance on our right. Fifteen minutes from Bîr ez-Za'ferâneh (at 9^h 40′) while this place bore N. 50° E. and Shiyûkh S. 86° W. the next point of our route, Beni Na'îm, came in sight, bearing S. 9° W. But instead of proceeding directly towards it, we were compelled to make a great *detour* towards the west, in order to pass around the heads of several branches of the Wady el-Ghâr, which lay between us and Beni Na'îm, and were said to be so deep

[1] Probably the same which Irby and Mangles call Sipheer; p. 342.

[2] From this spot Tekoa bore N. E. by. N. Beit Fejjâr N. 25° W. Shiyûkh S. 81° W.

and rugged as to be nearly impassable for horses.—At the point where we now were, we saw traces of former foundations; and at ten o'clock there were ruins of small square towers on our left. At half past ten, we crossed a low sharp ridge, from which Bîr ez-Za'ferâneh bore about N. 70° E. and at 10h 40′ we halted for ten minutes in the shallow valley beyond. From hence our Mukârîyeh went with one horse to Hebron to purchase barley; to rejoin us again at Beni Na'îm. They had neglected to bring a supply, thinking they could so manage as to induce us to go to Hebron.

Starting again at ten minutes before eleven o'clock, we began from this point to take a more direct course towards Beni Na'îm, proceeding first for half an hour in a direction nearly south. We soon came upon the brow of a very deep valley on our right; which, commencing further to the north, here runs towards the south, and passing to the eastward of Dhoherîyeh goes to join Wady es-Seba'. After receiving the Wady in which Hebron lies, it takes the name of Wady el-Khŭlîl; and is the great drain of all the region around. At 11h 20′ we saw Nebi Yûnas, or Hŭlhûl, on the high ridge beyond this valley, bearing N. 35° W. We had formerly seen it from the other side.[1] Near by us was a "broken cistern" in the rocks, well covered on the inside with cement. A ruin called Beit 'Ainûn was pointed out, bearing N. 40° W. Hebron, as near as we could judge, bore about S. 50° W. and was not far from an hour distant. The direction of Beni Na'îm was here S. 50° E. towards which we now shaped our course.

We were thus travelling along the dividing line between the waters of the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean; and although we now diverged from the great

[1] See Vol. I. p. 319.

valley on our right, yet it continued to be the drain of all the country on that side during the whole day. As we approached Beni Na'îm, the traces of cultivation increased; and the level spots of any size were sown with barley or millet. Towards the west, olive-trees and small vineyards appeared occasionally. All the tillage belongs to the few scattered villages which we saw.

The whole slope towards the Dead Sea on this side of Jerusalem, resembles in its general features the same slope on the north of that city. But it has even less of fertility; the desert region extending further up from the Dead Sea towards the water-summit. Still, even in those parts where all is now desolate, there are everywhere traces of the hand of the men of other days, as we saw both yesterday and to-day; terraces, walls, stones gathered along the paths, frequent cisterns, and the like. Most of the hills indeed exhibit the remains of terraces built up around them, the undoubted signs of former cultivation.

After a long ride we reached Beni Na'îm at twenty minutes past noon, where we made a halt of several hours. This is a village with a mosk, lying on very high ground, to which the ascent is gradual on every side, forming a conspicuous object to all the region far and near. It overlooks the country around Hebron; and is therefore not improbably the very highest point in all the hill-country of Judah. According to the Muslims this is the burial-place of Lot; and the mosk professedly covers his tomb.[1] It is a well-built structure, much in the shape of an ordinary Khân, surrounding a court with chambers and porticos around the inside. The flat roof over these forms a terrace along the wall, which is furnished with loop-holes for

[1] Sir John Maundeville mentions the tomb of Lot as shown in his day two miles from Hebron; Travels, p. 68. Lond. 1839.

muskets; and thus the building answers also the purpose of a fortress. Some of the houses of the village are built of large hewn stones, indicating antiquity. Most of them were in good repair, but none of them now inhabited; all the people being abroad, dwelling in tents or caves, in order to watch their flocks and fields of grain. This is the custom of the peasants in this part of Palestine, during the months of pasturage in spring and until the crops are gathered; while in autumn and winter they inhabit their villages.[1] Cisterns excavated in the solid rock testify also to the antiquity of the site; and the exterior of the rocks is in many places hewn smooth or scarped. Over most of the cisterns is laid a broad and thick flat stone, with a round hole cut in the middle, forming the mouth of the cistern. This hole we found in many cases covered with a heavy stone, which it would require two or three men to roll away.[2]

From the roof of the mosk at Beni Na'îm we had an extensive view on every side, and especially towards the east and south. The prospect towards the north was limited by the high tract over which we had just passed; and towards the west and S. W. by the hills around Hebron. The mountains beyond the Dead Sea were very distinct; but the sea itself was not visible except through gaps in the western mountains, by which the eye could penetrate into its deep bosom. One of these was said to be near the pass of 'Ain Jidy; and through another, further south, we could perceive what appeared to be a large sand-bank in the sea. Towards the south the land sinks down gradually to

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 313. We afterwards met with other like instances.

[2] Gen. xxix. 2, 3, "a great stone was upon the well's mouth; and thither were all the flocks gathered; and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in his place." We afterwards saw many illustrations of this passage in the fields; the cisterns being very often thus covered with a stone.

an extensive basin or plain, having many villages and ancient sites, with which we afterwards became better acquainted. We now remarked the ancient fortress of Kurmul (Carmel), and beyond it a dark mountain ridge beginning not far to the left and running off W. S. W.[1]

In respect to the place which anciently stood here, we can be guided only by conjecture. Jerome relates of Paula, that, departing from Hebron, she stopped upon the height of *Caphar Barucha*, 'Village of Benediction;' to which place Abraham accompanied the Lord, and where of course he afterwards looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah and beheld the smoke of their burning.[2] Here Paula looked out upon the wide desert, the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the regions of Engaddi and Zoar; and here she remembered Lot and his sin.[3] She then returned to Jerusalem by way of Tekoa. All these circumstances accord exactly with the situation of Beni Na'îm, and with no other spot; and the mention of Lot in this connection, may help to account for the origin of the present Mûhammedan tradition.—This of course was a different place from the *Valley* of Berachah (benediction) in the direction of Tekoa, where Jehoshaphat celebrated the miraculous overthrow of the Moabites and Ammonites.[4] Yet even of this perhaps a trace remains in the name *Bereikût*, which stands on Sectzen's map, and is found also in our lists.

[1] From the mosk we took bearings: esh-Shiyûkh N. 5° W. Pass of 'Ain Jidy S. 65° E. Wady el-Mŏjib beyond the sea, N. 80° E. Kurmul S. 23° W.—Hebron bears S. 82° W. distant about an hour and a half. This we were able afterwards to ascertain from the hill west of Hebron. See Hebron, May 25th.

[2] Gen. xviii. 33. xix. 27, 28.

[3] "Altera die stetit in supercilio *Caphar Barucha*, id est, *villæ benedictionis*; quem ad locum Abraham Dominum prosequutus est. Unde latam despiciens solitudinem, ac terram quondam Sodomæ, &c. Recordabatur speluncæ Lot, &c." Hieron. Ep. 86. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, tom. iv. ii. p. 675. ed. Mart. See also Reland Palæst. pp. 356, 685.

[4] 2 Chron. xx. 1, 2, 20, 26, 27.

On arriving at Beni Na'îm we quietly took possession of the court of the mosk; spread our carpets in the northern portico; and our servants having kneaded and baked unleavened bread for the first time, we enjoyed our repast and made ourselves very comfortable. The weather was bright and pleasant, with a mid-day temperature of 67° F. After two hours the Mukârîyeh arrived from Hebron; bringing with them their barley, and also oranges and other fruit for us.

We had before been undecided what route to take from Beni Na'îm; but the sight of Kurmul, and a report of names like Zîf, Ma'în, and Yŭtta, in that region, induced us to bend our steps that way. Near Tekoa we had fallen in with two of the Arabs Rashâideh, who dwell around 'Ain Jidy; and as this point lay out of the territories of our guides of the Ta'âmirah, we had taken up one of these Arabs, both as a further guide for that portion of the western coast of the Dead Sea, and likewise in order to insure a good reception from such Arabs of his tribe as we might happen to fall in with. In going to Kurmul we entered also the territory of the Jehâlîn.

We left Beni Na'îm at half past 3 o'clock, descending gradually; and in twenty minutes came in sight of Yŭtta on the distant hills, bearing S. 55° W. This is doubtless the Juttah of the Old Testament; we afterwards saw it much nearer, and I shall again recur to it.[1] At the same time Beni Na'îm bore N. 40° E. and Yŭkîn S. 5° W. The latter is a Muhammedan Makâm (station), where they say Lot stopped after his flight from Sodom. At 4h 10′ we passed close by it; and continued to descend gradually towards the plain. At 4¾ o'clock we reached the western base of Tell Zîf (Hill of Zîf) a round eminence situated in the plain,

[1] Josh. xv. 55. xxi. 16. See under June 4th.

a hundred feet or more in height. Here we fell into the road from Hebron to Kurmul.

The proper ruins of Zîf, the Ziph of the Old Testament, lie about ten minutes east of this point, on a low hill or ridge between two small Wadys, which commence here and run towards the Dead Sea. We ran thither on foot along the north side of the Tell, which is separated from the ruins by one of the Wadys. There is here little to be seen except broken walls and foundations, most of them of unhewn stones, but indicating solidity, and covering a considerable tract of ground. In the middle is a low massive square building, constructed of squared stones, and vaulted within with pointed arches; showing that the place must have been inhabited long after the Muhammedan conquest. Cisterns also remain; and in the midst of the ruins is a narrow sloping passage cut down into the rock, terminating at a door with a subterranean chamber beyond, which may have served as a tomb or more probably as a magazine.—On the top of Tell Zîf is a level plot apparently once enclosed by a wall; and here too are several cisterns.[1]

Ziph is mentioned by Jerome as existing in his day eastward from Hebron. From that time to the present, there is no trace of the name in history.[2]

Mounting again at ten minutes past 5 o'clock, we proceeded upon the Hebron road towards Kurmul. The region around, and especially upon our right, was the finest we had yet seen in the hill-country of

[1] From this Tell, some fifteen rods east of our road, the ruins of Zif bore N. 78° E. distant about ten minutes. Beni Na'im N. 39° E. Kurmul S. 7° W. Hebron about N. by W.

[2] Onomast. art. *Ziph*. Eusebius does not mention it.—Jerome says it was eight miles from Hebron towards the east. It is indeed somewhat east of south; but the distance is not quite an hour and three quarters with camels, or less than five Roman miles. Jerome had no personal knowledge of this region, and his estimates of distances are here very loose. See under May 26th.

Judah. The great plain or basin spread itself out in that direction, shut in on every side by higher land or hills, except upon the east, where it slopes off towards the Dead Sea. The elevation of this plain, though not so great as that of Dhoherîyeh, cannot be less than fifteen hundred feet or more above the level of the Mediterranean. Its waters apparently flow off in both directions, partly towards the Dead Sea, and partly towards Wady es-Seba'. The surface of the plain is waving, and almost free from rocks; indeed even the smaller stones are less abundant than usual. At present the whole tract was almost covered with fine fields of wheat, belonging to persons in Hebron who rent the land of the government. Watchmen were stationed in various parts, to prevent cattle and flocks from trespassing upon the grain. The wheat was now ripening; and we had here a beautiful illustration of Scripture. Our Arabs "were an hungered," and going into the fields, they "plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands."[1] On being questioned, they said this was an old custom, and no one would speak against it; they were supposed to be hungry, and it was allowed as a charity. We saw this afterwards in repeated instances.

In the first ten minutes we noticed two small sites of ruined foundations on our left, for which our guides knew no name; but which the Jehâlîn, as we afterwards passed this way, included under the name of Zîf. At 5h 40′ there were other ruins upon a low hill at our left, called Um el-'Amad, 'mother of the pillar.' Foundations and heaps of stones with some cisterns cover a small tract of ground; while two or three coarse columns mark the site probably of a village church, and give occasion for the name.[2] Beyond this

[1] Matt. xii. 1. Mark ii. 23. Luke vi. 1.

[2] We visited this spot afterwards, May 26th.

point, the land which was not ploughed, was covered with the herbs Za'ter and Bellân (or *Netsh*), which afford fine pasturage for sheep and goats; the latter preferring it even to grass. The tower of Semû'a was occasionally in sight.

We came to the ruins of Carmel at twenty-five minutes past six; and were about to pitch our tent by the reservoir in the deep head of the valley, when an Arab peasant came and warned us against it, saying there were *wanderers* (robbers) round about, and inviting us to go on to Ma'în to an encampment of peasants from Yŭtta. This we consented to do, more for the sake of seeing the place and the people, than from any apprehension of danger; for our escort was not of a kind which robbers would be likely to attack. Accordingly, after five minutes' delay, we went on, and reached the place at five minutes before seven o'clock. Here we encamped by a sheep-fold near a cavern. It was now dark, and a strong chill wind was blowing from the west; so that we rejoiced in the protection of our tent, and enjoyed also the blazing fire of our Arabs beneath the shelter of a rock.

A band of peasants from Yŭtta were here, keeping their flocks and dwelling in caves amid the ruins of Ma'în. They gathered around us, astonished at our appearance among them; but their shyness seemed rather to proceed from timidity, than from any disposition to be uncivil. They answered our questions at first with suspicion, but with apparent honesty; and their distrust soon passed away.—The encampment was on the northern declivity of the conical hill of Ma'în, five minutes' walk below the summit. This hill rises gradually not less than some two hundred feet above the site of Carmel.

Thursday, May 10th. We repaired to the top of the hill, from which there is an extensive prospect

towards the north and over the broad plain on the west. The sun rose in his strength, and poured a flood of golden light upon the plain and the hills beyond; so that every object was distinctly seen. The summit is crowned with ruins of no great extent; foundations of hewn stone; a square enclosure, the remains probably of a tower or small castle; and several cisterns. The view is fine, including on the east the region towards the Dead Sea; and extending on the N. to Beni Na'îm and Hebron, which was distinctly seen in its valley; and on the west to Dhoherîyeh and beyond. Towards the south the view was interrupted by the mountain ridge already mentioned, about half an hour distant, running off nearly W. S. W. We could not learn that it had any special name; it certainly is not called the mountain of Kurmul, or Mount Carmel; unless sometimes because of its vicinity to that place.[1]

From Ma'în we could distinguish quite a number of places; the bearings of which are given in the note below.[2] Of these places several are of unquestionable antiquity. Ma'în is without doubt the Maon of Nabal.[3] Semû'a we had formerly seen from Dhoherîyeh, and it probably corresponds to the ancient Eshtemoa.[4] 'Attîr suggests the Jattir of Scripture[5]; while Sûsieh

[1] Seetzen gives it this name; Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xvii. p. 134.

[2] Bearings from Ma'în: Semû'a S. 86° W. 'Attîr, further south. Sûsieh N. 88° W. 'Anâb, with a small tower, N. 86½° W. Shuweikeh, a small ruin, N. 85° W. Dhoherîyeh, on the hills, N. 83° W. Mejd el-Bâ'a, a ruin on a hill, N. 71° W. Yŭtta, a large village on a hill sloping east, N. 40° W. Hebron N. 4° W. Kurmul, the castle, one mile distant, N. 10° E. Beni Na'im N. 22° E.

[3] 1 Sam. xxv. 2.

[4] Josh. xxi. 14. xv. 50. The Hebrew name has the Hithpael form, which might easily pass over into the Arabic name with the article, es-Semû'a. Compare the similar case of el-'Âl for the Hebrew Elealch. We visited Semû'a in returning from Wady Mûsa, June 4th.—A city Shema is also mentioned in the south of Judah; too far south indeed to correspond to Semû'a; Josh. xv. 26.

[5] Josh. xv. 48. There is here a difficulty in supposing a change of Yodh into 'Ain, of which there seems to be no other instance.—Raumer confounds Jattir with Ether in the plain, Josh. xv. 24.; see his Palästi. edit. 2. p. 188.

is a tract of ruins in the middle of the plain, said to be large, with many columns, though there seemed to be no houses standing. 'Anâb is of course the ancient name Anab without change[1]; and in Shuweikeh, the diminutive form of Shaukeh, we may recognise the Socoh of the mountains of Judah.[2] In Yŭtta and Kurmul we have the Juttah and Carmel of antiquity. Most of these places we afterwards saw again, in returning by a more western route from Wady Mûsa.

Here then we found ourselves surrounded by the towns of the mountains of Judah; and could enumerate before us not less than nine places still bearing apparently their ancient names: "Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Juttah;" Jattir, Socoh, Anab, and Eshtemoa; "and Kirjath Arba, which is Hebron."[3] The feelings with which we looked abroad upon these ancient sites, most of which had hitherto remained unknown, were of themselves a sufficient reward for our whole journey.

Of Ziph I have already spoken. Eusebius and Jerome enumerate Anab, Eshtemoa, Jattir, and Juttah, as large villages in their age; though the specifications they give of their sites are very indefinite. Maon was then desolate; and the Socoh of the mountains is not mentioned by them.[4] Carmel existed, as we shall see immediately. But from the days of Jerome, until the present century, not one of these names, except Carmel, occurs in history, or has been known as being still in existence. The crusaders seem not to have penetrated into this region, except in one or two military excursions around the south end of the Dead Sea. In March 1807, Seetzen passed

[1] Josh. xi. 21. xv. 50.

[2] Josh. xv. 48. We afterwards found another Shuweikeh corresponding to the Socoh in the plain, Josh. xv. 35.

[3] Josh. xv. 48–55.

[4] Onomast. arts. *Anab*, *Esthemo* (*Astemac?*) *Jether* for Jattir, *Jetham* for Juttah, *Maon*, *Socoh*.

through this tract in the same direction; and although his letter makes mention only of the mountain south of Carmel, yet his map contains the names of Kurmul, Semû'a, Yŭtta and Shuweikeh.[1] In 1818, Irby and Mangles and their companions travelled by this route from Hebron to the south end of the Dead Sea; but none of them mention any of these names. The former indeed describe what seems to have been Kurmul; but they call it "Al-baid."[2] Within the last few years, travellers on the direct route from Wady Mûsa to Hebron have passed through Semû'a; but seem to have heard nothing of these other ancient places.[3]

While we were taking our observations, many of the peasants gathered around us, and seemed gratified to hold our telescopes and render other little services; although they wondered at our employment. The opinion was expressed among themselves, that we were each noting down his own estate in the lands around. Indeed, there seems to be a current impression, that ever since the country was in the hands of the Franks, their descendants still have deeds of all the land; and when travellers come here, their presumed object is to look up their estates. These poor people, however, seemed well-pleased at the idea of our coming to take possession; hoping in this way to be themselves freed from the oppression of Muslim misrule.

We now returned on foot down the hill towards Kurmul, leaving our animals to follow when loaded. Here are more extensive ruins than we yet had anywhere seen, unless perhaps at Bethel. On the way, about a quarter of a mile south of the castle, are the remains of a church standing quite alone. The whole

[1] Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Correspond. xvii. p. 133. seq. His map is found in the same work, vol. xxii.

[2] Travels, p. 348.

[3] Stephens, Lord Lindsay, Schubert, &c.

length of the foundations is one hundred and fifty-six feet; the building having consisted apparently of two parts. The easternmost of these, the proper church, with columns, measures sixty-nine feet in length by forty-six feet broad; the western part, eighty-seven feet long by forty-eight feet broad; but the purpose to which the latter was applied we could not determine. On the south side is a square reservoir sunk in the rock.

The ruins of the town lie around the head and along the two sides of a valley of some width and depth; the head of which forms a semicircular amphitheatre shut in by rocks. From this the valley runs for some thirty or forty rods S. S. E. and then bends N. E. towards the Dead Sea. The bottom of the amphitheatre is a beautiful grass-plat, with an artificial reservoir in the middle, measuring one hundred and seventeen feet long by seventy-four feet broad. The spring from which it is supplied, is in the rocks on the N. W. where a chamber has been excavated. The water is brought out by an underground channel, first to a small basin near the rocks, and then five or six rods further to the reservoir. No water was now flowing down the valley.

The main ruins are on the level ground west of the amphitheatre; and here stands the castle. They consist chiefly of the foundations and broken walls of dwellings and other edifices, scattered in every direction, and thrown together in mournful confusion and desolation. Most of the stones were only roughly hewn, or else have been worn away by time and exposure. In the western part are the remains of a smaller church, surrounded by those of very many houses. Here is also an open passage leading down into a narrow cavern apparently natural, which may have been used as a tomb or magazine, like the one

we saw at Zîf. A similar artificial cave, about twenty feet square, is seen just east of the castle.

The castle itself is a remarkable ruin, standing on a swell of the ground in the midst of the town. It is quadrangular, the sides measuring sixty-two feet by forty-two, and facing towards the cardinal points. The height now remaining is about thirty feet. The external wall is evidently ancient; and has on the northern and western sides a sloping bulwark, like the citadel in Jerusalem.[1] The stones are bevelled; and though not so large as those of the tower of Hippicus, yet the architecture is of the same kind; leaving little room for doubt that it is the work of Herod or of the Romans. There is a lower and an upper story, both once arched; but the upper arch is gone. The walls are nine feet ten inches thick. On entering the building, the first thing which struck me was the pointed arches, indicating a later and Saracenic architecture, utterly inconsistent with the external appearance. But on looking further and examining particularly the windows, it was obvious, that the interior part had been built up at a later period within the more ancient exterior walls.—On the north side of the castle, at the distance of a few feet, are the foundations of what would seem to have been a round tower, measuring twenty-eight and a half feet in diameter from outside to outside, with a wall six feet thick. There would seem to have been a subterranean, or at least a covered, passage from this building into the castle.—Adjacent to the castle on the east was also a small church.

On the eastern side of the valley, opposite to the castle, was apparently a less important part of the town, perhaps a suburb. There is here also a small tower on the brink, with a like sloping bulwark rising up out

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 454.

of the valley. On the point of a hill about one third of a mile N. E. from the castle, are the ruins of another large church and of a few other buildings.[1]

I have already used the names Kurmul and Carmel interchangeably; because there is no room for question, that this is the Carmel of the mountains of Judah; where Saul set up the trophy of his victory over Amalek, and where Nabal was shearing his sheep when the affair took place between him and David, in which Abigail bore so conspicuous a part.[2] No further mention of this Carmel occurs in the Scriptures; but Eusebius and Jerome describe it in their day as a village ten miles from Hebron, verging towards the east, with a Roman garrison.[3] From that time onward we hear no more of Carmel until in the year 1172; when Saladin invaded the country on the east and south of the Dead Sea, where the crusaders had fortresses; and king Amalrich having marched against him without effect, at length drew back and encamped at Carmel. Here he found a pool, and water in plenty for his army. Whether the place was then in ruins, we are not informed.[4] That it had been of old, and even not long before, a place of importance, is manifest from the Roman garrison, and from the rebuilding of the castle by the Saracens; if indeed the latter did not occur at a still later period. When and how Carmel became desolate, no record tells; and its name was again forgotten until the present century. Seetzen, as we have seen, has given its position upon his map,

[1] From the castle of Kurmul we obtained the following bearings: Beni Na'im N. 23° E. Hebron N. 5° W. Yŭtta N. 48° W. Mejd el-Bâ'a N. 80° W. 'Anâb W. Shuweikeh S. 87° W.

[2] Josh. xv. 55. 1 Sam. xv. 12. xxv. 2. seq.

[3] Onomasticon, art. *Carmelus*. The distance of ten miles here assigned is too great. We afterwards travelled from Hebron to Carmel with camels in three hours, which gives at the most a distance of about eight Roman miles. See May 26th.

[4] Will. Tyr. xx. 30. Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. iii. ii. p. 151.

and wrongly assigned its name to the mountain-ridge upon the south; but since his day no travellers appear to have recognised it.[1]

We were here in the midst of scenes memorable of old for the adventures of David, during his wanderings in order to escape from the jealousy of Saul; and we did not fail to peruse here, and with the deepest interest, the chapters of Scripture which record the history of those wanderings and adventures.[2] Ziph and Maon gave their names to the desert on the east, as did also En-gedi[3]; and twice did the inhabitants of Ziph attempt to betray the youthful outlaw to the vengeance of his persecutor.[4] At that time David and his men appear to have been very much in the condition of similar outlaws at the present day; for "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men."[5] They lurked in these deserts, associating with the herdsmen and shepherds of Nabal and others, and doing them good offices, probably in return for information and supplies obtained through them.[6]

Hence, when Nabal held his annual sheep-shearing in Carmel, David felt himself entitled to share in the festival; and sent a message recounting his own services, and asking for a present: "Wherefore let the young men find favour in thine eyes; for we come in a good day; give, I pray thee, whatsoever cometh to thine hand unto thy servants, and to thy son David."[7]

[1] See above, pp. 194, 195. Bertou passed this way a few weeks before us, and saw Carmel and Tell Zif.

[2] 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. seq. xxiv. xxv. xxvi.

[3] So Ziph as a desert, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. xxvi. 2. Maon as a desert, xxiii. 25. En-gedi as a desert, xxiv. 1.

[4] 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. xxvi. 1.

[5] Ibid. xxii. 2. These were afterwards increased to six hundred, xxiii. 13.

[6] Ibid. xxv. 7. 14–16.

[7] Ibid. xxv. 8, 9.

In all these particulars we were deeply struck with the truth and strength of the biblical descriptions of manners and customs, almost identically the same as they exist at the present day. On such a festive occasion near a town or village, even in our own time, an Arab Sheikh of the neighbouring desert would hardly fail to put in a word, either in person or by message; and his message, both in form and substance, would be only the transcript of that of David.

We left Carmel at ten minutes past 7 o'clock, following down at first the small valley, but soon leaving it and passing more to the right on a general course E. by S. The ruins of et-Tawâneh were soon seen on the side of a hill not far distant on the right, and at 7^h 40′ bore S. 20° W. The Wady from Carmel, and others on the right and left, go to form the Khŭbarah, which runs down to the Dead Sea not far south of 'Ain Jidy. Our road for a great distance was along these Wadys; sometimes in one, sometimes in another, and sometimes on the ridges between. At 7^h 55′ the small ruin Deirât appeared on the left, bearing N. 10° W. On a ridge at 8¼ o'clock we stopped for about ten minutes, and took bearings to ascertain our course.[1]

The country continued to be cultivated and fertile. Our Arabs, as we passed among the fields of wheat, were constantly "plucking the ears of grain, and eating, rubbing them with their hands."[2] The tillage, however, soon became less frequent. At 9 o'clock we passed near a large encampment of the Arabs el-Ka'âbineh, situated in a broad open valley on our left. Their black tents, to the number of twenty or thirty, were pitched in a large oval. They were said to number about one hundred men; and occupy in part

[1] These were as follows: Ma'în S. 72° W. Kurmul S. 87° W. Beni Na'im N. 4° W.—At 8^h 30′ the small ruin of Zŭrtût bore N. 5° W.

[2] See above, p. 192.

the same territory with the Jehâlîn (Jchâlîych), whose encampment at present was nearly two hours S. E. of Carmel. These Arabs also usually encamp further south; but they were now pasturing in this vicinity, and we found their flocks and camels among the hills and vallies for a long distance as we advanced.

Our descent was constant; and in proportion to it, the heat increased, and the country began to assume more the appearance of the desert. We had left the grass green at Carmel; by 9 o'clock it was dried up. At 9^h 20′ we came upon two deep cisterns in the rock, with rain water, directly in the path, belonging to the Jehâlîn and Ka'âbineh. By 11 o'clock we were completely in the midst of the desert. The country is everywhere entirely of limestone formation; but the rocks contain a large mixture of chalk and flint, alternating with the limestone of the region above. All around were naked conical hills, and also ridges from two hundred to four hundred feet high, running down mostly towards the sea. At first the hills as well as the vallies were sprinkled with shrubs; but further down these disappeared from the hills; and only a dry stinted grass remained, the growth of winter. We recognised among the shrubs many old acquaintances of the southern desert, the 'Ajram, the Retem, and several others; and found ourselves thus in an hour transported back into the scenes of our former journey.

At 11½ o'clock we reached another cistern, or rather reservoir of rain-water by the side of a water-course. It was originally hewn out under a rock with a roof and a column to support it; but the roof is now broken away. It is called Bîr Selhûb. Before we were aware, our Sheikh and two of his men were plunging into the water to cool themselves. Three or four precipitous hills around are called es-Sŭfra. We

had thus far been gradually crossing the tributaries of Wady el-Khŭbarah, leaving them running more to the right, in which direction that valley enters the sea by a deep ravine just south of Wady el-Ghâr. At that point there was said to be a foot-pass, leading down the south side of this ravine to the shore; but our Arabs knew of no other pass for a great distance in that direction.

Leaving Bîr Selhûb at 11h 40′ we crossed what seemed on that side to be merely a low ridge; and came immediately upon a descent of nearly two hundred feet, along the steep face of a hill of scaly friable limestone. At 12h 10′ another steep descent of five minutes brought us to a difficult pass along the brink of a deep precipitous valley on our left, which proved to be Wady el-Ghâr; here very narrow and running between walls of perpendicular rock, at a depth of more than a hundred feet. We descended by a very rugged and somewhat dangerous path; and reached the bottom at twenty minutes past noon.

In the course of the day we had already started a gazelle; and had seen also a jackal, which at a distance might be mistaken for a fox; though his colour is more yellow, and his movements less wily. As we now came in view of the ravine of the Ghâr, a Beden (mountain-goat) started up and bounded along the face of the rocks on the opposite side. Indeed, we were now in the "wilderness of En-gedi;" where David and his men lived among "the rocks of the wild goats;" and where the former cut off the skirts of Saul's robe in a cave.[1] The whole scene is drawn to the life. On all sides the country is full of caverns, which might then serve as lurking-places for David and his men, as they do for outlaws at the present day.

Our path now followed down the bottom of the

[1] 1 Sam. xxiv. 1–4.

valley for some distance; which is here just wide enough to be the bed of a torrent, sometimes scarcely fifty feet, between perpendicular precipices rising sometimes hundreds of feet on each side. In the cliffs above, multitudes of pigeons were enjoying their nests undisturbed. Here was again the Retem, growing very large; and other shrubs of the desert. Further down, the valley contracts and becomes impassable. It enters the sea just south of 'Ain Jidy. Near its mouth, as our Sheikh informed us, is a fine fountain, and large willow-trees, from which Arab bowls are made; and there too it was said to bear the name of Wady el-'Areijeh.

We left the Ghâr at 12^h 35′, and turned up a steep and rocky pass N. E. along a side-valley, which brought us out in fifteen minutes upon the rough and desert table-land above. At 1^h 35′ we could see Carmel and Beni Na'îm very distinctly; the former bearing N. 85° W. and the latter N. 67° W. Fifteen minutes later we fell into the road from Jerusalem to 'Ain Jidy. At five minutes before two, we had the first view of the Dead Sea, lying low and still in its deep bed; and at length, fifteen minutes later, reached the brow of the pass leading down to the shore.

For the last two or three hours of the way, we had been subjected to continual disappointment. At every moment we had expected to obtain some glimpse of the sea, and to arrive at the shore nearly upon a level with its waters. But the way at every step seemed longer and longer; and it was now only after nearly seven hours of travel, that we arrived at the brow of the pass. Turning aside a few steps to what seemed a small knoll upon our right, we found ourselves on the summit of a perpendicular cliff overhanging 'Ain Jidy and the sea, at least fifteen hundred feet above its waters. The Dead Sea lay before us in its vast

deep chasm, shut in on both sides by ranges of precipitous mountains; their bases sometimes jutting out into the water, and again retreating so as to leave a narrow strip of shore below. The view included the whole southern half of the sea, quite to its extremity; and also, as we afterwards found, the greater portion of the northern half; although the still higher projecting cliff el-Mersed intervened on our left, to prevent our seeing the extremity of the sea in that direction.

One feature of the sea struck us immediately, which was unexpected to us, viz. the number of shoal-like points and peninsulas which run out into its southern part, appearing at first sight like flat sand-banks or islands.[1] Below us on the south were two such projecting banks on the western shore, composed probably of pebbles and gravel, extending out into the sea for a considerable distance. The larger and more important of these is on the south of the spot called Birket el-Khŭlîl, a little bay or indentation in the western precipice, where the water, flowing into shallow basins when it is high, evaporates, and deposites salt. This spot is just south of the mouth of Wady el-Khŭbarah. Opposite to this, nearly in the middle of the sea, is a long low narrow bank, also apparently composed of pebbles and gravel, running from N. E. to S. W. and joined towards the south end to the eastern shore by an isthmus of some breadth. This long peninsula extends towards the south beyond the western shoal or point above described; so that from the spot where we now stood, they seemed to interlock, and we saw the end of the peninsula across the point of the shoal.

[1] Burckhardt also, from the eastern mountains, "had a fine view of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, which presented the appearance of a lake, with many islands or shoals covered with a white saline crust." Travels in Syria, &c. p. 395.

Towards the southern extremity of the sea, a long low mountain was seen running out obliquely towards the S. S. E. extending from near the western cliffs apparently to the middle of the Ghôr. This our Arabs called Hajr Usdum, 'Stone of Sodom[1];' and said it was composed wholly of rock-salt, too bitter to be fit for cooking, and only used sometimes as a medicine for sheep. The sea washes the base of this mountain, and terminates opposite to its S. E. extremity as here seen; though as we were still unacquainted with the features of that region, the water seemed to us to extend further south and to wind around the end of the mountain. This appearance, as we afterwards found, must have arisen from the wet and slimy surface of the ground in that part; which, by reflecting the rays of the sun, presented the optical illusion of a large tract of water, and deceived us as to the extent of the sea in that direction.

The mountains on both sides of the sea are everywhere precipitous; those on the east were now very distinct, and obviously much higher at some distance from the shore, than those upon the west. Across the isthmus of the low peninsula towards the S. E. we could look up along a straight ravine descending from the eastern chain; at the head of which Kerak with its castle was visible, situated on a high precipitous rock, far up near the summit of the mountains. Opposite to us was Wady el-Môjib; and further north, Wady ez-Zŭrka.[2] At the foot of these mountains there is a passage along the eastern shore for the whole dis-

[1] The form *Usdum* is probably a traditional reminiscence of the name Sodom. Galen says the mountains around the lake were in his day called Sodom. Instead of *Hajr* Usdum, we afterwards heard from our guides of the Jehâlîn the name *Khashm* Usdum. See more under May 29th. Galen de Simpl. Med. Fac. iv. 19, Reland Palæst. p. 243.

[2] The Zŭrka Ma'în of Burckhardt, Travels in Syria, &c. p. 369. seq. For the Môjib, see the same work, p. 371. seq.

tance on the south of the peninsula; but further to the north this would seem to be impossible. From the spot where we stood, the line of the western cliffs ran in the direction about S. by W. ½ W. with a passage along the shore all the way south of 'Ain Jidy. At nearly one half the distance towards Usdum, just south of Wady es-Seyâl, the next beyond the Khŭbarah, a ruin was pointed out on a high pyramidal cliff, rising precipitously from the sea, to which our guides gave the name of Sebbeh.[1]

The features now described, together with the flat shores, give to the whole southern part of the sea the appearance, not of a broad sheet of water, but rather of a long winding bay, or the estuary of a large river, when the tide is out and the shoals left dry. Only a comparatively narrow channel remained covered with water. This channel of the sea (so to speak) is in some parts quite narrow, and winds very much. Between the point of the western shoal and the peninsula, the distance cannot certainly be more than one fourth or perhaps one sixth of the whole breadth of the sea; if so much. The direction of the peninsula, and then that of Usdum, causes the channel apparently to sweep round first towards the west and afterwards towards the east; giving to this portion of the sea a very irregular form. Our Arabs, both the Ta'âmirah and Rashâideh, knew of no place where the sea could be forded.[2] As we looked down upon it from this lofty spot, its waters appeared decidedly green, as if stagnant; though we afterwards saw nothing of this appearance from below. A slight ripple was upon its

[1] From the cliff over 'Ain Jidy we took the following bearings: 'Ain Jidy deep below, S. 70° E. Peninsula, north end, S. 38° E. Penins. south end, S. 4° E. Isthmus S. 20° E. Point of western shoal S. 5° E. Hajr Usdum, south-east point, S. 6° W. Do. middle, S. 10° W. Course of western cliffs to near the north end of Usdum, S. 15° W. Kerak S. 40° E. Mouth of the Môjib S. 85° E. Mouth of the Zŭrka Ma'în N. 60° E.

[2] See "*The Ford*," further on.

bosom; and a line of froth was seen along and near the shore, which looked like a crust of salt.

We remained on the cliff until three quarters past two o'clock, and then began to work our way down the terrific pass. This was no easy labour. The path descends by zig-zags, often at the steepest angle practicable for horses, and is carried partly along ledges or shelves on the perpendicular face of the cliff, and then down the almost equally steep débris. Much of the rock is a compact reddish or rose-coloured limestone, like the baptismal font at Tekoa; smooth as glass, yet with an irregular surface. Looking back upon this part from below, it seemed utterly impossible that any road could exist there; yet by a skilful application of zig-zags, the path is actually carried down without any insuperable difficulties; so that even loaded camels often pass up and down. Some few spots are very bad; because not kept in repair. Indeed there is very little of art about it; in a few places only is the way rudely built up and the stones removed from the track. In one part, not long ago, a Bedawy woman fell off and was killed; when picked up she was found to have brought forth a child. My companion had crossed the heights of Lebanon and the mountains of Persia; and I had formerly traversed the whole of the Swiss Alps; yet neither of us had ever met with a pass so difficult and dangerous. Of those which I had seen, that of the Gemmi resembles it most; but is not so high, and the path is better.

As we were descending the pass, we saw upon the water before us another optical illusion, which may serve to explain the supposed appearance of *islands* in the sea, remarked by some travellers. In the direction east from us, near the opposite shore, we saw what seemed to be another long dark-coloured shoal or sand-bank. On looking further, however, it proved to be a spot of

calm smooth water, around which the rest of the sea was covered with a ripple; and the dark brown eastern mountains being reflected in this mirror, gave to it their colour. Yet for the moment, the illusion was complete, that a long dark yellow sand-bank or island lay before us.[1]

After a descent of forty-five minutes, we reached at 3½ o'clock the beautiful fountain, 'Ain Jidy, bursting forth at once a fine stream upon a sort of narrow terrace or shelf of the mountain, still more than four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The stream rushes down the steep descent of the mountain below; and its course is hidden by a luxuriant thicket of trees and shrubs belonging to a more southern clime. We stopped at the fountain, expecting to continue our descent and encamp on the shore; but here we learned with dismay, that in order to proceed northward, it would be necessary to climb again the whole of the fearful ascent; since all passage along the shore was cut off by a projecting cliff not far remote. Till now we had always understood the Arabs, that there was a path below; but they had probably spoken at randdom, as is common, and meant nothing more than a path along the cliffs and table-land above. Under these circumstances, we thought it better to encamp by the fountain, and visit the shore at our leisure during the afternoon.

While thus engaged in pitching the tent, our Arabs

[1] Irby and Mangles saw a similar appearance from the eastern mountains near Rabba. "This evening, about sunset, we were deceived by a dark shade on the sea, which assumed so exactly the appearance of an island, that we did not doubt of it, even after looking through a telescope." They had seen similar appearances before. Travels, p. 457.—Seetzen, as he ascended from the south-western part of the sea by the pass of Zuweirah, thought he discovered in it a considerable island. This was probably the peninsula above described; he not having remarked the isthmus from that more distant point. See his letter in Zach's Monatl. Correspond. xviii. p. 438.

were alarmed at seeing two men with guns coming down the brow of the pass. The idea of robbers was uppermost in their minds; and two scouts were hastily despatched to meet them, and ascertain their character and purpose. But a few minutes afterwards, there appeared on the brow above a troop of peaceful donkies; and now all alarm vanished in a loud laugh. The strangers proved to be Fellâhîn from the village Deir Ibn 'Öbeid near Mâr Sâba, coming to this part of the Dead Sea after salt. They rested for a time at the fountain; and then proceeded to the Birket el-Khŭlîl. The poor animals had afterwards to ascend this difficult pass with heavy loads. The salt is used for cooking, after being washed.[1]

Here at the fountain are the remains of several buildings apparently ancient; though the main site of the town seems to have been further below. The fountain itself is limpid and sparkling, with a copious stream of sweet water; but warm. The thermometer stood in it at 81° F. Kept in vessels over night, we found it delightfully cool and refreshing. Issuing from the limestone rock, it is of course strongly impregnated with lime, and does not take soap well. In the fountain itself are great quantities of small black snails.

Among the trees below the fountain, making part of the thicket along the stream, were the Seyâl, producing gum-Arabic, our old acquaintance of the southern deserts; the Semr[2], and the thorny Nŭbk (lote-tree) of Egypt, called also Sidr[3], and by our Arabs Dôm,

[1] Galen mentions, that in his day also the inhabitants used this salt for the various purposes to which common salt is applied. De Simpl. Med. fac. iv. c. 19. Reland, Pal. p. 241.

[2] *Mimosa unguis cati*, Forskål, Flor. Egypt. p. 176.

[3] *Rhamnus Nabeca*, Forskål, Flor. Egypt. p. lxiii. *Zizyphus Lotus*, Sprengel, Hist. Rei herb. i. p. 251. Lane's Mod. Egyptians, ii. pp. 288. 296.—The name Nŭbk belongs strictly to the fruit of this tree. The *Dôm* in Egypt is the Dôm-palm; but the name is also properly applied to the Nŭbk. See Freytag's Lex. Arab. ii. p. 73.

bearing a small acid fruit like a thorn-apple, which our Egyptian servants enjoyed greatly; the 'Ösher, which will be described more particularly below; and another large tree with long beautiful clusters of whitish blossoms, which our Arabs called *Fustak* (Pistacia), and which we then supposed to be the *Pistacia verà;* though we were afterwards led to doubt whether they had given us the right name.[1] Not a palm-tree now exists there; though the place seems anciently to have been famous for them. The thicket is rendered almost impenetrable by a regular cane-brake, flourishing luxuriantly along the water-course. Of smaller plants, the egg-plant night-shade, or mad apple, was growing here in abundance[2]; and also occasionally an herb called by the Arabs Hŭbeibeh, with a smooth shining reddish stalk and small glass-like leaves, the ashes of which are called *el-Kŭli* (alkali), from their peculiar alkaline properties.[3]

We set off for the shore about 5 o'clock, and reached it in some twenty-five minutes; descending along the thicket by the brook. The declivity is here still steep, though less so than the pass above. The whole of this descent was apparently once terraced for tillage and gardens; and on the right near the foot are the ruins of a town, exhibiting nothing of particular interest. Few of the stones appear to have been hewn. From the base of the declivity, a fine rich plain slopes off very gradually nearly half a mile to the shore. The brook runs across it directly to the sea; though

[1] Schubert says he found the *Pistacia vera* at Hebron in full blossom in April; Reise, ii. p. 478. It would naturally blossom here still earlier. It has since occurred to me, whether this tree may not be the *el-Henna* of the Arabs, the 'camphire' of the English Bible, (*Lawsonia inermis* Linn.) which is described as having similar flowers, and for which the spot was anciently celebrated. Cant. i. 14. Hasselquist, p. 502. See especially Celsii Hierobot. i. p. 222.

[2] *Solanum Melongena.*

[3] Apparently one of the numerous species of *Salsola.*

at this season its waters were absorbed by the thirsty earth long before reaching the shore. So far as the water extended, the plain was covered with gardens, chiefly of cucumbers, belonging to the Rashâideh.

These Arabs were now encamped in the tract called Hŭsâsah towards Tekoa; and had only watchmen stationed here to protect the gardens. The soil of the whole plain is exceedingly fertile, and might easily be tilled and produce rare fruits. In various parts of it are traces of unimportant ruins. The length of the plain is little more than half a mile, it being nearly a square; terminated on the south by the Wady el-Ghâr, which here enters the sea between lofty precipices; and on the north by Wady Sudeir, a comparatively short ravine breaking down from above through the cliffs, between banks almost equally lofty and precipitous. Indeed, the cliff upon its northern side, called el-Mersed, just beyond the plain, is perhaps the highest and most inaccessible along the whole western coast; and its base, projecting into the sea, cuts off all further passage along the shore. The precipice upon which we had stood near the brow of the pass, is situated somewhat further back, and stands like a gigantic bastion between these Wadys, overlooking and almost overhanging the plain.

The approach to the sea is here over a bank of pebbles, six or eight feet higher than the level of the water as we saw it. These are covered with a shining crust, as of salt, or rather of an oily appearance.[1] The water has a slightly greenish hue, and is not entirely transparent; but objects seen through it, appear as if seen through oil. It is most intensely and intolerably salt; and leaves behind a nauseous bitter taste, like Glauber's salts. It is said that common salt

[1] Seetzen describes this appearance as an incrustation of lime or gypsum. Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xviii. p. 440.

thrown into it, will not even be dissolved; we did not try the experiment, but such would seem very likely to be the fact.[1] The water is exceedingly buoyant. Two of us bathed in the sea; and although I could never swim before, either in fresh or salt water, yet here I could sit, stand, lie, or swim in the water, without difficulty.[2] The shore in this part shelved down very gradually; so that we waded out eight or ten rods before the water reached our shoulders. The bottom was here stony, but without mud or slime. After coming out, I perceived nothing of the salt crust upon the body, of which so many speak. There was a slight pricking sensation, especially where the skin had been chafed; and a sort of greasy feeling, as of oil, upon the skin, which lasted for several hours. The bath proved exceedingly refreshing, after the heat and burden of the day.—There was much drift-wood along the shore; brought down into the sea, doubtless from the Wadys in the adjacent mountains.

We now measured a base upon the plain, near the shore, beginning at the mouth of the little stream from the fountain, and extending N. 19° E. for 1500 feet or 500 yards. From the northern end of this base we took with our large compass the bearings recorded in the note below.[3] The point of the western shoal lay here nearly in a line with the southern extremity of the peninsula.

[1] Dr. Marcet's experiments seem to show the contrary; Philosoph. Transact. 1807, p. 299.

[2] So Tacitus: "Periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur," Hist. v. 6. This buoyancy is mentioned by many ancient writers; e. g. Aristot. Meteorol. ii. 3. Plin. H. N. v. 12. Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 4. See these and other notices collected in Reland, Pal. p. 249. seq.

[3] Bearings from the N. end of the base on the shore at 'Ain Jidy: Mouth of Wady el-Mojib opposite, S. 82¼° E. Kerak, S. 35¼° E. Peninsula, north end, S. 28½° E. Peninsula, south end, S. 1° W. Usdum, west end, S. 10½° W. Cliff at southwest corner of the sea, S. 13½° W. Sebbeh, S. 21¾° W. Ras el-Feshkhah, near the north-west corner of the sea, N. 18° E.

We returned much exhausted to our tent; and spent the evening, until quite late, in writing up our journals on the spot. The beams of the full moon lay upon the sea below us, diffusing a glow of light over the darkness of death.

During the day, as we travelled down the declivity of the eastern slope, we had found the heat continually increase; and here in the chasm of the sea, we encountered an Egyptian climate and Egyptian productions. At Carmel the thermometer at sunrise had stood at 51° F.; at 2 o'clock P. M. near the brow of the cliffs it stood at 82°; and at sunset on the shore at 80° F. The next morning at sunrise, it was at 68° F. Indeed, shut in as this deep caldron is, between walls of rock, the heat of the burning summer-sun cannot be otherwise than very great. And such is the richness of the soil, both along the descent below the fountain and on the little plain, and such the abundance of water, that nothing but tillage is wanting, to render this a most prolific spot. It would be admirably adapted to the cultivation of tropical fruits.

We had no question at the time, nor have we any now, that this spot is the ancient En-gedi. With this name the present 'Ain Jidy of the Arabs is identical; and like it also signifies the 'Fountain of the Kid.' The more ancient Hebrew name was Hazezon-Tamar. As such it is first mentioned before the destruction of Sodom, as being inhabited by Amorites and near to the cities of the plain. Under the name En-gedi it occurs as a city of Judah in the desert, giving its name to a part of the desert to which David withdrew for fear of Saul.[1] At a later period, bands of the Moabites and Ammonites came up against king Jehoshaphat, apparently around the south end of the Dead Sea, as

[1] Gen. xiv. 7. Josh. xv. 62. 1 Sam. xxiv. 1–4. See above, p. 203.

far as to En-gedi; by the very same route, it would seem, which is taken by the Arabs in their marauding expeditions at the present day, along the shore as far as to 'Ain Jidy, and then up the pass and so northwards below Tekoa.[1] According to Josephus, En-gedi lay upon the lake Asphaltis, and was celebrated for beautiful palm-trees and opobalsam; while its vineyards are likewise mentioned in the Old Testament.[2] From it towards Jerusalem there was an ascent "by the cliff Ziz," which seems to have been none other than the present pass.[3] In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, En-gedi was still a large village on the shore of the Dead Sea.[4]

I find no mention of En-gedi in the historians of the crusades; but Brocardus, about A. D. 1283, speaks of the mountains of En-gedi in such a way, as to show that their character was then known. They were on the west side of the sea, lofty, and so precipitous as

[1] 2 Chron. xx. 1, 2. 20. Joseph. Antiq. ix. 1, 2. See more upon this road under May 11th.

[2] Joseph. l. c. Cant. i. 14. Plin. H. N. v. 17. — Josephus here gives the distance of En-gedi from Jerusalem at 300 stadia or 37½ Roman miles, which is by far too great.

[3] Heb. מַעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ, Josephus ἀναβάσεως λεγομένης ἐξοχῆς. 2 Chron. xx. 16. Joseph. Antiq. ix. 1. 2.

[4] Onomasticon, art. *Engaddi.* Both writers here say that En-gedi was situated *in Aulone Hierichus;* and this has led Reland and others to place it at the north end of the Dead Sea. But the *Aulon* is described by the same writers, as the great valley of the Jordan, in which Jericho and the Dead Sea are situated, extending south to the desert of Paran; Onomast. art. *Aulon.*—Jerome elsewhere seems to say that En-gedi was at the south end of the sea, "ubi finitur et consumitur;" Comm. in Ezech. xlvii. 10. But this does not necessarily imply any thing more, than that, in relation to En-gallim, it lay *towards* the southern part of the sea. In like manner, both Eusebius and Jerome connect Hazazon-Tamar with the desert of Kadesh; but this is only because they are so connected in Gen. xiv. 7, and implies nothing more than a general proximity. Onomast. art. *Hazazon-Thamar.* The "wilderness of Judah," in which En-gedi was situated, was doubtless the desert along the western side of the Dead Sea, extending from the north end of the sea to the desert of Kadesh on the south; Josh. xv. 61, 62; comp. vs. 6. xviii. 18.—All this goes to show that there was only *one* En-gedi; and therefore the two or three places of this name assumed by Raumer fall away; Palästina, p. 186. edit. 2. See generally Reland, Palæst. p. 763.

to threaten to fall down into the valley beneath; and were ascended by a pass. But the site of En-gedi itself he seems to place above upon the mountains.[1] Since that day no traveller appears to have visited this region until the present century. Succeeding writers copied Brocardus; and the imagination of the monks drew En-gedi nearer and nearer towards Bethlehem, until Quaresmius places it at six miles from Bethlehem and seven from the Dead Sea, apparently on the way to Mâr Sâba.[2] He speaks also of its vineyards as formerly connected with Bethlehem; and these are probably the same which Hasselquist regarded as the vineyards of Solomon at En-gedi.[3] The present name and site of 'Ain Jidy were first found out by Seetzen in A. D. 1806, and are given upon his map; but whether he actually visited the spot, or only obtained his information from the Arabs, we are nowhere told.[4] At any rate, the preceding pages contain, I believe, the first account of this place from personal observation, which has been given to the public for many centuries.[5]

THE DEAD SEA.

A few general remarks upon the character and phenomena of the Dead Sea, arising out of our observations at 'Ain Jidy, and during the two following days, may here find their proper place. In our later excur-

[1] Brocardus, c. vii. pp. 179, 180.

[2] Elucid. ii. pp. 692, 693. Compare Von Troilo, p. 327. Pococke, ii. p. 38. fol.

[3] Ibid. ii. p. 620. Hasselquist's Reise, p. 156.

[4] No mention is made of 'Ain Jidy in any of Seetzen's printed papers. Not improbably he may have passed this way on his second journey round the Dead Sea, respecting which nothing has been published. An account of this journey exists among his unpublished papers. See First Appendix, A. pp. 22, 23.

[5] 'Ain Jidy is mentioned by the Arabian writer, Mejr ed-Dîn, about A. D. 1495, as on the eastern border of the district of Hebron. Fundgr. des Or. ii. p. 142.

sion from Hebron to Wady Mûsa, we visited the south end of the sea; and I shall there have occasion to make some further remarks upon that portion of it, as well as upon the geological structure of the whole region, and the destruction of the cities of the plain.

Length and Breadth of the Dead Sea. From calculations founded on the base and angles measured by us at 'Ain Jidy, as above described, the following results were obtained; reckoned from the northern end of the base.

	Yards.	Geogr. M.
Width of the Dead Sea to the mouth of Wady el-Môjib	15,953.	7.82.
Distance to N. end of Peninsula	8,781.	4.31.

These distances, of course, could be considered only as an approximation to the truth; and they appear to be actually too small. My own estimate of the width of the sea at the time, was ten or twelve English miles. The general breadth is very uniform; except where the sea is contracted near the extremities, by Usdum on the south and by Râs el-Feshkhah on the north.

In constructing a new map of this region, a minute and very careful comparison of all the bearings taken by us at various points along the whole western coast of the Dead Sea, as well as of the distances travelled upon our several routes, has resulted in fixing the *breadth* of the sea at 'Ain Jidy at about *nine* geographical miles. The same minute comparison and cautious construction give likewise for the *length* of the Dead Sea about *thirty-nine* of the like miles; 'Ain Jidy being situated nearly at the middle point of the western coast.

There will therefore be no very essential error in estimating the whole length of the Dead Sea at THIRTY-EIGHT or FORTY geographical miles. My own estimate of its length at the time, founded on various data, was

about fifty common English miles.[1] The length appears to vary not less than two or three miles in different years or seasons of the year, according as the water extends up more or less upon the flats towards the south.[2]

From the same point on the shore, we estimated the height of the western cliffs at 1500 feet, as above mentioned; and that of the highest ridges of the eastern mountains lying back from the shore, at from 2000 to 2500 feet above the water.

Form and Character of the Shores. Burckhardt relates, that "the mountains which enclose the Ghôr, or valley of the Jordan, open considerably at the northern extremity of the Dead Sea, and encompassing it on the W. and E. sides, approach again at its S. extremity, leaving [afterwards] only a narrow plain between them."[3] This account is not correct; that intelligent traveller did not himself visit the sea, and was probably misled by the information of the Arabs. The bed of the Dead Sea is only a portion of the Ghôr or great valley, which here retains its usual breadth, and does not spread out into an oval form or to a larger compass, as is the case around the lake of Tiberias. Its breadth at 'Ain Jidy is much the same as opposite to Wady Mûsa; certainly not greater. Around Jericho indeed, the mountains do thus retire on both sides; so that the valley at that point is not

[1] Mr. Legh, and also Irby and Mangles, who saw the whole extent of the Dead Sea several times from the eastern mountains, give their judgment of its length, the former at not over forty miles, and the two latter at thirty. But the transparency of the atmosphere in these regions, and the want of any known fixed points as a standard, render any mere judgment of this kind liable to great uncertainty. See Legh in Macmichael's Journey, chap. iv. Amer. Bibl. Repository, vol. iii. p. 647, Oct. 1833. Irby and Mangles's Travels, p. 459.—Josephus gives the length of the Dead Sea at 580 stadia, or 72½ Roman miles; and the breadth at 150 stadia, or 18¾ Roman miles; B. J. iv. 8. 4. This is another specimen of the inexactness of that writer's estimates.

[2] See under May 29th.

[3] Travels in Syria, &c. p. 390.

less than eleven or twelve miles wide; but they again approach each other before they enclose the sea. So far as we could perceive, the eastern mountains run in nearly a straight course along the whole length of the sea. From the western mountains, Râs el-Feshkhah and the adjacent cliffs project obliquely towards the N. E. near the northern end of the sea, giving to the shore in that part the same direction, and contracting the breadth both of the sea and valley. At the southern end a like contraction is occasioned by Hajr Usdum, as above described. Between el-Feshkhah and Usdum, the western cliffs run in a tolerably direct course, about S. 15° W.

The phenomena around the Dead Sea are such as might naturally be expected from the character of its waters and of the region round about,—a naked solitary desert. It lies in its deep caldron, surrounded by lofty cliffs of naked limestone rock, and exposed for seven or eight months in each year to the unclouded beams of a burning sun. Nothing therefore but sterility and death-like solitude can be looked for upon its shores; and nothing else also is actually found, except in those parts where there are fountains or streams of fresh water. Such is the case at 'Ain Jidy, in the Ghôr near the S. E. corner of the sea, and on the isthmus of the peninsula; to say nothing of the Jordan and the fountains around Jericho on the north. In all these places there is a fertile soil and abundant vegetation; nor have I ever seen a more luxuriant growth than at 'Ain Jidy. Here too were birds in great numbers in the thicket; and we saw them frequently flying over the sea. The fountain of 'Ain Jidy appears to be the main source of sweet water upon the western coast[1]; but further towards the north are

[1] There is a fountain near the mouth of the Wady el-Ghâr, already mentioned; and another in Wady Sudeir, just north of 'Ain Jidy, running into the sea. The water of both was said to be sweet.

the brackish fountains 'Ain Terâbeh, el-Ghuweir, and el-Feshkhah, (the last very copious,) in the midst of marshy ground along the shore covered with canes and reeds, and furnishing a retreat to an abundance of frogs. The coasts of the sea have also been inhabited from time immemorial, and are yet so in a degree; Jericho, 'Ain Jidy, and the southern Ghôr are still the abodes of men; and if this is now less the case than formerly, the cause is to be sought rather in the altered circumstances and relations of social life, than in the nature of the country or the sea.

I have adduced all these particulars in order to show, that the stories so long current of the pestiferous nature of the Dead Sea and its waters, are a mere fable.[1] We were for five days in the vicinity of its shores; and nowhere perceived either noisome smell or noxious vapour arising from its bosom. Our Arabs too had never seen or heard of any such appearance. Smoke we had indeed often seen on the high ground above, proceeding from Arab encampments or the preparation of charcoal. There must also naturally be an immense evaporation from the sea itself, in consequence of its low position and exposure to the summer heats; and this again cannot but occasionally affect the clearness of the atmosphere around. But the character of this evaporation cannot well be different from that of any other lake in similar circumstances.[2]

[1] "Mare illud semper fumum reddere, et nebulam in modum camini infernalis. . . . Quocumque vapor a mari illo ascendens impellitur, ibi terræ nascentia non secus quam si a pruina fuissent tacta emoriuntur;" Brocardus, c. vii. p. 179. "Stagnum fœtidissimum, infernalis nigredinis, tetrum habens odorem;" Willeb. ab Oldenborg, sub fine. Even Quaresmius had good sense enough to deny all this on the testimony of his own senses; tom. ii. p. 760.

[2] "As soon as we came to the pass, which commands an extensive prospect of the Dead Sea, we could observe the effect of the evaporation arising from it, in broad transparent columns of vapour, not unlike waterspouts in appearance, but very much larger;" *Irby and Mangles*, p. 447.

The Egyptian heat of the climate, which is found throughout the whole Ghôr, is in itself unhealthy; and in connection with the marshes, gives rise in summer to frequent intermittent fevers; so that the Ghawârineh, or proper inhabitants of the Ghôr, including the people of Jericho, are a feeble and sickly race. But this has no necessary connection with the Dead Sea, as such; and the same phenomena might probably exist in at least an equal degree, were the waters of the lake fresh and limpid, or even were there here no lake at all.

The mineral productions around the sea have often been described. The body of the mountains is everywhere limestone; excepting Usdum, which is of rock-salt, and will be hereafter described.[1] I am not aware that the dark basaltic stones, so frequent around the lake of Tiberias, have ever been discovered in this vicinity. There is however a black shining stone, found at the northern extremity of the sea, which partially ignites in the fire and emits a bituminous smell. We saw some of this in descending from Râs el-Feshkhah to the plain. It is used in Jerusalem for the manufacture of rosaries and other little articles.[2] Sulphur is found in various parts; we picked up pieces of it as large as a walnut near the northern shore; and the Arabs said it was found in the sea near 'Ain el-Feshkhah in lumps as large as a man's fist. They find

[1] Irby and Mangles mention "fragments of red and gray granite; gray, red, and black porphyry," and many other kinds of stone, scattered along the shore at the S. E. corner of the Dead Sea, which they supposed to be fragments from the mountain above; Travels, p. 358. But in the Life of Giov. Finati, edited by Mr. Bankes, it is said, that there were no rocks of the same nature discernible, from which these fragments could have fallen; vol. ii. p. 240.—According to Seetzen, the mountain near the S. E. corner of the sea, not far north of Wady el-Ahsy, consists of brownish sandstone; Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 435.

[2] The "stink-stone" of Burckhardt, p. 394. Maundrell, March 30. Pococke, ii. p. 87. fol. Hasselquist describes it as "quartz in the form of slate, one of the rarest minerals he met with in his travels." Reise, p. 153. [Engl. p. 131.]

it in sufficient quantities to make from it their own gunpowder. Near Usdum we afterwards picked up small lumps of nitre.[1] All these circumstances testify to the volcanic nature of the whole region; and this is also confirmed by the warm fountains of 'Ain Jidy and el-Feshkhah on the west, and the hot sulphur springs of the ancient Callirrhoë on the eastern coast.[2] Three weeks before, one of our friends, the Rev. Mr. Hebard, had picked up a large piece of pumice-stone on a small knoll near the mouth of the Jordan.

One of the most singular circumstances in the character of the Dead Sea, is the deep depression of its level below that of the Mediterranean. This has been detected only within the last few years. Messrs. Moore and Beke were the first to notice it in March, 1837, by means of the boiling point of water; in this way they found the depression to be about 500 English feet.[3] A month or two later the careful barometrical measurements of Schubert gave the depression of the sea at 598.5 Paris feet; that of Jericho being 527.7 feet.[4] The very great descent which we found from Carmel to the cliffs over 'Ain Jidy, and the immense depth of the sea below, point to a like result. But so great is the uncertainty in all such partial measurements and observations, (as evinced in the like case of the Caspian Sea,) that the question can never be decided with exactness, until the intervening country shall have been surveyed and the relative level of the two seas

[1] Irby and Mangles found also "lumps of nitre and fine sulphur, from the size of a nutmeg up to that of a small hen's egg," upon the western shore of the long peninsula; Travels, p. 453.

[2] Ibid. p. 467–469. Legh in Macmichael's Journey, chap. iv. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 648.

[3] Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc. vol. vii. 1837, p. 456. Vol. ix. 1839, p. lxiv.

[4] Reise, vol. iii. p. 87. Berghaus's Almanach für 1840, p. 484. Russegger and Bertou, in 1838, make the depression of the sea amount to more than 1300 Paris feet. This is barely possible, but every probability is against it. See Berghaus's Annalen, &c. Feb. and März 1839, p. 432. Bulletin de la Société de Géogr. Octobre 1839, p. 161.

trigonometrically ascertained.[1] To such an undertaking no great obstacle would probably exist.[2]

Character of the Waters. The buoyancy of the waters of the Dead Sea, according to our experience, has already been described; and this shown to accord with the testimony of ancient writers.[3] It is occasioned by the great specific gravity of the water, arising from the heavy solution of various salts contained in it, chiefly those of magnesia and soda. But the weight and proportions of this solution, and of course the specific gravity, would seem to vary somewhat in different parts of the sea, and at different seasons of the year. A portion of water taken from near the mouth of the Jordan, might be expected to be at all times less strongly saturated, than another from the vicinity of 'Ain Jidy; and during the winter season, when the sea is filled by the rains and its level raised several feet; its waters are naturally more diluted than in autumn, after having been for months subjected to the process of evaporation under a burning sun.[4] These considerations may serve to account in part for the different results, which have been obtained by chemical analysis.

Of the seven analyses of the water of the Dead

[1] The case of the Caspian Sea furnishes a striking instance of the uncertainty of such barometrical measurements. Eleven different series of observations, between A. D. 1732 and A. D. 1836, gave, for the depression of that sea below the sea of Azof, different results, varying from about 100 Paris feet as the least, to about 366 Paris feet as the greatest. The true depression, as determined by geometrical survey in A. D. 1836, is 76 Paris feet. See Monatsbericht der Berliner Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, bd. i. s. 167, 168.

[2] Messrs. Moore and Beke transported a boat from Yâfa to the Dead Sea, and attempted a survey of the latter; but were compelled to leave it unfinished. They sounded several times; and found the apparent depth to be more than 300 fathoms, or 1800 feet. But not improbably there may have been here a deception in the results; for it must have been a very heavy lead, not to have been borne up by such a length of line in water of so great specific gravity. Journ. of the Geogr. Soc. vol. vii. 1837, p. 456.

[3] See p. 213, above.

[4] Galen also remarks, that the water was more bitter in summer than in winter; De Simpl. Med. fac. iv. 19. Reland, Pal. p. 242.

Sea, which have hitherto been published, the four following seem to deserve the preference, both for their greater exactness and coincidence, and as marking in some measure the progress of chemical discovery; viz. that of Dr. Marcet of London, 1807; Gay-Lussac of Paris, about 1818; Prof. C. G. Gmelin of Tübingen, 1826; and Dr. Apjohn of Dublin, 1839.[1] It will be seen that the *amount* of salts is in general nearly equal; while the relative proportions assigned to the different salts, are exceedingly diverse. The standard of comparison for the specific gravity, is distilled water at 1000; and the density of the water of the Dead Sea is supposed to be greater than that of any other natural water known.

	Dr. Marcet.	*Gay-Lussac.*
Specific gravity	1211	1228
Muriate of lime (Chloride of calcium)	3.920	3.98
" of magnesia (" of magnesium)	10.246	15.31
" of soda (" of sodium)	10.360	6.95
Sulphate of lime[2]	0.054	——
	24.580	26.24
Water	75.420	73.76
	100	100

[1] These seven analyses are as follows:—I. By Macquer, Lavoisier, and Le Sage, in Paris, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Sciences, 1778.—II. By Dr. Marcet, with a small quantity of the water, Philosoph. Transact. 1807, p. 296, seq.—III. By Klaproth of Berlin, with water brought to Europe by Mariti fifty years before; Beiträge, vol. v. p. 189. Berliner Magazin, 1809, p. 139.—IV. By Gay-Lussac, with a large quantity of the water brought home by Count Forbin; see Forbin's Voyage, &c. Annales de Chimie et de Phys. t. xi. p. 197.—V. By Hermstädt of Berlin about 1822; Schweigger's Journal, vol. xxxiv. p. 153.—VI. By Prof. Gmelin of Tübingen, who first discovered the existence of Bromium in the water; Würtemb. naturwissensch. Abhandl. vol. i. iii. p. 1. Poggendorff's Journal, 1827, vol. ix. p. 177, seq.—VII. By Dr. Apjohn, in a paper read (1839) before the Royal Irish Academy. A report of this paper was published in the London Athenæum for June 15th, 1839.—One of the specimens of fossil salt brought away by me from the mountain of Usdum, at the south end of the sea, was analyzed by Prof. Rose of Berlin. It contained a small mixture of lime and magnesia, but no trace of Bromium.

[2] Gay-Lussac remarks, that he found also a small quantity of Chloride of potassium, and traces of a Sulphate probably of lime.

	Prof. Gmelin.	*Dr. Apjohn.*	
Specific gravity . .	1212	1153	Boiling point 221° F.
Chloride of calcium .	3.2141	2.438	
" of magnesium .	11.7734	7.370	
Bromide of magnesium .	0.4393	0.201	
Chloride of potassium .	1.6738	0.852	
" of sodium .	7.0777	7.839	
" of manganese .	0.2117	0.005	
" of aluminum .	0.0896	——	
" of ammonium .	0.0075	——	
Sulphate of lime . .	0.0527	0.075	
	24.5398	18.780	
Water . . .	75.4602	81.220	
	100	100	

The water analyzed by Dr. Apjohn was taken half a mile from the mouth of the Jordan, near the close of the rainy season; and exhibits a less amount of salts, and a less specific gravity, than occurs in either of the other analyses. He could detect no trace of either alumina or ammonia.

I have already alluded to the fact, that the level of the waters of the Dead Sea is higher during and after the rainy season, than in the summer and autumn, after they have been for months evaporated under the burning heat of an unclouded sun. The high bank of pebbles and gravel at 'Ain Jidy has been mentioned; and we afterwards saw at the southern end of the sea traces of its high-water mark, more than an hour south of its limit at the time; indicating that its level must be sometimes ten or fifteen feet higher than when we saw it in May.[1] This is readily accounted for by the vast quantity of water brought into it during the rainy season, not only from the north, but also from

[1] Irby and Mangles noticed the high-water mark, on some parts of the peninsula, a mile or more above the water's edge; p. 445. Pococke also remarks, that in his day (1738) "there had been very extraordinary inundations of this sea over its lower banks, and such as had not happened in many years before." He saw trees that had been killed by its overflowing, and says the water seemed of late years to have gained on the land. This was at the N.W. part. vol. ii. p. 35. fol. See further on, *The Peninsula* and *Ford*.

the south and from the mountains along its sides. The quantity of rain which falls in Palestine varies greatly in different years; and according to this the basin of the Dead Sea becoming more or less full, is subjected to great variation in a course of years. When the rainy season is at an end, the evaporation is sufficiently powerful to more than counterbalance the influx from the Jordan, and thus again reduce the level of the sea. During the preceding winter, less rain had fallen than is usual.

The strong evaporation from the sea also causes it to deposit its salts, particularly in summer, on various parts of the shore; from which the Arabs obtain their chief supply for their families and flocks. That obtained in the Birket el-Khŭlîl south of 'Ain Jidy has already been mentioned; and a place was afterwards pointed out to us at the N.W. corner of the sea, where it is also gathered. Irby and Mangles found Arabs on the north side of the isthmus of the peninsula, "peeling off a solid surface of salt several inches in thickness, and loading it on asses."[1] The same deposit is doubtless found on other parts of the coast.

According to the testimony of all antiquity and of most modern travellers, there exists within the waters of the Dead Sea no living thing,—no trace indeed of animal or vegetable life.[2] Our own experience, so far as we had an opportunity to observe, goes to confirm the truth of this testimony. We perceived no sign of life within the waters. Yet occasionally, travellers

[1] Travels, p. 451.

[2] Tacit. Hist. v. 6, "neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur." Galen. de Simpl. Med. iv. c. 19, φαίνεται ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὕδατι μήτε ζῷον ἐγγιγνόμενόν τι, μήτε φυτόν. Hieron. ad Ezech. xlvii. 8, "Mare mortuum, in quo nihil poterat esse vitale.—Re vera, juxta literam huc usque nihil quod spirat et possit incedere, præ amaritudine nimia in hoc mari reperiri potest." Abulfeda Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 12, 156.—The absence of all water-fowl is readily accounted for, by the absence of fish and other animals which constitute their food.

have seen shells upon the shore; which has led to the supposition, that small muscles or periwinkles may after all exist in the sea. Maundrell "observed among the pebbles on the shore two or three shells of fish, resembling oyster-shells, at two hours distance from the mouth of the Jordan."[1] Hasselquist notes also *cochleæ* and *conchæ* as common on the banks near the Jordan; and Mr. Legh saw on the northern shore "in the water several small shell-fish, not unlike periwinkles."[2] Irby and Mangles on the peninsula "searched for shells, but found none excepting snail-shells, and a small spiral species, invariably without any fish, or the appearance of having had any for a long time."[3]

These testimonies seem at first view strongly to favour the hypothesis, that at least some species of shell-fish may exist in the sea. But the shells seen by Maundrell may after all have come from the Jordan, or have been dropped here by some Arab or pilgrim; and the accounts of Hasselquist and Legh, I apprehend, are explained and more than counterbalanced by the more exact and cautious testimony of Seetzen. "I dismounted," he says, "and followed for a time the shore of the sea, to look for conchylia and sea-plants; but found none of either. And as fish live upon these, it might naturally be expected that no tenants of the waters would exist here; and this is confirmed by the experience of all whom I have inquired of, and who could know about it.—Snails and muscles I have not found in the lake; some snails that I picked up on the shore, were *land-snails*. I was particularly attentive to this point; but must remark,

[1] Journey, &c. March 30th.
[2] Hasselquist's Reise, p. 558. Legh in Macmichael's Journey, chap. iv. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 618.
[3] Travels, p. 454.

that I was able to examine only a part of the lake."[1]— The shells which other travellers have met with, were probably in like manner those of land animals. Or, if they actually belonged to the lake, they probably have existed in it only near the mouth of the Jordan, where there is a large intermixture of fresh water, or in the vicinity of the various fountains which enter the sea.

As we were leaving Palestine, we saw in the possession of two English travellers, a small flat fish, about the length of a man's little finger, which was put into their hands as having been taken in the Dead Sea, and as proving that the sea was actually inhabited by fish. But the report added further, that the fish was found on the northern shore at some distance from the mouth of the Jordan; and, when caught, was in an exhausted and dying state. It would seem therefore much more probable, that this was a wanderer from the Jordan, who paid for his temerity with his life; furnishing a further example of the truth of Jerome's remark, that "when the Jordan swollen by the rains sometimes carries down fish into the Dead Sea, they die immediately and float upon the sluggish waters."[2]

Asphaltum. Our Arabs picked up along the shore small pieces of bitumen, asphaltum, (Arabic *el-Hummar*,) which we brought away. Our Sheikh of the

[1] Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. pp. 437, 441.

[2] Hieron. in Ezech. xlvii. 8, "Denique si Jordanes auctus imbribus pisces illuc influens rapuerit, statim moriuntur et pinguibus aquis supernatant." Galen also affirms, that fish caught in the river and thrown into the lake, die immediately; de Simpl. iv. 19. Reland, Palæst. p. 243.—Since the above remarks were written, I am happy to find my views confirmed by the naturalist Schubert. "Fish or snails," he says, "do not indeed live in this supersalt sea; the *melastoma* which we found on the shore, as well as the small dead fishes, of which we saw and picked up several thrown out by the waves upon the strand, are brought down by the Jordan or accompany voluntarily his flood; but they soon pay for this love of wandering with their lives." Reise, iii. p. 86.

Ta'âmirah told (as a report) the same story of its origin, which was heard by Seetzen and Burckhardt, viz. that it flows down the face of a precipice upon the eastern shore, until a large mass is collected, when from its weight or some shock it breaks off and falls into the sea.[1] The Sheikh of the Jehâlîn, who afterwards accompanied us to Wady Mûsa, related the same report; assigning the place on the north of the peninsula. It cannot of course be south of the isthmus; for the road travelled by Irby and Mangles and their party passes all the way at the foot of the rocks along the shore. Nor is it probable that any such spot exists further north; we had the eastern coast very distinctly in sight for two days, as we travelled along the western shore, and examined it continually with our glasses; so that any such marked point upon the rocks would hardly have escaped our notice. All agreed, that there was nothing of the kind upon the western coast.

More definite and trustworthy was the account which the Arabs gave us of the appearance of the bitumen in the sea. They believe that it thus appears only after earthquakes. The Sheikhs above mentioned, both of the Ta'âmirah and Jehâlîn, related that after the earthquake of 1834, a large quantity of asphaltum was cast upon the shore near the S.W. part of the sea; of which the Jehâlîn brought about sixty *Kuntârs* into market.[2] My companion also remembered that in that year, a large amount had been purchased by the Frank merchants at Beirût. During the last year also, after the earthquake of Jan. 1st, 1837, a large mass of bitumen (one said like an island, another like a house) was discovered floating on the

[1] Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 441. Burckhardt, p. 394.

[2] The *Kuntâr* is about 98 lbs. English. Lane's Mod. Egypt. ii. p. 372.

sea, and was driven aground on the west side, not far to the north of Usdum. The Jehâlîn and the inhabitants of Yŭtta swam off to it; and cut it up with axes, so as to bring it ashore. The Ta'âmirah heard of it, and went to get a share. They found seventy men already upon and around it. It was carried off by camel-loads, partly up the pass of 'Ain Jidy, and sold by the Arabs for four piastres the *Rŭtl* or pound. The share of the Ta'âmirah brought them more than five hundred dollars; while others sold to the amount of two or three thousand dollars.—Except in those two years, the Sheikh of the Jehâlîn, a man fifty years old, had never known of bitumen appearing in the sea, nor heard of it from his fathers.

The above information may serve to illustrate the account of Josephus, that "the sea in many places sends up black masses of asphaltum, which float on the surface, having the form and size of headless oxen."[1] Diodorus Siculus also relates, that the bitumen is thrown up in masses, covering sometimes two or three *plethra*, and having the appearance of islands.[2]

The Peninsula. Seetzen, in his first journey around the Dead Sea, took a direct course from Kerak to the southern extremity, descending there from the mountain by a very difficult pass. He seems to have observed the peninsula only from the western mountain; and mistook it for an island.[3] In his second journey, of which we have no published account, he appears to have passed near the peninsula; for it is laid down upon his map, though not in its true form.[4]—In the

[1] Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 4.

[2] Diod. Sic. ii. 48.—Some further remarks on the probable source of the asphaltum of the Dead Sea, and its apparent connection with the destruction of the cities of the plain, see near the end of Sect. XII.

[3] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 438.

[4] Seetzen's Map is found in Zach's Monatl. Corr. vol. xxii.

year 1818, Irby and Mangles travelled with Messrs. Bankes and Legh from Hebron to Kerak by the usual road; descending to the S. end of the sea by the pass of ez-Zuweirah, then keeping along upon the shore as far as to the isthmus and ascending to Kerak along the Wady which comes down upon the isthmus from near that place.

From the cliff over 'Ain Jidy, we could look across the isthmus and up this Wady to Kerak; the direction being about S.E. by S. Irby and Mangles call it the Dara, properly Wady ed-Dera'ah; we heard for it only the name of Wady Kerak. Burckhardt has both names.[1] The same travellers, after their return from Wady Mûsa, descended again from Kerak to the peninsula, and traversed the whole of it; and to them we are indebted for the only account extant of this remarkable feature of the Dead Sea. They have added a plan of the peninsula and of the part of the sea further south, which they call the "back-water;" but it seems to have been drawn only from recollection, and does not, according to my impressions, exhibit the present form either of the sea or of the peninsula.[2]

We had the opportunity of looking down upon the peninsula and the whole of this part of the sea from two different high points; first, from the cliff over 'Ain Jidy looking towards the S.E. and again from a cliff near the pass ez-Zuweirah looking towards the east and N.E. As we saw it, the isthmus was comparatively much narrower than is represented on the plan of Irby and Mangles; and not only did the peninsula extend in a long horn towards the north, leaving a

[1] Travels, &c. p. 390.

[2] Since the above was written, I have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Captain Mangles, who informs me, that the supposition in the text is quite correct; the plan in question not having been sketched until after an interval of several months, when the travellers had already left Palestine; and then only from recollection. This note is added at the suggestion of Capt. Mangles himself.

bay behind it; but also in a short horn towards the south, forming likewise a smaller bay behind. Nor was the narrow part or strait of the sea, between the peninsula and the western shoal, so very narrow as they represent it; although they judged it to be only about a mile in width.[1] These discrepancies may be accounted for, partly from the difficulty of sketching such a plan from recollection after so long an interval; and still more by the supposition, that the waters of the Dead Sea in 1818 were much lower than in 1838. That this was actually the case, I am inclined to believe, not only from the representation of the plan in question; but also from the accounts of the Arabs, which will be given further on in speaking of the ford.

From the Wady Kerak a never-failing stream issues upon the isthmus, and enters the bay on its northern side; fertilizing here a tract of level ground, which is scattered over with thickets of acacia (Seyäl) and the Dôm (Nŭbk) with other trees; among which is found the 'Ösher. Further north, nearer the bay, are tamarisks and a cane-brake or jungle. In the thicket, according to Irby and Mangles[2], the hare and the partridge of the desert abound; and portions of it are cleared and cultivated. In the very heart of it, not visible in any direction beyond a few yards, unless by the smoke arising from it, is the village of the Ghawârineh, who cultivate this tract. Their abode has much the appearance of a village in India or the South Seas. This tract, as we were told; is called Ghôr el-Mezra'ah; it is so marked on Seetzen's map, and is said by Burckhardt to be much frequented by the people of Kerak, who buy here the tobacco which they smoke.[3]

[1] Travels, p. 454.

[2] Travels, p. 449. See generally ibid. pp. 448–455.

[3] Burckhardt, p. 391. Irby and Mangles, p. 449. — See more under May 29th.

The peninsula itself, as seen from the western side of the sea, appears much like a long low sand-bank. But according to the same travellers, who passed quite around its northern horn, and then along its western edge nearly or quite to its southern extremity, such is not its general character. Its middle part consists of "a steep white ridge running like a spine down the centre. This ridge presents steep sloping sides, seamed and furrowed into deep hollows by the rains, and terminating at the summit in sharp triangular points, standing up like rows of tents ranged one above another. The whole is of a substance apparently partaking of the mixture of soft and broken chalk and slate, and is wholly unproductive of vegetation. The height of the eminence varies from ten to about thirty feet, becoming gradually lower towards its northern extremity."[1] The opposite sides of this cliff present faces of similar appearance and equal height; while adjacent to the isthmus it spreads out into broader table-land.[2]

The length of the peninsula on the eastern side, from the head of the northern bay to the northern extremity, they found to be one hour and twelve minutes; and on the western side, from the north end to the strait, or the point over against the western shoal, two hours and forty minutes. The breadth of the peninsula and isthmus, from the strait to the stream of the Dera'ah, was also two hours. The breadth of the strait they estimated at one mile; which, I apprehend, is much too small.—At the foot of the high ground, or cliff, all around, "is a considerable margin of sand, which varies in length and breadth according to the season; being much wider in summer than in winter, when there is reason to suppose that the waves almost wash the base of the cliff."[3] This becomes broader

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 452.
[2] Ibid. pp. 453. 455.
[3] Ibid. p. 452.

towards the strait, and here "a very considerable level is left, which is encrusted with a salt that is but half dried and consolidated, appearing like ice in the commencement of a thaw. All this space is soft, and gives way nearly as deep as the ankle, when it is trod on."[1]

Along the shore of the northern bay also, the travellers found deposits of salt, and persons gathering it; and near the northern point of the peninsula they collected lumps of nitre and fine sulphur, apparently brought down by the rains from the low cliff above.[2]— Around the southern end of the peninsula, where we saw a short horn and a bay beyond, "the high-water mark was at this season a mile distant from the water's edge."[3] This was on the 2d of June.

The Ford. The first notice of a ford near the south end of the Dead Sea is also from Seetzen. He describes it from the information of the Arabs, as practicable only in summer, and as requiring five hours for the passage.[4] In his map, it is laid down as leading from the peninsula to the northern part of Usdum, south of the pass of Zuweirah. Burckhardt heard the same report of a ford, which might be crossed in three hours and a half.[5] As however the Arabs have no notion of hours, both these specifications are of little value. In the plan of Irby and Mangles the ford is laid down across the narrowest part or strait, between the peninsula and the western shoal or tongue of land; where indeed we should naturally look for it.

So remarkable a feature of the sea of course engaged our attention; and we made all the inquiries in our power respecting it. The Arabs who were with us at 'Ain Jidy, both of the Ta'âmirah and the Rashâideh, who dwell chiefly towards Tekoa and Bethlehem,

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 453.
[2] Ibid. pp. 451. 453.
[3] Ibid. p. 455.
[4] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 437.
[5] Travels, p. 394.

knew nothing of any ford. Our Sheikh of the Jehâlîn, who was with us at the south end of the sea, affirmed that the water in the strait, between the peninsula and the opposite tongue of land, was very deep, and never fordable. But from the southwest part of the sea, he said, (apparently from near the pass of Zuweirah,) to the south side of the peninsula, he himself had forded the lake many years ago; although now, and since several years, the water was too deep to be forded. This account corresponds to the ford as laid down on Seetzen's map; and at the time, we had no reason to distrust its accuracy. But Irby and Mangles relate, that in descending from Kerak to the peninsula, they fell in with a small caravan going to Hebron by way of the ford; and while the travellers were examining the northern part of the peninsula, this caravan crossed it to the strait, which they forded. The travellers soon after arrived at the same point, saw the ford "indicated by boughs of trees," and observed the caravan just landed on the opposite side. They could discern the species of animal, as well as the people on their backs; and as there were asses of the party, the depth could not be great.[1]

These varying accounts I am not able to reconcile; except by supposing, as above, that the waters of the Dead Sea, as seen by those travellers in the year 1818, were at their very lowest ebb. In this way, perhaps, they might admit here for the time a ford not known or not remembered by the Arabs of the western coast; and give to the peninsula and the adjacent shoals a different form.

Apples of Sodom. One of the first objects which attracted our notice on arriving at 'Ain Jidy, was a tree with singular fruit; which, without knowing at

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 454.

the moment, whether it had been observed by former travellers or not, instantly suggested to our minds the far-famed fruits

"which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom stood."

This was the *'Ösher* of the Arabs, the *Asclepias gigantea vel procera* of botanists[1], which is found in abundance in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and also in Arabia Felix; but seems to be confined in Palestine to the borders of the Dead Sea. We saw it only at 'Ain Jidy; Hâsselquist found it in the desert between Jericho and the northern shore; and Irby and Mangles met with it of large size at the south end of the sea, and on the isthmus of the peninsula.[2]

We saw here several trees of the kind, the trunks of which were six or eight inches in diameter; and the whole height from ten to fifteen feet.[3] It has a grayish cork-like bark, with long oval leaves; and in its general appearance and character, it might be taken for a gigantic perennial species of the milk-weed or silk-weed found in the northern parts of the American States. Its leaves and flowers are very similar to those of the latter plant; and when broken off, it in like manner discharges copiously a milky fluid. The fruit greatly resembles externally a large smooth apple or orange, hanging in clusters of three or four together; and when ripe is of a yellow colour. It was now fair and delicious to the eye, and soft to the touch; but on being pressed or struck, it explodes with a puff, like a bladder or puff-ball, leaving in the hand only the

[1] Sprengel Hist. Rei Herbar. i. p. 252.

[2] Hasselquist Reise, p. 151. Irby and Mangles' Travels, pp. 354. 450. Comp. Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xviii. p. 442. Burckhardt, p. 392.

[3] Irby and Mangles found them "measuring, in many instances, two feet or more in circumference, and the boughs at least fifteen feet in height; a size which far exceeded any they saw in Nubia." p. 450.

shreds of the thin rind and a few fibres. It is indeed filled chiefly with air, like a bladder, which gives it the round form; while in the centre a small slender pod runs through it from the stem, and is connected by thin filaments with the rind. The pod contains a small quantity of fine silk with seeds; precisely like the pod of the silk-weed, though very much smaller; being indeed scarcely the tenth part as large. The Arabs collect the silk and twist it into matches for their guns; preferring it to the common match, because it requires no sulphur to render it combustible.[1]

The most definite account we have of the apples of Sodom, so called, is in Josephus; who, as a native of the country, is a better authority than Tacitus or other foreign writers.[2] After speaking of the conflagration of the plain, and the yet remaining tokens of the divine fire, he remarks, that "there are still to be seen ashes reproduced in the fruits; which indeed resemble edible fruits in colour, but on being plucked with the hands, are dissolved into smoke and ashes."[3] In this account, after a due allowance for the marvellous in all popular reports, I find nothing which does not apply almost literally to the fruit of the 'Ösher, as we saw it. It must be plucked and handled with great care, in order to preserve it from bursting. We attempted to carry some of the boughs and fruit with us to Jerusalem, but without success.[4]

[1] Gregory of Tours would seem to have heard of this tree: "Prope Jericho habentur arbores, quæ lanas gignant; exhibent enim poma in modo cucurbitarum, testas in circuitu habentia duras, intrinsecus autem plena sunt lanæ." Of this wool, he says, fine garments were made. Gregor. Turonens. Mirac. lib. i. c. 18.

[2] The Bible speaks only of the "vine of Sodom;" and that metaphorically. Deut. xxxii. 32.

[3] Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 4, Ἔστι δὲ κἀν τοῖς καρποῖς σποδιὰν ἀναγεννωμένην, οἱ χρόαν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐδωδίμοις ὁμοίαν, δρεψαμένων δὲ χερσὶν εἰς καπνὸν ἀναλύονται καὶ τέφραν.—Tacitus is still more general: Hist. v. 6., "Terramque ipsam specie torridam vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta sponte edita, aut manu sata, sive herbæ tenues aut flores, ut solitam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt."

[4] Seetzen was the first, I believe, to suggest the 'Ösher (which

Hasselquist finds the apples of Sodom in the fruit of the *Solanum Melongena*, (night-shade, mad-apple,) which we saw in great abundance at 'Ain Jidy and in the plain of Jericho. These apples are much smaller than those of the 'Ösher; and when ripe are full of small black grains. There is here however nothing like explosion, nothing like 'smoke and ashes;' except occasionally, as the same naturalist remarks, "when the fruit is punctured by an insect (Tenthredo), which converts the whole of the inside into dust, leaving nothing but the rind entire, without any loss of colour."[1] We saw the Solanum and the 'Ösher growing side by side; the former presenting nothing remarkable in its appearance, and being found in other parts of the country[2]; while the latter immediately arrested our attention by its singular accordance with the ancient story, and is moreover peculiar in Palestine to the shores of the Dead Sea.

Friday, May 11th. We rose with the dawn, awakened by the voice of the Khatîb, who as priest of his tribe was chanting his prayers in a monotonous tone by the fountain. As we looked down from 'Ain Jidy upon the sea, the sun rose in glory, diffusing a hue of gold

he writes Äöschär) as producing the apples of Sodom; though he appears not to have seen the plant; Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 442. According to Irby and Mangles "there is very little doubt of this being the fruit of the Dead Sea often noticed by the ancients," &c. p. 450.—I am not sure that Brocardus does not refer to the same plant, when he says that "under En-gedi, by the Dead Sea, there are beautiful trees; but their fruit on being plucked is found full of smoke and ashes;" c. vii. p. 180. Fulcher Carnot. seems to mean the 'Ösher, when in describing the productions around Segor (Zoar) he says: "Ibi vidi poma in arboribus, quæ, cum corticem rupissem, interius esse pulverulenta comperi et nigra;" Gesta Dei, p. 405.

[1] "Quod pulvere intus repleta sint, verum est nonnunquam, sed non semper accidit; nempe in nonnullis, quod Tenthredine pungantur, quæ substantiam totam internam in pulverem redigit, et corticem solum egregie coloratum integrum relinquit;" Hasselquist Reise, p. 560.

[2] Hasselquist mentions it at Râs el-'Ain near Tyre, p. 556.

upon the waters, now agitated by a strong ripple from the influence of an eastern breeze. We could perceive the dense evaporation rising and filling the whole chasm of the lake, and spreading itself as a thin haze above the tops of the mountains. We were also not less surprised than delighted, to hear in the midst of the solitude and grandeur of these desolations, the morning song of innumerable birds. The trees and rocks and air around were full of the carols of the lark, the cheerful whistle of the quail, the call of the partridge, and the warbling of many other feathered choristers; while birds of prey were soaring and screaming in front of the cliffs above.

While the rest were busy in packing the tent and luggage and loading the animals, I set off on foot and ascended the pass alone. Three quarters of an hour brought me to the top of the cliff, whence we had yesterday enjoyed our first view of the sea. Here I sat down upon the brink of the precipice, and looked abroad again upon the sea and its wild craggy shores, to fix more deeply the impressions of the preceding day. The ripple on the sea created a gentle surge upon the shore below; the sound of which as it rose upon the ear, was exceedingly grateful in this vast solitude. Lovely the scene is not, yet magnificently wild, and in the highest degree stern and impressive. Shattered mountains and the deep chasm of the rent earth are here tokens of the wrath of God, and of his vengeance upon the guilty inhabitants of the plain; when, "turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, he condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto them that after should live ungodly."[1]

After dwelling for a time on these and the like associations, my attention was particularly directed to

[1] 2 Pet. ii, 6.

the ruin called by the Arabs Sebbeh, already mentioned as situated towards the south upon a pyramidal cliff rising precipitously from the sea, just beyond Wady es-Seyâl.[1] The truncated summit of the lofty isolated rock forms a small plain apparently inaccessible; and this is occupied by the ruin. We had been greatly struck by its appearance; and on examining it closely with a telescope, I could perceive what appeared to be a building on its N.W. part, and also traces of other buildings further east. We had heard of this place on the way, and made inquiry respecting it of the peasants at Ma'în; but they knew only the name and had never visited the spot. Our guide of the Rashâideh had been there, as he said; he described the ruins as those of a city, with columns scattered among them; and the place as wholly inaccessible to horses and beasts of burden. Only footmen, he said, could ascend to it.

This spot was to us for the time a complete puzzle; we thought at first it might perhaps be the ruin of some early convent. But subsequent research leaves little room to doubt, that this was the site of the ancient and renowned fortress of Masada, first built by Jonathan Maccabæus, and afterwards strengthened and rendered impregnable by Herod the Great, as a place of refuge for himself.[2] Josephus describes it as situated on a lofty rock of considerable circuit overhanging the Dead Sea, surrounded by profound vallies unfathomable to the eye; it was inaccessible to the foot of animals on every part, except by two paths hewn in the rock. One of these, the least difficult, was on the west; the other, on the east, was carried up from the lake itself by zig-zags cut along the crags

[1] See above, p. 207.

[2] The main passage is Joseph. B. J. vii. 8. 2, seq. Compare also B. J. iv. 7. 2. Antiq. xiv. 11. 7. Ibid. 13. 9. Ibid. 14. 6.

of the precipice, and was exceedingly difficult and dangerous.[1] The summit was a plain surrounded by a wall seven stadia in circuit. Besides the fortifications, and immense cisterns hewn in the rock for a full supply of water, Herod built here a palace, with columns and porticos and baths and sumptuous apartments, situated on the west and north of the plain.

The fortress was dependent solely on its cisterns for water, as there was no fountain near; and the interior part of the area was left free of buildings and was cultivated, in order to guard against the possibility of famine.[2] Here Herod had laid up an immense store both of arms and provisions, sufficient to supply ten thousand men for many years. Not long before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the *Sicarii* or robbers, so notorious in the later Jewish history, had got possession of the fortress and its treasures by stratagem; and laid contribution upon the country far and near, attacking and plundering among the rest the adjacent town of En-gedi.[3] After the destruction of Jerusalem, the fortresses of Masada, Herodium, and Machærus, all in the hands of the robbers, were the only posts not yet subdued by the Romans.[4] The two latter afterwards surrendered to the procurator Lucilius Bassus[5], and his successor, Flavius Silva, at length laid siege to Masada. Here occurred the last horrible act of the great Jewish tragedy. The whole garrison, at the persuasion of their leader, Eleazar, devoted themselves to self-destruction, and chose out ten men to massacre all the rest. This was done; and nine hundred and sixty persons, including women and children, perished. Two females and five boys alone escaped.[6]

[1] Josephus gives the length of this eastern ascent at thirty stadia or 3¾ Roman miles; which, including the many turns and zig-zags, would not be very greatly exaggerated. B. J. vii. 8. 3.

[2] Josephus, B. J. vii. 8. 2, 3.
[3] Ibid. vii. 8. 4. iv. 7. 2.
[4] Ibid. iv. 9. 9.
[5] Ibid. viii. 6. 1.
[6] Ibid. viii. 9. 1.

This description of Josephus corresponds very exactly with the character of Sebbeh as seen from a distance; and there is little doubt that future travellers, who may visit its site, will find other and more definite traces of its ancient strength. The building now visible on the N. W. and the columns described by the Arabs, are not improbably the remains of Herod's palace. So far as I know, the place is mentioned by no writer since Josephus, either as Masada or Sebbeh; though the latter name is found on Seetzen's map.[1]

The rest of the party having ascended the pass, we set off from the brow at 8^h 10′, returning upon our path of yesterday for twenty minutes to the fork of the Jerusalem road already mentioned. This we now took at 8½ o'clock for ten minutes, when it went off more to the left towards Tekoa. At 9 o'clock we crossed Wady Sudeir, here only the shallow bed of a small torrent; although as it breaks down through the cliffs to the sea, it becomes a deep and frightful gulf. The high projecting cliff Mersed forms its northern bastion; along the precipitous southern side of which, we could perceive a foot-path ascending from the shore to the high land above, and falling into our route further on. On the S. side of this Wady, where we crossed it, are a few graves, called the Graves of the Dawâ'irah; some of whom were killed here many years ago by the soldiers of the governor of Hebron. These Dawâ'irah are Arabs of the northern Ghôr, composed of several tribes. They are a sort of Fŭkîrs or Derwishes, much respected by the Arabs and peasants of these regions; so that whoever puts himself under their protection for travelling, is safe. This slaughter of them was by mistake; they having been taken for other Arabs.

[1] The first suggestion as to the identity of Sebbeh with Masada, I owe to my companion, Mr. Smith, while in Leipzig.

Before us lay a long naked mountain ridge, with several peaks, running down S. E. towards the sea and terminating apparently in or near Râs el-Mersed. We crossed this chain by a gap at 9h 20′. Like all the hills and ridges of the region, it consists of friable limestone. A large tract of table-land now succeeded, called el-Hŭsâsah, from a Wady on its northern side. Indeed, the whole region along the sea, where not either mountain-ridge or deep valley, is high table-land sloping gradually towards the east; entirely desert, as described yesterday, with only a few scattered shrubs; and without the slightest trace of ever having been tilled. In this tract el-Hŭsâsah, the Rashâideh were now encamped towards Tekoa; and also another division of the Ka'âbineh living north of Wady el-Ghâr, who are of the Yemen party, while those further south, whose encampment we passed yesterday, are Keisîyeh.[1] The Rashâideh number about sixty men. They still retain their arms; and pay only about fifty piastres each as Firdeh to the government. None of them can read, and few know how to pray.—The tract el-Hŭsâsah is intersected by several small Wadys; one of which called Mudhebbih Sa'îd 'Ôbeideh we crossed at 9h 50′, and another called Shukaf half an hour beyond. In the former was a small pool of rain-water. At 10h 50′ we had a view of the north end of the sea, and obtained the following bearings: Frank mountain N. 33° W. Tekoa N. 48° W. Mount of Olives N. 19° W. Mount Gilead, near es-Salt, N. 34° E.[2]

[1] See at Beit Nettîf under May 17th.

[2] This is the highest point of the mountains east of the Jordan. I suppose it to be the same which Burckhardt calls Jebel Ôsha', three quarters of an hour N. N. W. of es-Salt, connected apparently with the ridge Jil'âd, which runs from W. to E. and is about two and a half hours in length. Of Jebel Ôsha' Burckhardt remarks, that "its summit overtops the whole of the Belka." As seen from the west, the whole cluster appears as one mountain. It is called also Jebel es-Salt. See Burckhardt's Travels, &c. p. 348.

After a delay of ten minutes, we began to descend gradually towards Wady Derejeh. This, with Wady Hŭsâsah on the south and Wady Ta'âmirah on the north, occupies a somewhat lower region of exceedingly desolate hills and ridges of chalky limestone, hardly surpassed by any part of the desert we had seen. We first came to the Hŭsâsah at 11^h 40′. It rises near Tekoa, and running down south-easterly enters the sea by itself. Near by is a large cistern in the rocks; but without water. At 12^h 20′ we came upon the bank of Wady Derejeh, here a narrow gulf a hundred feet deep or more, with rugged perpendicular rocky banks; the bottom of which we reached after a very difficult and somewhat dangerous descent of ten minutes. Here we stopped for rest and refreshment under the shadow of a lofty wall of rock, "a great rock in a weary land."[1] The bed of the valley merely affords a passage for the wintry torrent. This is the continuation of the Wady Khŭreitûn, which we had followed down from Solomon's Pools, and crossed after leaving the Frank mountain.

We set off again at 1^h 50′, and climbing with difficulty the northern bank, came at 2^h 25′ to Wady Ta'âmirah, which rises around Bethlehem and under Mâr Elyâs. Here again was rain-water among the rocks, at which we halted for ten minutes. This Wady is a tributary of the Derejeh, and joins it some twenty minutes below, where our guides said there was an immense cave with a cistern and mason-work, called by the Arabs Um el-Hŭmmâm. The whole tract after leaving the Derejeh is a horrible desert, presenting nothing but cliffs of chalky friable limestone without a trace of herbage. We now turned more to the right, and passed, at three quarters past two, near the junction of the two Wadys. At 3 o'clock we came

[1] Is. xxxii. 2.

upon a fork of the road; one path going to the right leading down to 'Ain Terâbeh on the shore, and the other keeping along upon the high land towards Râs el-Feshkhah. From this point Bîr ez-Za'ferâneh bore N. 78° W.

To descend to 'Ain Terâbeh there is a pass similar to that of 'Ain Jidy, but not so high. We had intended to go down and encamp by the fountain, and thence make our way along upon the shore below; but learning now that we should have to ascend again in order to cross the promontory of el-Feshkhah, we thought it better to remain above upon the cliffs. We therefore passed on and came out at 3h 40′, a little to the right of the road, upon the summit of a range of cliffs directly overhanging 'Ain Terâbeh and the shore, and commanding a view of the whole of the Dead Sea, including both its northern and southern extremities. This point we judged to be at least one thousand feet above the sea. It afforded a fine place of encampment; and our Arabs found rain-water in a neighbouring Wady. We were here much better off, than to have gone down to the fountain. This is indeed nothing but a little brackish water oozing up through the sand along the shore, surrounded by a thicket of reeds, canes, shrubs, and the like. There is no tillage round about it, as at 'Ain Jidy; nor do the Arabs ever encamp near it, except in circumstances when they wish to hide themselves. The reeds and thicket around the fountain afford a secure retreat to an abundance of frogs, which were now merrily croaking; while pigeons were shooting in rapid flight over the surface of the sea.

The prospect of the sea and its wild shores from this spot was magnificent, though stern; resembling in its general features that from the cliff over 'Ain Jidy, but embracing more of the sea; the view in

either direction not being here interrupted by any near projecting cliff. The waters of the sea, as here seen, assumed the same deep green hue, which we had remarked from the cliff over 'Ain Jidy. The atmosphere had now become quite clear; and we could overlook the whole form of the sea, and mark its extent both towards the north and the south; although, as we were still ignorant of its true features at the southern end, we did not note the point of its termination in that part, so accurately as we might otherwise have done. Kerak was very distinctly visible.[1]

From the fork of the Carmel and Jerusalem roads, which we had left this morning, we had travelled somewhat more than five hours to reach this cliff above 'Ain Terâbeh. Yet so great was the general curve of our route towards the west, and such the number of smaller detours we were compelled to make, and of steep descents and ascents in crossing the deep Wadys, that the amount of our progress was much less than in ordinary circumstances. Indeed, from calculations founded on the above measurements in connection with those taken at 'Ain Jidy, and from the general construction of the map, the cliff on which we were now encamped, appears to be less than eight geographical miles distant from 'Ain Jidy in a straight line. Had there been a path along the shore below, I presume the distance between the two fountains would not have occupied more than three and a half or at the most four hours of travel; making all due allowance for the windings and difficulties of the way.

Had we possessed at the time the same knowledge

1. We took here above 'Ain Terâbeh, with our large compass, the following bearings: Usdum, south-eastern point, S. 8½° W. Peninsula, south end, S. 6° W. Do. north end, S. 10½° E. Point of western shoal beyond 'Ain Jidy, S. 8° W. Râs el-Mersed, base, S. 8° W. Kerak, S. 25° E. Wady el-Môjib, S. 43° E. Wady ez-Zŭrka Ma'în, N. 89° E. Mount Gilead (Jebel Ôsha') N. 39° E.

of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, which we afterwards acquired, I have little doubt that by climbing Râs el-Mersed, and from this point over 'Ain Terâbeh, we could have obtained angles sufficient to determine the length of the sea with tolerable exactness. These two points doubtless could have been connected by an intervening base, without any special difficulty. But under the circumstances, we were reluctantly compelled to abandon the idea of arriving at any greater certainty in these interesting inquiries.

The road we had been travelling to-day, is the great Arab track through the desert along the Dead Sea; by which the Arabs of the southern deserts, and those who come from the east around the southern end of the sea, are able to penetrate far to the north, without letting their movements be known to the tribes or villages further west. About thirty years before, a large party of some three hundred and fifty of the Hejâya from the mountains of Jebâl, S. of Kerak, had in this manner passed along this route quite to Deir Dîwân, and stolen and carried off the flocks of the people of that place. As these people were in league with the Ta'âmirah, both belonging to the Yemen party, the latter pursued the Hejâya and overtook them near Wady Derejeh. In the attack which ensued, the Hejâya proved the strongest; they routed the Ta'âmirah, and killed two or three. One man, to save his life, leaped off from a precipice into the valley, and although much hurt, escaped and recovered. Ever since that time a feud of blood has existed between the two tribes.—After this the Hejâya came and plundered the convent of Mâr Sâba. The door was of wood covered with iron on the outside; they contribed to burn it away, by pouring on oil and setting it on fire in the night. But, as our Sheikh remarked, Mâr Sâba is a Wely (holy place); and the Hejâya,

after they had done this wickedness, fell to fighting among themselves.

From the south end of the Dead Sea, this great road follows the shore below as far as to 'Ain Jidy, and then ascends the pass. Along that part of the sea we heard of no road upon the high land above. Indeed such an upper road would be unnecessary; since it must naturally be longer than that below; and it would moreover be far less practicable on account of the deep vallies of the Ghâr, Khŭbarah, Seiyâl, and others which it must cross.—It was doubtless by this same Arab road that the Moabites and Ammonites came up against king Jehoshaphat, in the incursion to which we have already had occasion to allude.[1]

The view of this evening from our lofty encampment, was most romantic. The whole Dead Sea lay before us; the full moon rose in splendour over the eastern mountains, and poured a flood of silvery light into the deep dark chasm below, illuminating the calm surface of the sluggish waters. All was still as the silence of the grave. Our Arabs were sleeping around us upon the ground; only the tall pensive figure of the Sheikh was seen sitting before the door of our tent, his eyes fixed intently upon us as we wrote. He indeed was ever the last to lie down at night, and the first to rise up with the dawn.

Saturday, May 12th. Having a long day's journey before us in order to reach Jericho, we caused the luggage to be mostly packed over night; and rising very early, took our breakfast in the open air on the brink of the cliff, that our servants meantime might pack the tent. The sun rose gloriously over the eastern mountains and the abyss below us, over which a slight mist was now rising; and the song of numerous

[1] 2 Chr. xx. 1, 2. See pp. 214, 215. above.

birds came up sweetly on the ear from the thicket around the fountain.

We set off at 5 o'clock, an earlier start than we had every yet been able to make in our regular travelling; and proceeded through a desert tract of tableland, much like that of yesterday, often intersected by small Wadys, and having a range of chalky mountains on the left. At 5h 50′ we came to a Wady running to join the gulf by which the next valley, Ghuweir, descends to the shore. On the left were traces of a former encampment of the Ta'âmirah; this being the place to which they retired after the rebellion of 1834.[1] A few minutes further a road from Bethlehem crossed our path, leading to the descent or pass of the Ghuweir on the right. The Ghuweir is a small fountain on the shore at the foot of the precipice, similar to that at 'Ain Terâbeh. At 6h 05′ we came upon the Wady called Râs el-Ghuweir, which breaks down through the cliffs to the shore near the fountain. It rises in the interior near Deir Ibn 'Öbeid, at a pass called el-Kŭssâbeh; it was here deep, rugged, and difficult to be crossed. Another Wady was also mentioned, called 'Alya, rising apparently near the same place, and running into Wady er-Râhib, the prolongation of the Kidron.

Proceeding for nearly two hours and a half over a similar tract, surrounded by abrupt chalky hills and cliffs, and crossing many short Wadys, whose banks the animals could hardly descend and ascend, we came at half-past 8 o'clock to the deep and almost impassable ravine of the Kidron, coming down by Mâr Sâba, and thence called Wady er-Râhib, "Monk's Valley;" but here bearing also the name Wady en-Nâr, "Fire Valley." At this place it was running

[1] See pp. 176, 177. above.

nearly E. S. E. in a deep narrow channel between perpendicular walls of rock, as if worn away by the rushing waters between these desolate chalky hills. There was however no water in it now; nor had there apparently been any for a long time. It enters the sea in the angle formed by Râs el-Feshkhah, which here projects from the western cliffs towards the E. N. E. and contracts the north end of the sea by giving to the coast beyond it nearly the same direction.

Turning more to the right, nearly E. N. E. and crossing with difficulty several short Wadys or ravines, we came out at 8¾ o'clock upon Râs el-Feshkhah, the northernmost promontory of the Dead Sea, still eight hundred or a thousand feet above its waters. Here again we had a perfect view of the north end of the sea and a portion of the Ghôr or valley of the Jordan beyond, with the eastern mountains; and could also distinguish Usdum at the southern end. While we were taking our observations, two ravens and a small hawk were wheeling in rapid flights over the sea.[1]

Beyond the promontory of Râs el-Feshkhah the shore continues to run N. E. by E. quite to the corner of the sea. But the promontory itself on that side, and the mountains further on, retire gradually from the sea in a direction nearly north, leaving between their base and the shore a triangular plain, at first narrow, but afterwards quite wide. The road passes down obliquely along the northern side of the promontory to 'Ain el-Feshkhah at the bottom. The descent is by no means so great nor so steep as at the pass of

[1] From Râs el-Feshkhah we obtained the following bearings: N. W. corner of the Dead Sea and the intervening line of shore, N. E. by E. Mouth of the Jordan E. N. E. Kŭsr Hajla, a ruin in the plain of Jericho, N. 28° E. Jebel Jil'âd or J. es-Salt N. 44° E. Mouth of Zŭrka Ma'în S. 42° E. Do. of el-Mŏjib S. 21° E. Peninsula, north end, S. Do. south end S. 9° W. Usdum, east end, S. 11° W. Do. west end S. 15° W. Point of western shoal S. 15° W. Râs el-Mersed S. 19° W.

'Ain Jidy; but the path itself is worse, the rocks and stones not being at all cleared away. This pass is one of the roads from Mâr Sâba to the Jordan.[1] Sending on the men and horses ahead, we followed on foot at five minutes past nine. When they were about half way down the pass, a shot was heard; and then we saw the Arabs scrambling down the rocks in eager chase. They had fired at a Beden, it was supposed; but after all their pains it turned out to be a poor rabbit. They said however that the Beden are numerous in these mountains, as well as the wild-boar.

Meantime the servants and muleteers were left to get on with the horses as they could; and being unacquainted with the way, and the path blind, their progress was attended with some danger. One of the servants' horses, at a steep and difficult place, got out of the road; on attempting to lead him back, he refused to move; and pulling at the bridle, lost his footing and fell backwards ten or twelve feet, down a ledge of the rocks. We were still some distance behind; and I could not help uttering a cry of compassion as the poor animal fell, supposing it impossible that he should not be killed outright, or have at least some legs or bones broken. But he soon got up and went on as before, seeming to make nothing of it. The cooking-utensils, which were slung in bags across his back, suffered more; but even they escaped with slighter damage than could have been expected.

We found here specimens of the well-known black bituminous stone, 'stink-stone,' which has been already mentioned.[2] In one instance it appeared in the form of a casing or crust, enclosing other stones like a sort of conglomerate; looking much as if it had once

[1] I am not sure whether this was the route taken by Pococke from Mâr Sâba; vol. ii. p. 34. fol.

[2] See p. 221. above, for this and other minerals on the shore of the Dead Sea.

flowed down the path in a liquid state, and there become solid among the stones as it cooled.—The lower part of the mountain consists here wholly of conglomerate, containing stones of all sizes; some of which indeed are large rocks.

We reached the bottom of the descent and the fountain 'Ain el-Feshkhah at 9¾ o'clock. The fountain boils up here near the shore, a very copious stream, or rather streams, of limpid water, beautiful to the eye, but brackish and having a slight taste of sulphureted hydrogen. Its temperature is 80° F. The wet and marshy ground around the fountain, is covered by a dense thicket of canes, extending for half an hour or more along the shore, showing that the water flows out along this whole distance, or at least moistens the soil. Near the fountain are the foundations of a small square tower and of other small buildings; whether ancient or not, we could not tell. We stopped here for thirty-five minutes, and found the heat almost intolerable. The cane-brake intercepted the sea-breeze, while the beams of the burning sun were reflected down upon us from the cliffs above, rendering the spot like an oven. The thermometer stood at 84° F. The cliffs here and further north we estimated at from one thousand to twelve hundred feet in height.

This fountain and those of the Ghuweir and Terâbeh are within the territories of the Ta'âmirah. Besides these and the waters of Wady Sudeir, 'Ain Jidy, and Wady 'Areijeh or the Ghâr, our guides knew of no fountain on the western coast of the Dead Sea; nor did we anywhere hear of any other.

Leaving 'Ain el-Feshkhah at twenty minutes past ten, we rode between the cane-brake and the mountain, passing many masses of conglomerate rocks fallen down from above; indeed the whole precipice on our

left appeared to be of this character. Beyond the brake, the shrubs of the desert again appeared, as also the Tamarisk or Tŭrfa, and the Ghŭrkŭd, but all of a large size. The red berry of the latter was just beginning to ripen.[1] In one of the bushes, at 11½ o'clock, the guides killed an immense lizard, which we at first had taken for a serpent; it measured three feet eight inches from the head to the tip of the tail. The Arabs did not know it; but our Egyptian servants instantly recognised it as the *Waran* of Egypt, the *Lacerta Nilotica* of Hasselquist and Forskål.[2]

Our course was about N. E. inasmuch as we thought, at first, of proceeding directly to Jericho. The plain continued to widen as the mountains and sea diverged; and on our left, towards the cliffs, the whole region was broken up into small precipitous hills, apparently of marl, of singular shapes, as if the intervening earth had been washed away by torrents. Maundrell not inaptly compares the appearance of this tract to that of "places where there have been anciently lime-kilns."[3] At 12 o'clock the N. W. corner of the Dead Sea, forming its northern extremity, bore due east, less than half an hour distant. From it the coast curves off in a general direction S. E. quite to the base of the eastern mountains. At the mouth of the Jordan, on its western side, a small tongue of land or low promontory runs out into the sea, forming a bay towards the west. This point now bore E. by S. This portion of the sea, as we have seen, is much narrower than the part beyond Râs el-Feshkhah.

The earth, as we advanced, was in many places white with a nitrous crust; and we picked up occasionally small lumps of pure sulphur, of the size of a

[1] See in Vol. I. p. 96.

[2] Hasselquist's Reise, p. 361, Forskål, Descr. Animalium, p. 13.

[3] Journal from Aleppo to Jerusalem, March 30th.

nutmeg or walnut. In some parts the surface was damp, so that the horses slipped; in others it was more like ashes, and they sank in at every step.

We now found that we still had enough of the day left to pay a visit to the Jordan before going to Jericho; and as this would be a great saving of time, and we should thereby avoid the inconvenience of an escort from the garrison, we determined to take this course. On proposing it to our guides, some of the younger ones hesitated for fear of robbers; but the Khatîb assented at once. We therefore turned more to the right for a time; and then proceeded about N. E. by E. This brought us in half an hour into the midst of a second thicket of shrubs and canes around the northernmost point of the sea, watered by another brackish fountain called 'Ain Jehâir. On the flats and shoals along the shore in this part, there is in summer a deposit of salt, as at Birket el-Khŭlîl beyond 'Ain Jidy. We were soon clear of the thicket; and at a quarter before one, crossed a small sluggish stream of salt water running through marshy ground towards the sea.

Beyond this point the plain assumed a new character. All traces of vegetation ceased, except occasionally a lone sprig of the Hubeibeh or alkaline plant, which we had seen at 'Ain Jidy. The surface was almost a dead level, covered with a thin smooth nitrous crust, through which the feet of men and horses broke and sank as in ashes, up to the ankles. The tract continued of this character, with a few gentle swells, until we reached the banks of the Jordan at 1^h 40′, at a ford or crossing-place called el-Helu, considerably below the spot usually visited by the pilgrims and travellers. It is indeed the lowest point where the river is ordinarily crossed.

The upper or outer banks of the Jordan, where we

thus came upon it, are not more than one hundred rods apart; with a descent of fifty or sixty feet to the level of the lower valley in which the river flows. There was here no sign of vegetation along the upper banks, and little, if any, in the valley below; except a narrow strip of canes, here occupying a still lower tract along the brink of the channel on each side. With these were intermingled occasionally tamarisks, and the species of willow called by the Arabs *Rishrâsh*, the *Agnus castus* of botanists, from which the pilgrims usually carry away branches for staves, after dipping them in the Jordan. Looking down upon the river from the high upper bank, it seemed a deep, sluggish, discoloured stream, winding its way slowly through a cane-brake. Further up the river, we could see that the high upper banks were wider apart, and the border of vegetation much broader, with many trees.[1]

We descended the high outer bank some rods above the crossing-place; but found it impossible to reach the channel at that point, partly on account of the thickness of the cane-brake, and partly because the stream was now apparently swollen, filling its immediate banks to the brim, and in some places slightly overflowing them so as to cover the bottom of the brake. At this point, and as far as we could see, this strip of vegetation was itself skirted by offsets or banks five or six feet high. So that here the river might strictly be said to have three sets of banks, viz. the upper or outer ones, forming the first descent from the level of the great valley; the lower or middle ones enclosing the tract of canes and other vegetation; and

[1] Among the trees and shrubs higher up are said to be the Rhamnus (Nûbk) and Oleander. Hasselq. p. 152. Buckingham, p. 315. Jacob de Vitry speaks of the canes growing along the Jordan as used for building huts; they are so used at the present day. "Et ripas idoneas ad arundines seu cannas procreandas, ex quibus tecta domorum tegunt, et parietes contexunt;" c. 53. p. 1076.

the actual banks of the channel. Further up the river, it is said, the lower tract of cane-brake disappears; and the stream flows between the middle or second banks just described, which are there covered with trees and bushes.

We proceeded therefore to the place of crossing, where there was an opening through the canes and trees. Here the low banks of the channel were broken or worn away for the convenience of passing, and were now covered by the water. There was a still though very rapid current; the water was of a clayey colour, but sweet and delightfully refreshing, after the water to which we had been confined for the last two days since leaving 'Ain Jidy,—either rain-water standing in holes in the Wadys and full of animalculæ, or the brackish waters of 'Ain el-Feshkhah. We estimated the breadth of the stream to be from eighty to one hundred feet. The guides supposed it to be now ten or twelve feet deep. I bathed in the river, without going out into the deep channel; the bottom here (a hollow place in the bank) was clayey mud with also blue clay. I waded out ten or twelve feet, and thus far the water was not over the hips; but a little further, several of the party who swam across, found it suddenly beyond their depth. The current was so strong, that even Komeh, a stout swimmer of the Nile, was carried down several yards in crossing. This place is strictly not a *ford;* we understood that the river could never be crossed here by animals without swimming; and the Aga of Jericho afterwards told us, that he was accustomed to swim his horse in crossing higher up.

The sand-hills which here form the upper banks, are of the same naked character as the desert we had passed over in coming to this spot. From them we could distinguish, some miles higher up the river, the ruined

convent of St. John the Baptist, standing upon the brow of the upper bank, or first descent from the plain, near the place where the Latin pilgrims bathe in the Jordan. The Arabs call it Kŭsr el-Yehûd, 'Jews' Castle.' The bathing-place of the Greek pilgrims is two or three miles below the convent; yet each party claims to bathe at the spot where our Lord was baptized by John. Far in the north, a sharp conical peak was seen standing out like a bastion from the western mountains; our Arabs called it Kŭrn Sŭrtŭbeh. Opposite to us across the river lay the plains of Moab. The eastern mountains here retire in a small arc of a circle, forming a sort of recess, and leaving the eastern plain much broader than in any other part. It is apparently covered with shrubs; especially towards the mountains, which seemed to be two or three miles distant. Just below the crossing-place, the Wady Hesbân comes in from the same mountains, descending through a verdant region at their foot, which indeed owes its fertility to the Wady. Further north, the similar Wady Sha'ib comes down from the vicinity of es-Salt, and enters the Jordan nearly east of Jericho. At its mouth is the ordinary ford of the river.[1]

THE JORDAN AND ITS VALLEY.

The present Arabic name for the Jordan is esh-Sherî'ah, 'the watering-place;' to which the epithet *el-Kebîr*, 'the great,' is sometimes annexed.[2] The

[1] From the high bank near el-Helu, Jebel es-Salt or Gilead bore N. 30° E. Kŭsr el-Yehûd N. Kŭrn Sŭrtŭbeh N. 8° W. 'Ain es-Sultân beyond Jericho, about N. 50° W. Kŭsr Hajla N. 70° W.

[2] To distinguish it from the Sherî'at el-Mandhûr or Yarmûk, the ancient Hieromax, which joins it from the east about two hours below the lake of Tiberias. Burckhardt, pp. 273, 274. Edrîsi, ed. Jaubert, p. 338. Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 148.

form *el-Urdun*, however, is not unknown among Arabian writers.[1] The common name of the great valley through which it thus flows below the lake of Tiberias, is *el-Ghôr*, signifying a depressed tract or plain, usually between two mountains; and the same name continues to be applied to the valley quite across the whole length of the Dead Sea, and for some distance beyond.[2]

It has so happened, that until the present century, most pilgrims and travellers have visited the valley of the Jordan only at Jericho; so that we have had no account of the features of its upper part in the vicinity of the lake of Tiberias. Of the earlier pilgrims indeed, Antoninus Martyr at the close of the sixth century, and St. Willibald in the eighth, passed down through the whole length of the valley from Tiberias to Jericho; and in the year 1100 king Baldwin I. accompanied a train of pilgrims from Jericho to Tiberias[3]; but we have nothing more than a mere notice of these journies. In like manner, the various excursions of the crusaders across the Ghôr throw no light upon its character. In the year 1799 the French penetrated to the south end of the lake of Tiberias, but no further. In 1806, Seetzen crossed the valley just south of the same lake; but describes it only in very general terms.[4] Burckhardt in 1812 was twice in its northern part; and travelled along it from Beisân to a point several hours below, on his way to es-Salt.[5] Six years later, in the winter of 1818, Irby and Mangles passed

[1] Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 147. Schultens, Index in Vit. Saladin. art. *Fluvius Jordanes*.

[2] It thus corresponds to the *Aulon* of Eusebius and Jerome; see Onomasticon.—On the Ghôr, see Edrisi, par Jaubert, pp. 337, 338. Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 8, 9. Schultens, Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Algaurum*. Reland, Palæst. p. 365. Abulfeda says correctly that the same valley extends to Ailah.

[3] Fulcher. Carnot. 21. p. 402.

[4] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 350.

[5] Travels, &c. pp. 274. 344. seq.

down from Tiberias to Beisân; thence crossed over into the country around Jerash; and returned from es-Salt to Nâbulus, fording the Jordan several miles above Jericho.[1] About the same time Mr. Bankes, accompanied by Buckingham, crossed the valley obliquely from Jericho, passing the river apparently at the same ford (or very near it) as Irby and Mangles.[2]

According to Burckhardt, the Ghôr at the upper end runs in a course from N. by E. to S. by W. and is about two hours broad.[3] Opposite Jericho we found its general course to be the same; but in consequence of the retiring of the mountains on both sides, to which I have already alluded, its breadth is here much greater, being not less than three and a half or four hours. The Jordan issues from the lake of Tiberias near its S. W. corner, where are still traces of the site and walls of the ancient Tarichæa.[4] The river at first winds very much, and flows for three hours near the western hills; then turns to the eastern, on which side it continues its course for several hours, to the district called Kŭrn el-Hemâr, 'Ass's Horn,' two hours below Beisân; where it again returns to the western side of the valley.[5] Lower down, the Jordan follows more the middle of the great valley; though opposite Jericho and towards the Dead Sea, its course is nearer to the eastern mountains; about two thirds or three quarters of the valley lying here upon its western side.

A few hundred yards below the point where the Jordan issues from the lake of Tiberias, is a ford, close by the ruins of a Roman bridge of ten arches.[6] About

[1] Travels, pp. 300–305. 326.
[2] Buckingham's Travels in Palest. p. 313. seq.
[3] Page 344.
[4] Seetzen, l. c. p. 350. Irby and Mangles, p. 300. See Reland's Palæst. p. 1026. Comp. Pococke, ii. p. 70. fol.
[5] Burckhardt, pp. 344, 345. Irby and Mangles, l. c.
[6] Irby and Mangles, pp. 296. 301.

two hours further down is another old bridge, called Jisr'el-Mejâmi'a, consisting of one arch in the centre, with small arches upon arches at the sides; and also a Khân upon the western bank.[1] Somewhat higher up, but in sight of this bridge, is another ford.[2] That near Beisân lies in a direction S. S. E. from the town.[3] Indeed, "the river is fordable in many places during summer; but the few spots where it may be crossed in the rainy season, are known only to the Arabs."[4]

The banks of the Jordan appear to preserve everywhere a tolerably uniform character, such as we have described them above. "The river flows in a valley of about a quarter of an hour in breadth, [sometimes more and sometimes less,] which is considerably lower than the rest of the Ghôr;" in the northern part about forty feet.[5] This lower valley, where Burckhardt saw it, was "covered with high trees and a luxuriant verdure, affording a striking contrast with the sandy slopes that border it on both sides." Further down, the verdure occupies in some parts a still lower strip along the river's brink. So we saw it; and so also it seems to be described by Pococke near the convent of St. John.[6]

The channel of the river varies in different places; being in some wider and more shallow, and in others narrower and deeper. At the ford near Beisân on the 12th of March, Irby and Mangles found the breadth to be one hundred and forty feet by measure; the stream was swift and reached above the bellies of the

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 301. Seetzen, l. c. p. 351. Messrs. Smith and Dodge crossed the river by this bridge in 1834. The Khân was then in use.

[2] Buckingham, l. c. p. 448. Burckhardt, p. 275.

[3] Burckhardt, p. 344.

[4] Ibid. p. 345.

[5] Burckhardt, pp. 344, 345.

[6] "From the high bank indeed of the river [meaning the usual level of the lower valley,] there is a descent in many places to a lower ground, which is four or five feet above the water, and is frequently covered with wood;" Pococke, ii. p. 33. fol.

horses. When Burckhardt passed there in July, it was about three feet deep.[1] On the return of the former travellers twelve days later (March 25th), they found the river at a lower ford extremely rapid, and were obliged to swim their horses.[2] On the 29th of January in the same year, as Mr. Bankes crossed at or near the same lower ford, the stream is described as flowing rapidly over a bed of pebbles, but as easily fordable for the horses.[3] Near the convent of St. John, the stream at the annual visit of the pilgrims at Easter is sometimes said to be narrow and flowing six feet below the banks of its channel.[4] At the Greek bathing-place lower down, it is described in 1815, on the 3d of May, as rather more than fifty feet wide and five feet deep, running with a violent current; in some other parts it was very deep.[5] In 1835, on the 23d of April, my companion was upon the banks higher up, nearly opposite Jericho, and found the water considerably below them. The lower tract of cane-brake did not exist in that part.

These are the most definite notices which I have been able to find respecting the Jordan and its channel; and I have collected them here, because they have a bearing on another question of some interest, viz. the annual rise and supposed regular overflow of the waters of the river. It is indeed generally assumed that the Jordan of old, somewhat like the Nile, regularly overflowed its banks in the spring, covering with its waters the whole of its lower valley, and perhaps sometimes large tracts of the broad Ghôr itself.[6]

It seems however to be generally admitted, that no

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 304. Burckhardt, p. 345.

[2] Travels, pp. 304. 326. From this lower ford the Kŭl'at er-Rŭbŭd bore N. E. ½ N.

[3] Buckingham, l. c. p. 315.

[4] Maundrell, March 30th. Hasselquist, Reise, p. 152.

[5] Turner's Tour, ii. p. 224.

[6] Reland, Palæst. p. 273. Bachiene, i. p. 140. seq. Raumer, Pal. p. 61. ed. 2.

such extensive inundation takes place at the present day; and all the testimony above adduced goes to establish the same fact. It is therefore supposed that some change must have taken place, either because the channel has been worn deeper than formerly, or because the waters have been diminished or diverted.[1] But although at present a smaller quantity of rain may fall in Palestine than anciently, in consequence perhaps of the destruction of the woods and forests, yet I apprehend that even the ancient rise of the river has been greatly exaggerated. The sole accounts we have of the annual increase of its waters, are found in the earlier scriptural history of the Israelites; where according to the English version the Jordan is said to "overflow all its banks" in the first month, or all the time of harvest.[2] But the original Hebrew expresses in these passages nothing more, than that the Jordan "was full (or filled) up to all its banks," meaning the banks of its channel; it ran with full banks, or was brim-full. The same sense is given by the Septuagint and Vulgate.[3]

Thus understood, the biblical account corresponds entirely to what we find to be the case at the present day. The Israelites crossed the Jordan four days before the passover (Easter), which they afterwards celebrated at Gilgal on the fourteenth day of the first month.[4] Then, as now, the harvest occurred during

[1] Maundrell, March 30th.

[2] Josh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. The only other allusion to a rise of the Jordan in harvest is in Sirac. xxiv. 26. or 36.; where, however, an inundation is not necessarily implied. — The phrase "swelling of Jordan," English version Jer. xii. 5. xlix. 19. l. 44. should be rendered "pride of Jordan," as in Zech. xi. 3. where the original word is the same. It refers to the verdure and thickets along the banks, but has no allusion to a rise of the waters.

[3] Heb. מָלְאָ [מְמַלֵּא] עַל-כָּל-גְּדוֹתָיו. Sept. ἐπλήρου καθ' ὅλην τὴν κρηπῖδα αὐτοῦ. Vulg. "Jordanis autem ripas alvei sui tempore messis impleverat." Luther also gives the same sense correctly: "Der Jordan aber war voll an allen seinen Ufern."

[4] Josh. iv. 19. v. 10.

April and early in May, the barley preceding the wheat harvest by two or three weeks. Then, as now, there was a slight annual rise of the river, which caused it to flow at this season with full banks, and sometimes to spread its waters even over the immediate banks of its channel, where they are lowest, so as in some places to fill the low tract covered with trees and vegetation along its sides.[1] Further than this there is no evidence, that its inundations have ever extended; indeed the very fact of their having done so, would in this soil and climate necessarily have carried back the line of vegetation to a greater distance from the channel. Did the Jordan, like the Nile, spread out its waters over a wide region, they would no doubt everywhere produce the same lavish fertility.

Although therefore the Jordan probably never pours its floods, in any case, beyond the limits of its green border, yet it is natural to suppose, that the amount of its rise must vary in different years, according to the variable quantity of rain which may annually fall. This consideration will account in a great measure for the various reports and estimates of travellers. It may also appear singular, that this annual increase should (so far as we yet know) take place near the close of the rainy season, or even after it, rather than at an earlier period, when the rains are heaviest. This is sometimes referred to the late melting of the snows on Jebel esh-Sheikh or Hermon[2]; but at this season these snows have usually long been melted, and only the mighty head of Hermon is decked with an icy crown. The fact however may be easily explained, I apprehend, upon ordinary principles.

[1] Burckhardt says loosely that the Jordan in winter, (meaning generally the rainy season,) "inundates the plain in the bottom of the narrow valley." But this whole lower plain, where he saw it, was "covered with high trees and a luxuriant verdure." Travels, &c. pp. 344, 345.

[2] Bachiene, i. p. 141.

In the first place, the heavy rains of November and December find the earth in a parched and thirsty state; and among the loose limestone rocks and caverns of Palestine, a far greater proportion of the water is under the circumstances absorbed, than is usual in occidental countries, where rains are frequent. Then too the course of the Jordan below the lake of Tiberias is comparatively short; no living streams enter it from the mountains, except the Yarmûk and the Zŭrka from the east; and the smaller torrents from the hills would naturally, at the most, produce but a sudden and temporary rise. Whether such an effect does actually take place, we are not informed; as no traveller has yet seen the Jordan during the months of November and December. Late in January and early in March 1818, as we have seen, nothing of the kind was perceptible.[1]

But a more important, and perhaps the chief cause of the phenomenon, lies (I apprehend) in the general conformation of the region through which the Jordan flows. The rains which descend upon Anti-Lebanon and the mountains around the upper part of the Jordan, and which might be expected to produce sudden and violent inundations, are received into the basins of the Hûleh and the lake of Tiberias, and there spread out over a broad surface; so that all violence is destroyed; and the stream that issues from them, can only flow with a regulated current, varying in depth according to the elevation of the lower lake. These lakes indeed may be compared to great regulators, which control the violence of the Jordan, and prevent its inundations. The principle is precisely the same, (though on a far inferior scale,) as that which prevents the sudden rise and overflow of the magnificent streams connecting the great lakes of North America.

[1] See pp. 260, 261, above.

—As now the lake of Tiberias reaches its highest level at the close of the rainy season, the Jordan naturally flows with its fullest current for some time after that period; and as the rise of the lake naturally varies (like that of the Dead Sea) in different years, so also the fulness of the Jordan.

All these circumstances, the low bed of the river, the absence of inundation and of tributary streams, combine to leave the greater portion of the Ghôr a solitary desert. Such it is described in antiquity, and such we find it at the present day. Josephus speaks of the Jordan as flowing "through a desert;" and of this plain as in summer scorched by heat, insalubrious, and watered by no stream except the Jordan.[1] The portion of it which we had thus far crossed has already been described; and we afterwards had opportunity to overlook it for a great distance towards the north, where it retained the same character. Near the ford five or six miles above Jericho, the plain is described as "generally unfertile, the soil being in many places encrusted with salt, and having small heaps of a white powder, like sulphur, scattered at short intervals over its surface;" here too the bottom of the lower valley is generally barren.[2] In the northern part of the Ghôr, according to Burckhardt, "the great number of rivulets which descend from the mountains on both sides, and form numerous pools of stagnant water, produce in many places a pleasing verdure, and a luxuriant growth of wild herbage and grass; but the greater part of the ground is a parched desert, of which a few

[1] Joseph. B. J. iii. 10. 7, Διεκτέμνει τὴν Γεννησὰρ μέσην, ἔπειτα πολλὴν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν, εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν ἔξεισι λίμνην. Ibid. iv. 8. 2, Ἐκπυροῦται δὲ ὥρᾳ θέρους τὸ Πεδίον, καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν αὐχμοῦ περιέχει νοσώδη τὸν ἀέρα· πᾶν γὰρ ἄνυδρον πλὴν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.—In a similar sense Jerome, Comm. in Zech. xi. 3. "Sic Jordani fluvio . . . fremitum junxit leonum propter ardorem sitis, et ob deserti vicinam et latitudinem vastæ solitudinis, et arundineta et carecta."

[2] Buckingham, l. c. pp. 313, 314.

spots only are cultivated by the Bedawîn."[1] So too in the southern part, where similar rivulets or fountains exist, as around Jericho, there is an exuberant fertility; but these seldom reach the Jordan, and have no effect upon the middle of the Ghôr. Nor are the mountains upon each side less rugged and desolate than they have been described along the Dead Sea. The western cliffs overhang the valley at an elevation of a thousand or twelve hundred feet; while the eastern mountains are indeed at first less lofty and precipitous, but rise further back into ranges from two thousand to twenty-five hundred feet in height.

Such is the Jordan and its valley; that venerated stream, celebrated on almost every page of the Old Testament as the border of the Promised Land, whose floods were miraculously "driven back," to afford a passage for the Israelites. In the New Testament it is still more remarkable for the baptism of our Saviour: when the heavens were opened, and the Spirit of God descended upon him, "and lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved son!"[2] We now stood upon its shores, and had bathed in its waters, and felt ourselves surrounded by hallowed associations. The exact places of these and other events connected with this part of the Jordan, it is in vain to seek after; nor is this necessary, in order to awaken and fully to enjoy all the emotions, which the region around is adapted to inspire.

As to the passage of the Israelites, the pilgrims of course regard it as having occurred near the places where they bathe, or not far below. Mistaken piety seems early to have fixed upon the spot, and erected a church and set up the twelve stones near to the supposed site of Gilgal, five miles from the Jordan. This is described by Arculfus at the close of the

[1] Travels, &c. p. 344.

[2] Matt. iii. 13. seq.

seventh, and by St. Willibald in the eighth century; and the twelve stones are still mentioned by Rudolph de Suchem in the fourteenth.[1] In later times, Irby and Mangles remark, that "it would be interesting to search for the twelve stones" near the ford where they crossed, some distance above Jericho.[2] But the circumstances of the scriptural narrative, I apprehend, do not permit us to look so high up; nor indeed for any particular ford or point, unless for the passage of the ark. "The waters that came down from above, stood, and rose up upon a heap....and those that came down toward the sea.... failed and were cut off; and the people passed over *right against* Jericho."[3] That is, the waters above being held back, those below flowed off and left the channel towards the Dead Sea dry; so that the people, amounting to more than two millions of souls, were not confined to a single point, but could pass over any part of the empty channel directly from the plains of Moab towards Jericho.

We quitted the banks of the Jordan at 2^h 35′ on a course N. W. ½ N. for Jericho, intending to visit a fountain on the way, and also the ruin which the Arabs called Kŭsr Hajla. Some of our younger Arabs had affected great fear in remaining so long at the river, as wandering robbers sometimes lie in wait there for travellers. But the Khatîb, who seemed not to know fear, rebuked them, exclaiming: "Let come who will, we will all die together." He was indeed a fine specimen of a spirited Arab chief.

Crossing the desert tract for half an hour or more, we came upon a broad shallow water-bed extending

[1] Adamnanus ex Arculfo, ii. 14, 15. St. Willibaldi Hodœp. 18. Rud. de Suchem in Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 849.

[2] Travels, p. 326. So too Buckingham, p. 315.

[3] Josh. iii. 16.

from north to south, covered with a forest of low shrubs. Fifteen minutes further we reached another low tract running from west to east towards the former, and occupied by a fine grove of the Rishrâsh or willow (Agnus castus).[1] Most of the trees were young; but some of them old and very large. Within this grove at the upper or western end, we came at 3½ o'clock to the source of all this fertility, a beautiful fountain of perfectly sweet and limpid water, enclosed by a circular wall of masonry five feet deep, and sending forth a stream which waters the tract below. It is regarded as the finest water of the whole Ghôr; and bears among the Arabs the name of 'Ain Hajla.

This fine fountain I have not found mentioned by any traveller. From it the tower of Jericho bears N. W. ½ W. and Kŭsr Hajla S. W. by W. The name Hajla is identical with the ancient name Beth-Hoglah, a place on the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin; which, commencing at or near the mouth of the Jordan, and passing by Beth-Hoglah, went up through the mountains to En-Shemesh and so to En-Rogel and the valley of Hinnom.[2] The position of this spot accords well with such a course; and as fountains are one of the permanent and most important features of this region, and of course least likely to lose their ancient names, I am disposed to regard this as the site of the ancient Beth-Hoglah. We sought however in vain for traces of ruins in the vicinity of the fountain. Jerome places Beth-Hoglah at two miles from the Jordan towards Jericho; although he at the same time confounds it with the threshing floor of Atad beyond the Jordan.[3] The name was then extant; but is not

[1] *Vitex Agnus castus.* Hasselquist Reise, p. 555.

[2] Josh. xv. 5, 6. xviii. 19, 20. See above, Vol. I. p. 493.

[3] Onomast. art. *Area Atad.* Comp. Gen. l. 10, 11. Whatever may be the meaning of the phrase "beyond Jordan," in this passage of Genesis, there can be no doubt that the "trans Jordanem" of Je-

again mentioned until the twelfth or thirteenth century, when Eugesippus and Brocardus appear to have heard of it in the same place, as also other travellers down to the end of the sixteenth century.[1] Since that time I find no mention of the name until quite recently.[2]—The name Kŭsr Hajla which the Arabs give to the ruin twenty minutes distant S. W. by W. is doubtless borrowed by them from the fountain.

Sending our servants forward direct to Jericho, in order to pitch the tent and prepare for our arrival, we turned off to visit the ruin just mentioned. It proved to be a Greek convent; the walls yet standing in part, and well built of hewn stones. The chapel is easily made out; and the pictures of Saints are still to be seen upon its walls. The native Christians now give it the name of Deir Mâr Yôhanna Hajla, to distinguish it from the other convent of St. John the Baptist, near the river further north.[3]—From the ruin, the top of Usdum was just visible at the S. end of the Dead Sea, its middle point bearing about S. 15° W. the direction of the northern Ghôr being at the same time about N. 15° E. The cliff el-Mersed by 'Ain Jidy bore S. 20° W. Westward from the north end of the sea, the retreating of the mountains forms a sort of amphitheatre; in this part the mountains are lower, and a break is seen in them, with a pass leading over to Mâr Sâba, This pass is called Kuneitirah, and bore S. 60° W.[4]

rome writing at Bethlehem, must refer to the eastern side of the river. Jerome gives the distance from the ancient Jericho at five Roman miles.

[1] Eugesipp. in L. Allatii Symmikta, Col. Agr. 1653, p. 119. Brocardus, c. vii. p. 178. Further, Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 129. B. de Saligniaco, tom. ix. c. 5. Zuallardo, Viaggio, &c. p. 240.

[2] Berggren, Resor, &c. iii. p. 13. Stockh. 1828. Germ. vol. iii. p. 110.

[3] Maundrell visited these ruins March 30th, but gives them no name. Berggren heard the name Kŭsr Hajla; l. c.

[4] This road was taken by Schubert from the Dead Sea to Mâr Sâba ✱ Reise, iii. p. 94. seq.

Through the break a low conical peak was pointed out, bearing S. 58° W. which was said to be the site of a ruined town called Mird. The town of Jericho bore N. 38° W.

These ruins belong doubtless to one of the many monasteries, which once stood in the plain of Jericho; most of which have been so utterly destroyed as to leave no trace behind. The earliest and most important of all, appears to have been that of St. John the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan, the ruins of which are now called by the Arabs Kŭsr el-Yehûd. It existed before the time of Justinian; for Procopius relates, that this emperor caused a well to be constructed in it, and built also another convent in the desert of Jordan, dedicated to St. Panteleemon.[1] The pilgrims of the subsequent centuries speak only of the former and its church; and describe it as large and well-built.[2] In that age the annual throng of pilgrims to bathe in the Jordan took place at the Epiphany; nothing is said of Easter.[3] The monk Bernard in the ninth century says there were here many convents.[4] In the twelfth century Phocas speaks of the convent of St. John as having been thrown down by an earthquake, but rebuilt by the liberality of the Greek emperor; while at the same time two other monasteries, those of Calamon and Chrysostom, existed in the vicinity; and a fourth, that of St. Gerasimus, had been undermined and thrown down by the waters of the Jordan.[5] In the fourteenth century, when Rudolph de Suchem visited the monastery of St. John, it was still inhabited by Greek monks; but near the close of the

[1] Procop. de Ædif. Just. v. 9.
[2] Adamnanus, ii. 16. St. Willibald Hodœ p. 17. Bernard, 16.
[3] Antoninus Mart. 11. St. Willibald, ib. 17.
[4] Bernard de Loc. Sanct. 16. "In quibus quoque locis multa consistunt Monasteria."
[5] Joh. Phocas de Loc. Sanct. 22–24.

fifteenth, Tucher and then Breydenbach found it in ruins; and such it has continued ever since.[1]

To which of the other convents above named the ruins of the present Kŭsr Hajla may have belonged, or whether to any of them, I am not able to determine. It would seem to have borne among the Arabs the name of Hajla (from the fountain) as early as the fifteenth century; for Breydenbach speaks of Bethagla as a place where Greek monks had formerly dwelt.[2] It was of course already in ruins; though B. de Salignaco, in 1522, says it was then inhabited (perhaps temporarily) by monks of the order of St. Basil.[3] In the same age it was known also to the Latins as the convent of St. Jerome, and was coupled with a legendary penance of that father in the adjacent desert. Under this name it is mentioned by Tucher in 1479; and is also described by Boniface and Quaresmius, as a ruin with pictures of Jerome and other saints upon the walls.[4]

We left Kŭsr Hajla at 4½ o'clock for Jericho, over a beautiful and perfectly level plain of more than an hour in breadth. The whole tract might be tilled with ease; as the soil is light and fertile, like that of Egypt, and needs only the surplus waters around Jericho in order to become exceedingly productive. At present it is merely sprinkled with shrubs like the desert, and with occasional patches of wild grass, now dry and parched. Here we saw tracks of wild swine, and multitudes of holes of the jerboa.

At 5¼ o'clock, being still in the plain half an hour from the village, we came suddenly upon the remains of a former site, exhibiting the foundations of thick

[1] R. de Suchem in Reissb. p. 849. Tucher, ibid. p. 670. Breydenbach, ibid. p. 116.

[2] Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 129.

[3] Tom. ix. c. 5.

[4] Tucher in Reissb. p. 671. Quaresmius, ii. p. 752. Adrichomius, p. 183.

walls of well-hewn stones. A quadrangular tract of some size seemed to have been surrounded by a wall; within which were the substructions of a large regular building and other smaller ones. About ten or fifteen minutes further south, on a low mound in the plain, we could perceive other ruins apparently of a like kind.[1] Both these sites I am disposed to regard as the substructions of some of the many monasteries above enumerated, which formerly stood upon the plain. Or perhaps one of them may have been the Gilgal mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome and by the pilgrims of the centuries before the crusades, situated two miles from Jericho and five miles from the Jordan, where was a large church held in high repute.[2] The disappearance of the hewn stones is sufficiently accounted for, by the various Saracenic aqueducts still standing in the plain; to say nothing of the repeated constructions of the later village.

After leaving this spot, as we approached the tower or castle (so called) of Jericho, we came upon traces of cultivation, and passed over fields from which crops of maize, millet, indigo, and the like, had been taken apparently the year before. Trees of the Nŭbk were scattered around, and also the Zŭkkûm or balsam-tree. Crossing the deep bed of a mountain torrent now dry, which here runs down eastward through the

[1] This is probably the spot described by Monro as "a mound with stone substructions, and a large cistern, and the remains of thick walls upon the surface of the soil at no great distance." Summer Ramble, i. p. 158. He held it to be the site of Cypros, a fortress so named by Herod in honour of his mother. But according to Josephus, this fortress was situated *over* (ὑπὲρ, καθύπερθε) Jericho; and must therefore be sought on or near the western mountain. Antiq. xvi. 5. 2. B. J. i. 21. 4. 9. ii. 18. 6.

[2] Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Galgala* et *Bunos*. Adamnanus, ii. 14, 15. St. Willibald, 18. Brocardus transfers this Gilgal to the west side of Jericho near the mountain Quarantana; c. vii. p. 178. So too R. de Suchem, p. 863. The church was therefore probably destroyed before the crusades; indeed that which St. Willibald saw was small, and built only of wood.

plain, we reached our tent at a quarter before 6 o'clock. We found it already pitched on the northern bank of the Wady, near the castle and village, in a neglected garden among Nŭbk and fig-trees.

We were glad to take possession of our temporary home. We had had a long and fatiguing day; but a day too of intense and exciting enjoyment; and we now rejoiced to recline our weary limbs upon our couches, and think only of repose. After a week of such toil and excitement, we likewise looked forward with gratification to a day of rest upon the morrow. The village and the Aga were forgotten for the night, and we saw nothing of either. The merry notes of frogs assured us that water was near; and as the darkness gathered around, we listened with delight to the chirping of the cricket and the song of the nightingale. The less welcome music of the musquito was also not wanting; but these insects were not numerous. The thermometer at sunset stood at 78° F.

Sunday, May 13th. We passed the whole day at Jericho; but in consequence of various circumstances, it had less of the quiet repose of the Christian Sabbath than we could have wished; while the excessive heat gave us an uncomfortable specimen of the climate of the Ghôr.

As we sat at breakfast, we learned that the Aga had called to pay us a visit; but had gone away again on hearing that we were at our meal. We thought it better afterwards to return his civility, in order to have done with the matter of official courtesies as soon as possible. We went accordingly, accompanied by our Sheikh, and found the Aga in the narrow court of the castle, by the side of a reservoir, under a temporary shed or bower built up against the wall, preparing to set off in an hour for the country east of the Jordan, where he expected to be absent a week. Several

Bedawîn of the 'Adwân were present, a tribe inhabiting the tract across the Jordan, from the river to the summit of the mountains as far as to Hesbân. This tribe had so misused and oppressed the Fellâhîn of the district, who dwell in the villages and till the ground, in which the government is interested, that they had abandoned their dwellings and fled to the region of Kerak. The Aga had once been over in order to restrain the oppressions of the Bedawîn, and induce the peasants to return; and he had now summoned the 'Adwân whom we saw, to attend him on a second excursion. His purpose was to afford protection to the peasants, so that they might come down from the mountains and reap the harvest in the plain; both for their own benefit and that of the government.

The Aga received us very courteously, and had his carpet spread for us in a better spot under the shed on the inner side of the basin. He was an active and intelligent Turk, with a thin visage and nose, and a European cast of countenance; he was probably an Albanian. Although exceedingly civil to us, in respect to whom he had received a personal order from the governor of Jerusalem, yet he certainly looked capable of any deed of cruelty and blood. Two persons were sitting by with their legs chained together; these were Christians from 'Ajlûn, who had been taken in some misdeed; they had been examined by the Aga, who had made out his report respecting them to the governor of Jerusalem. An old priest was also present, whom we recognized as one of our former friends at Taiyibeh. The Aga informed us, that the country around es-Salt, 'Ajlûn, and Jerash, was then quiet and safe, so that we could visit it without danger, if we chose; but the district around Kerak was still disturbed. He seemed gratified to meet with some one who could speak Turkish with him, and was quite

communicative; gave us two cups of coffee, a degree of civility quite unusual; and said he had been expecting us for several days. He was ready, he said, to escort us to the Jordan; a kindness which we were very glad not to need; and told his officers to aid us in all we might desire during his absence. The garrison appeared not to consist of more than a dozen men, all Albanians.

A poetical traveller might find here materials to make out quite a romantic description of our visit. Here was the old tower or castle with its decayed walls, a memorial of the times of the crusades; the narrow court with a reservoir and fountain; and a bower erected over them to shield off the burning beams of an oriental sun. On the inside of the cool fountain beneath the bower, the Aga and his visitors were seated on costly carpets, all wearing the Tarbûsh or oriental cap and tassel; and he with a splendid sash, with scimetar, pistols, and dagger in his girdle Opposite to us, on the other side of the reservoir, stood as silent spectators the wild fierce-looking chiefs of the 'Adwân, attired in the Kefîyeh and costume of the desert; near whom in strong contrast was seen the mild figure of the old priest of Taiyibeh in his dark robes and blue turban, and our own stately Khatîb looking on with a subdued expression of scornful independence. Here and there round about was an officer or soldier with pistols and scimetar; behind, on our left, sat the two prisoners, who probably would have told us a far different story of their fortunes; one of them an old man with a long beard pounding coffee; and near them another old man cutting up the green leaves of tobacco. Young slaves, some of them jet black, and others with fair intelligent countenances, were loitering about, bringing coffee and pipes, or presenting the snuff-box of the Aga to his guests; maidens

came with water-skins, and having filled them at the fountain, bore them off on their shoulders; while around the walls of the court, beautiful Arab horses, gaily caparisoned for the warlike expedition, were impatiently champing the bit and pawing the ground. All was oriental in full measure; yet, with the exception of the horses, all was miserable and paltry in the extreme. The reservoir was a large drinking-trough for animals in the midst of a stable-yard; the bower was a shed of dry cornstalks[1] and straw, resting on rough crotches; and the persons and garments of the people were shabby and filthy. So much for the romance of the scene.

Leaving the Aga, from whose further civilities we were glad to be relieved so easily, we passed out of the court; and observing some people threshing wheat a little east of the castle, we walked towards them. It was truly a scriptural harvest-scene, where the reaping and the threshing go on hand in hand.[2] The people, we found, were our old acquaintances, the inhabitants of Taiyibeh, who had come down to the Ghôr in a body, with their wives and children and their priest, to gather in the wheat-harvest. They had this year sown all the wheat raised in the plain of Jericho, and were now gathering it on shares; one half being retained for themselves, one quarter going to the people of the village, and the remaining quarter to the soldiers of the garrison in behalf of the government. The people of Jericho, it seems, are too indolent, or, as it was said, too weak to till their own lands.

The wheat was beautiful; it is cultivated solely by irrigation, without which nothing grows in the plain. Most of the fields were already reaped. The grain, as

[1] That is, the dry stalks of maize, the Indian corn of the United States.

[2] It brought up before our eyes the scenes of the book of Ruth; c. ii. iii.

soon as it is cut, is brought in small sheaves to the threshing-floors on the backs of asses, or sometimes of camels. The little donkies are often so covered with their load of grain, as to be themselves hardly visible; one sees only a mass of sheaves moving along as if of its own accord. A level spot is selected for the threshing-floors; which are then constructed near each other, of a circular form, perhaps fifty feet in diameter, merely by beating down the earth hard. Upon these circles the sheaves are spread out quite thick; and the grain is trodden out by animals. Here were no less than five such floors, all trodden by oxen, cows, and younger cattle, arranged in each case five abreast, and driven round in a circle or rather in all directions over the floor. The sled or sledge is not here in use, though we afterwards met with it in the north of Palestine.[1] The ancient machine with rollers we saw nowhere.[2] By this process the straw is broken up and becomes chaff. It is occasionally turned with a large wooden fork, having two prongs; and when sufficiently trodden, is thrown up with the same fork against the wind, in order to separate the grain, which is then gathered up and winnowed. The whole process is exceedingly wasteful, from the transportation on the backs of animals to the treading out upon the bare ground. The precept of Moses: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out,"[3] was not very well regarded by our Christian friends; many of their animals having their mouths tied up; while among the Muhammedans, I do not remember ever to have seen an animal muzzled. This precept serves to show, that of old, as

[1] See under June 15th, at Sebûstieh.

[2] Is. xxviii. 27. seq. Niebuhr found it still in use in Egypt, called Nôrej; Reisebeschr. i. pp. 151, 152. Lane also describes it under the same name; Mod. Egyptians, ii. p. 26. — On the various modes of oriental threshing, see Wiener Bibl. Realwörterb. i. p. 324.

[3] Deut. xxv. 4.

well as at the present day, only neat cattle were usually employed to tread out the grain.[1]

Thus the wheat-harvest in the plain of Jericho was nearly completed on the 13th of May. Three days before, we had left the wheat green upon the fields around Hebron and Carmel; and we afterwards found the harvest there in a less forward state on the 6th of June. The barley-harvest at Jericho had been over for three weeks or more. My companion had visited the place a few years before; and found the barley then fully gathered and threshed on the 22d of April.

On inquiring of these Christians, Why they thus laboured on the Lord's day? their only reply was, that they were in the Ghôr, away from home, and the partners of Muhammedans. At home, they said, they abstained from labour on that day.

Turning back towards the village, which lies west of the castle along the Wady, we met the Sheikh of the place, watering his young horse at one of the little streams that come down from the large fountain on the west, and irrigate the plain. He seemed intelligent; and gave us the names of several places in the vicinity. Of a Gilgal he knew nothing. One of the 'Adwân chiefs also came to meet us; of whom we inquired respecting his country. He pointed out to us again the Wady Hesbân, near which far up in the mountain is the ruined place of the same name, the ancient Heshbon.[2] Half an hour N. E. of this lies another ruin, called el-'Âl, the ancient Elealeh.[3]

[1] Comp. Hos. x. 11.

[2] The celebrated capital of Sihon, king of the Amorites, Num. xxi. 25. seq. Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Esebon*. Reland, Palæst. p. 719. This region was first visited in modern times by Seetzen, who found Hesbân, el-'Âl, and other ancient places; Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 431. Then by Burckhardt, Travels, p. 365. seq. Afterwards by Irby and Mangles, and their party, Travels, p. 471. Legh in Macmichael's Journey, ch. iv. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 650.

[3] Num. xxxii. 3. 37. According to Eusebius and Jerome, Elealeh lay one Roman mile from Heshbon; Onomast. art. *Eleale*. The two are mentioned together, Is.

Neither of these places was visible from Jericho. The same Sheikh pointed out also Wady Sha'ib coming down in the northern part of the recess of the eastern mountains, from the vicinity of es-Salt[1], and passing by the ruins of Nimrîn, the Nimrah and Beth Nimrah of Scripture.[2] Here, as I understood, is a fountain, corresponding to the waters of Nimrim.[3] This Wady enters the Jordan nearly E. by N. from Jericho; and at its mouth is the usual ford of that river; where, as the Sheikh said, the water was breast high.

We now returned through the village, which bears in Arabic the name of Erîha, or as it is more commonly pronounced Rîha, a degenerate shoot, both in name and character, of the ancient Jericho.[4] Situated in the midst of this vast plain, it reminded me much of an Egyptian village. The plain is rich, and susceptible of easy tillage and abundant irrigation, with a climate to produce any thing. Yet it lies almost desert; and the village is the most miserable and filthy that we saw in Palestine. The houses, or hovels, are merely four walls of stones taken from ancient ruins, and loosely thrown together, with flat roofs of cornstalks or brushwood spread over with gravel. They stand quite irregularly and with large intervals; and each has around it a yard enclosed by a hedge of the dry thorny boughs of the Nŭbk. In many of these yards are open sheds with similar roofs; the flocks and herds are brought into them at night, and render them filthy in the extreme. A similar but stronger hedge of

xv. 4. xvi. 9. Jerem. xlviii. 34. See the preceding note.—This place seems to be mentioned by Khŭlîl Ibn Shâhîn, as the northern limit of the province of Kerak, under the name of el-'Aly; see Rosenmüller, Analecta Arab. pars iii. p. 19. fol. p. 39.

[1] See Burckhardt, p. 355.

[2] Num. xxxii. 3. 36. Josh. xiii. 27. Onomast. art. *Nemra*, Νεβρά. Reland, p. 650. Burckhardt heard of Nimrîn; pp. 355. 391.

[3] Isa. xv. 6. Jerem. xlviii. 34. Nimrim in Hebrew is a plural form of Nimrah.

[4] Abulfeda writes it with an Alef, *Eríha*, Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 35. Edrîsi has both forms, ed. Jaubert, p. 338. bis, and note [2].

Nŭbk branches, surrounds the whole village, forming an almost impenetrable barrier. The few gardens round about seemed to contain nothing but tobacco and cucumbers. One single solitary palm now timidly rears its head, where once stood the renowned "City of Palm-trees."[1] Not an article of provision was to be bought here, except new wheat unground. We had tried last evening to obtain something for ourselves and our Arabs, but in vain; not even the ordinary 'Adas or lentiles were to be found.—Did the palm-groves exist here still in their ancient glory, the resemblance to Egypt and its soil would be almost complete; as the repeated decay and desolations of Rîhah, have raised it upon mounds of rubbish, similar to those of the Egyptain villages.

The village was now full of people in consequence of the influx of families from Taiyibeh to the harvest; many of whom had taken up their abode under the open sheds in the yards of the houses. The proper inhabitants of Rîhah were rated at about fifty men or some two hundred souls; but the number had been diminished by the conscription. They are of the Ghawârineh, or inhabitants of the Ghôr, a mongrel race between the Bedawy and Hŭdhry, disowned and despised of both. Here indeed they seemed too languid and indolent to do any thing. Our Sheikh spoke of them as hospitable and well-meaning people, but feeble and licentious, the infidelity of the women being winked at by the men; a trait of character singularly at variance with the customs of the Bedawîn. At our encampment over 'Ain Terâbeh the night before we reached this place, we overheard our Arabs asking the Khatîb for a paper or written charm, to protect them from the women of Jericho; and from their conversation, it seemed that illicit intercourse between the lat-

[1] Deut. xxxiv. 3. Judg. i. 16.

ter and strangers who come here, is regarded as a matter of course. Strange, that the inhabitants of the valley should have retained this character from the earliest ages; and that the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah should still flourish upon the same accursed soil.

A streamlet from the fountain flows along between the village and the brink of the Wady on the south, which is here skirted by a thicket of Nŭbk and other trees. The rill passed on near our tent, and then entered the court of the castle to supply the reservoir. Around our tent were several large fig-trees, whose broad and think foliage aided to ward off the scorching beams of the sun. Among other trees close by was the Palma Christi (Ricinus), from which the castor-oil is obtained; it was here of large size, and had the character of a perennial tree, though usually described as a biennial plant.[1] Another object near our tent also excited our curiosity,—a block of Sienite red granite, the fragment of a large circular stone lying partly buried in the earth. It was about two feet thick, and the chord of the fragment measured five and a half feet; the diameter of the stone when whole could not have been less than eight or ten feet. The circular edge was full of small round holes or indentations. Just by are the remains of a circular foundation, on which it perhaps once lay. What could have been the purpose of this stone, or whence it was brought, we could not divine. It had every appearance of the Egyptian Sienite; and if such were its origin, it could only have been transported hither across the plain of Esdraelon and so along the Ghôr.—Below the bank of the Wady itself were a few traces of former foundations; but nothing which indicated antiquity.

[1] Hasselquist also found it here: "Ricinus in altitudinem arboris insignis." Reise, p. 555. Comp. Celsii Hierobot. ii. p. 273. Throughout Syria it is understood to be perennial.

The climate of Jericho is excessively hot; and after two or three months becomes sickly, and especially unhealthy for strangers. According to our Arabs, the sojourn of a single night is often sufficient to occasion a fever. Indeed, in traversing merely the short distance of five or six hours between Jerusalem and Jericho, the traveller passes from a pure and temperate atmosphere into the sultry heat of an Egyptian climate. Nor is this surprising, when we consider, that the caldron of the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan lie several hundred feet below the level of the ocean, and nearly three thousand feet lower than Jerusalem. The sun to-day was sometimes obscured by light clouds; but in the intervals his beams were very intense. At 10 o'clock, as I sat writing under a retired and spreading fig-tree, near running water, with a refreshing breeze, a thermometer, which hung near me in the shade and in the full current of the breeze, stood at 86° F. A nightingale, "most musical, most melancholy," was pouring forth her song in the branches over my head. The heat in the tent, in spite of all our precautions, and notwithstanding the breeze and the partial obscuration of the sun, became at length insupportable. The thermometer at 2 o'clock rose in it to 102°; while at the same time, another hanging in the shade of a fig-tree stood at 91°. We spread our carpets under the fig-trees, first under one and then another as their shades changed, and found ourselves in this way much more comfortable.

We did not fail to peruse here the scriptural accounts of Jericho, its remarkable destruction by the Israelites under Joshua, and the perpetual curse laid upon him who should attempt to rebuild its walls.[1] In our devotional exercises, we dwelt particularly upon our

[1] Josh. c. ii. vi. vii. c. vi. 26.

Lord's visit to this place; when, on his last journey to Jerusalem, having traversed the country east of the Jordan, he passed through Jericho, healing the blind and honouring the house of Zaccheus with his presence.[1] As we read, we could not but remark, how much fewer, as well as more general and indefinite, are the topographical notices contained in the Gospels, than those preserved to us in the Old Testament.

Towards evening we took a walk to the fountain, whose waters are scattered over the plain; it is the only one near Jericho, and there is every reason to regard it as the scene of Elisha's miracle.[2] It is called by the Arabs 'Ain es-Sultân, and lies N. 35° W. from the village and castle, at the distance of thirty-five minutes, or nearly two miles. We followed up the little brook, which serves to water many fields, and grew larger as we advanced, until it became a mill-stream which we crossed with difficulty. Some ten or fifteen minutes from the village, we fell in with the remains of a regular paved Roman road, which we traced for several rods in a direction towards the pass leading up the western mountain to Jerusalem. It was a mere fragment, entirely similar to the Roman roads I had formerly seen in Italy; but we could discover no further trace of it either above or below.[3]

A few minutes beyond this, we came upon foundations, chiefly of unhewn stones, scattered over a considerable tract, and extending with few interruptions quite up to the fountain. They are however hardly distinct enough, to be of themselves regarded as the substructions of an ancient city. On our left, as we advanced, were wheat-fields, from most of which the

[1] Matt. xix. 1. xx. 29–34. Mark, x. 1. 46–52. Luke, xviii. 35–43. xix. 1–10.

[2] 2 Kings, ii. 19–22.

[3] Buckingham speaks of a similar fragment of a "fine paved way" near the top of the ascent on the road to Jerusalem; p. 293.

grain had been already gathered; in others the reapers were still at work. On our right, for nearly the whole distance, was a grove of Nŭbk, covering a large tract of the plain.

The fountain bursts forth at the eastern foot of a high double mound, or group of mounds, looking much like a tumulus, or as if composed of rubbish, situated a mile or more in front of the mountain Quarantana. It is a large and beautiful fountain of sweet and pleasant water, not indeed cold, but also not warm like those of 'Ain Jidy and the Feshkhah. It seems to have been once surrounded by a sort of reservoir or semicircular enclosure of hewn stones; from which the water was carried off in various directions to the plain below; but this is now mostly broken away and gone.[1] The principal stream at this time was that running towards the village; a part of which is carried across the Wady higher up, by an aqueduct on arches. The rest of the water finds its way at random in various streams down the plain, here decked with the same broad forest of Nŭbk and other thorny shrubs.

The mounds above the fountain are covered with substructions of unhewn stone; and others of the same kind are seen upon the plain towards the S. W. In the same direction, not far off, are the broken pointed arches of a ruined building, which may perhaps have been a Saracenic castle like the one now near the village. Back of the fountain rises up the bold perpendicular face of the mountain Kŭrŭntŭl (Quarantana); from the foot of which a line of low hills runs out N. N. E. in front of the mountains, and forms the ascent to a narrow tract of table-land along their base.

On this tract, at the foot of the mountains, about an hour distant N. N. W., is the still larger fountain of

[1] In Pococke's day several niches were still visible; ii. p. 31. fol.

Dûk; the waters of which are brought along the base of Quarantana in a canal to the top of the declivity back of 'Ain es-Sultân, whence they were formerly distributed to several mills, and scattered over the upper part of the plain; being carried by a second aqueduct, higher up, across the Wady towards the south. This stream is now used only to water a few gardens of cucumbers in the vicinity. The mills are all in ruins; among them, on the side of the declivity, fifteen minutes back of 'Ain es-Sultân, is a large deserted building, which still bears the name of Tawahîn es-Sukkar, or "Sugar mills."[1]

Towards the N. E. beyond the wood of Nŭbk, the plain is again open; and in this direction, at the mouth of Wady Nawâ'imeh, which here comes out through the line of hills, is seen another aqueduct, once fed by the waters of the same fountain of Dûk, as they flowed down the valley, and were thus scattered over that part of the plain. In this quarter the plain is said to be covered with hewn stones, and the foundations of walls are visible across it.[2]

Here then are traces enough of ancient foundations, such as they are; but none which could enable us to say definitely, This is the site of ancient Jericho. Around the fountain, where we should naturally look for its position, there is nothing which can well be referred to any large or important building; nothing, in short, which looks like the ruins of a great city, with a vast circus, palaces, and other edifices. The walls, whose traces are still visible, may very probably have been only the enclosures of gardens and fields;

[1] This is most probably the place of the same name mentioned by Burckhardt; which, on the random information of the Arabs, he places on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, a most improbable site. Travels, p. 301.

[2] So Monro, who rode into this part of the plain; Summer Ramble, i. p. 161. I must doubt, however, whether the stones were actually hewn; at least this would not accord with what is found elsewhere in the plain.

and this conclusion is indeed strengthened, by the fact of their occurring only below the fountain.

The top of the mound above the fountain commands a fine view over the plain of Jericho, which needs only the hand of cultivation to become again one of the richest and most beautiful spots on the face of the earth. The fountain pours forth a noble stream, which is scattered in rivulets over a wide extent both in front and on the right and left; while the still more copious streams from Dûk are in like manner distributed higher up, and further towards the north and south. By these abundant waters, fertility and verdure are spread over the plain almost as far as the eye can reach, extending for an hour or more below the fountain. But alas! almost the whole of this verdure at the present day, consists only of thorny shrubs, or trees of the thorny Nŭbk. It is a remarkable instance of the lavish bounty of nature, contrasted with the indolence of man. Where the water does not flow, the plain produces nothing.

In the course of the afternoon, we received a visit from the old Sheikh Mŭstafa, whom we had tried to obtain as a guide before leaving Jerusalem.[1] He is the head of a tribe who are considered rather as sacred persons by the Bedawîn and peasants, a sort of Derwishes, poor and not given to the acquisition of wealth. They usually encamp around Jericho; and their tents were now pitched on the way to Dûk. The old man followed us to the fountain; and after answering our questions, insisted at parting on making us a present of a kid, which he put into the arms of our Arab attendant to carry to the tent. We of course, as in duty bound, made him also a present of ten piastres. We had intended to purchase a kid for our Arabs; so that the present for once came in good time.

[1] See above, p. 153.

—We returned to our tent and passed the evening in quiet. The thermometer had now fallen to 76° F.

If we had not yet satisfied ourselves as to the site of the former Jericho, we had nevertheless been able to ascertain definitely in respect to her ancient neighbour Gilgal, that no trace either of its name or site remains.[1] Indeed, it may be doubtful, whether at first this name belonged to a city; though afterwards there can be little question that Gilgal was an inhabited place.[2] It seems to have been early abandoned; for there is no certain trace of it after the exile; nor is it mentioned by Josephus as existing in his time.[3] The ancient Gilgal was "in the east border of Jericho," ten stadia from that city and fifty from the Jordan.[4] This would in all probability bring it somewhere in the vicinity of the modern village Rîha, which is reckoned at two hours from the river. But there are here no traces of antiquity whatever, unless it be the fragment of Sienite granite and the slight foundations above described. Neither Sheikh Mŭstafa, nor the Sheikh of the village, nor any of the Arabs, had ever heard of such a name in the valley of the Jordan. At Taiyibeh indeed, the priest who had been delving a little in Scriptural topography, told us that the name Jiljîlia still existed in this vicinity; but when we met him here, he could only point to the ruined convent of St. John on the bank of the Jordan as the supposed site.

Monday, May 14th. This bright morning, before proceeding on our journey, we repaired to the top of

[1] The later alleged Gilgal of Eusebius and Jerome, and of the pilgrims, has already been alluded to; see p. 272, above.

[2] Josh. iv. 19, 20. ix. 6. x. 6, 7. &c. Afterwards Samuel came to Gilgal in his annual circuit as judge; and there was here a school of the prophets; 1 Sam. vii. 16. 2 Kings, iv. 38.

[3] The Gilgal of Neh. xii. 29. and of 1 Macc. ix. 2. may, with more probability, be referred to the place so called in the western plain, near Antipatris. The name is still extant in that region; and is found in more than one place.

[4] Josh. iv. 19. Joseph. Ant. v. 1. 4. 11.

the castle, in order to enjoy the beautiful view and fix a deeper impression of the surrounding country. It is merely a tower some thirty feet square, and forty high, in a state of decay verging to ruin. The castle and modern village lie upon the northern bank of the Wady Kelt, here the bed of a mountain-torrent, at the distance of nearly two miles from the point where it issues from the western mountains. This Wady, as we have seen, is the great drain of all the vallies we had formerly passed in travelling from Jerusalem to Deir Dîwân; they run first into the Fârah and the Fûwâr, which then unite and go to form the Kelt.[1] It dries up in summer, as was now the case; but the brook in some seasons continues to run much later. On the south side of the deep gorge by which it issues from the mountains, the road to Jerusalem climbs an 'Akabah (pass) in order to gain the higher region above. Near this road, at some distance within the mountains, is seen a deserted tower or castle, called Kâkôn; which, as well as the gorge, bore W. from the point where we stood. So far as it depends upon the name, this Wady Kelt may have been the brook Cherith, where the prophet Elijah hid himself and was fed by ravens.[2]

South of the opening of Wady Kelt, the western mountains retreat very considerably, forming a recess from the plain in the S. W. Then, sweeping around

[1] See pp. 112. 116. above.

[2] 1 Kings, xvii. 3–7. The Arabic form Kelt and the Hebrew Cherith are indeed not exactly the same; though the change from *Resh* to *Lam*, and that of *Kaph* into *Koph*, are sometimes found. See Gesenius's Heb. Lex. under the letters כ, ר, ל. There is also an apparent difficulty in the circumstance, that the brook Cherith is said to be *before* (עַל־פְּנֵי) Jordan; which is usually understood as meaning *east* of Jordan. So Eusebius and Jerome, Onomast. art. *Chorath*. But the difficulty vanishes, if we translate it *towards* Jordan; and that this may be done, is shown by Gen. xviii. 16. xix. 28, where the angels and Abraham, in the vicinity of Hebron, are said to have "looked *towards* Sodom;" the expression in Hebrew being the very same as here. So too Judg. xvi. 3.

as they approach the Dead Sea, they end abruptly in the promontory of Râs el-Feshkhah. In this part the mountains are lower and less precipitous. Here the pass leads over to Mâr Sâba; and another road also goes up to Jerusalem, south of the former one, passing near the Muslim Wely of Neby Mûsa, the pretended tomb of Moses, which is seen in that direction.[1] North of Wady Kelt rises the naked and loftier ridge of Quarantana, with its bold precipitous front, and a chapel on its highest point. Still further north the mountains retreat again, leaving a semicircular recess; which is separated from the great plain by the line of low hills already mentioned, running N. from the base of Quarantana.[2]

The valley of the Jordan is here seen in its broadest part. When on the banks of the river, we had estimated the plains of Moab on the eastern side, at one hour in breadth to the base of the retreating mountain.[3] From the river to Rîha is about two hours; (we travelled obliquely more than this;) and thence to the mountains at the opening of Wady Kelt, forty-five minutes.[4] Taking in the recess further south, the breadth of the valley in this part may be estimated at from three and a half to four hours, or from ten to twelve English miles; being half or three quarters of an hour broader than the basin of the Dead Sea at 'Ain Jidy.

This vast plain, as we have seen, is partly desert;

[1] See also Quaresmius, ii. p. 736.

[2] The bearings of various points from the castle of Jericho were as follows: N. E. corner of the Dead Sea, about S. 42° E. Kŭsr Hajla S. 39° E. Râs el-Feshkhah S. 8° W. Neby Mûsa S. 30° W. Southern pass to Jerusalem S. 63° W. Kâkôn W. Chapel on Quarantana N. 48° W. Sugar-mills, ruins, N. 40° W. 'Ain es-Sultân N. 35° W. Aqueduct in Wady Nawâ'imeh N. 5° W. Easternmost projection of the low hills beyond said aqueduct, N. 3° E. Kŭrn Sŭrtŭbeh N. 8° E. North-easternmost projection of the western mountains visible beyond Sŭrtŭbeh, N. 12° E.

[3] See p. 257. above.

[4] The distance from Jerusalem to Rihah is usually reckoned at about five hours; and to the Jordan seven.

but is for the most part susceptible of being rendered in the highest degree productive, in connection with the abundance of water and the heat of the climate. Indeed its fertility has been celebrated in every age. Josephus, whenever he has occasion to mention Jericho, rarely fails to break forth into praises of the richness and productiveness of its environs. He calls it the most fertile tract of Judea; pronounces it a 'divine region[1];' and in speaking of the fountain, says it watered a tract seventy stadia long by twenty broad, covered with beautiful gardens and groves of palms of various species.[2] The Scriptures call Jericho the 'City of Palm-trees;' and Josephus everywhere describes these graceful trees as here abundant and very large, and growing even along the banks of the Jordan.[3] The region also produced honey, opobalsam, the Cypros-tree or el-Henna, and myrobalanum, as well as the common fruits of the earth in prolific abundance.[4] The sycamore-tree likewise grew here, as we learn from Scripture.[5]

Of all these productions, which so distinguished the plain of Jericho, and which it had for the most part in common with Egypt, few now remain. The groves of palms, such as still constitute the pride of Egypt, have here disappeared, and only one solitary palm-tree lingers in all the plain. At the close of the seventh century these groves were still in existence.[6] Honey, if found at all, is now comparatively rare; the Henna has entirely disappeared. The sycamore too has retired from Jericho[7]; and the opobalsam, after

[1] Τὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πιώτατον, B. J. i. 6. 6. Θεῖον χωρίον, iv. 8. 3.

[2] B. J. iv. 8. 3.

[3] Deut. xxxiv. 3. Judg. i. 16. Joseph. Antiq. iv. 6. 1. xiv. 4. 1. xv. 4. 2. B. J. i. 6. 6. iv. 8. 2, 3.

[4] Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 3. See also the testimonies of other writers collected by Reland, Palæst. pp. 382–386.—For the Cypros or el-Henna, see above, p. 211. note [1].

[5] Luke, xix. 4.

[6] Adamnanus, ii. 13.

[7] Hasselquist, Reise, pp. 151. 560. This naturalist found it in other parts of Palestine nearer the sea,

having been, according to the legend, transferred by Cleopatra to the gardens of Heliopolis, where it continued to flourish for many centuries, is no longer known in either country.[1] The myrobalanum alone appears still to thrive here, being probably identical with the tree called by the Arabs Zŭkkûm.

The Zŭkkûm is a thorny tree, not large, with greener and smoother bark than the Nŭbk, and like that tree here growing wild, though much less frequent. According to Hasselquist, it is the *Elæagnus angustifolius* of botanists.[2] It bears a green nut, having a very small kernel and a thick shell, covered with a thin flesh outside. These kernels, according to Maundrell, the Arabs bray in a mortar, and then putting the pulp into scalding water, skim off the oil which rises.[3] According to Pococke, they grind the whole nut, and press an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balsam.[4] This is the modern balsam or oil of Jericho, highly prized by the Arabs and pilgrims as a remedy for wounds and bruises.[5] When fresh, it is said to resemble, in taste and colour, the oil of

as at Ramleh; pp. 151. 553. It is now common in Egypt; many of the trees in the fine avenue between Cairo and Shubra are sycamores.

[1] Josephus relates, that Arabia and Judea were bestowed by Antony on Cleopatra, from whom Herod farmed Arabia and the plain of Jericho; Antiq. xv. 4. 1, 2. The legend relates, that she caused slips of the balsam shrub to be carried to Egypt and planted at Heliopolis, where a garden of it is described by the older travellers. See Adrichomius, p. 47. Brocardus, c. xiii. p. 192. Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 195. Belon, Observations, Par. 1588, p. 246; also in Paulus's Sammlung, iv. p. 188. In the days of Quaresmius it had already disappeared, ii. p. 951. Hasselquist and Forskål also do not mention it.

[2] Reise, pp. 555. 559. Oedmann's Sammlungen, iii. c. 16.

[3] Maundrell, March 30th.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 32. Comp. Hasselquist, p. 559. Mariti combines both processes. He saw the Arab women bruise and break the nuts with stones, and then press out the oil with the hands. Afterwards the mass was bruised anew, and thrown into warm water, from which the oil was then skimmed off; Viaggi, &c. Germ. pp. 414, 415.

[5] The pilgrims call it "Zaccheus' oil;" because, according to the monks, this was the tree climbed by Zaccheus; although the Scripture says the latter was a sycamore. Luke, xix. 4. See Hasselquist, pp. 151. 559.

sweet almonds. All this accords well with Pliny's description of the myrobalanum, which bore a green nut; an unguent was prepared from the bark, and a medicinal oil extracted from the bruised nuts by the aid of warm water.[1]

Of other trees forming the natural growth of this region, the Egyptian Nŭbk or Sidr, as we have seen, is the most abundant; it is here universally called the Dôm.[2] The Ricinus and Agnus castus have likewise already been mentioned. Among the plants, the night-shade or mad-apple grows here in profusion.[3] The rose of Jericho, so called, we did not find; but in this we only trod in the footsteps of Maundrell, Pococke, Hasselquist, and others.[4] The little shrub to which the name is given, a species of *Thlaspi*, has no resemblance to a rose, and according to Belon, does not even grow near Jericho; indeed he regards the name as merely got up by the monks, in order to have something to correspond with the mention of roses at Jericho by the Son of Sirach.[5]

The feeble and indolent inhabitants of Jericho give themselves little trouble in respect to their agriculture. The fig-trees grow large and require little care; and their fine fields of grain, as we have seen, are sown and harvested by strangers. A few patches of tobacco and cucumbers seemed to be the amount of their own tillage. We saw no fields of maize or millet (Durah

[1] "Myrobalanum . . . nascens unguento. — Fructus magnitudine Avellanæ nucis. Unguentarii autem tantum corticem premunt; medici nucleos, tundentes affusa eis paulatim calida aqua;" Plin. H. N. xii. 21. § 46. See Rosenmüller's Bibl. Alterthumsk. iv. i. p. 168. seq.

[2] Rhamnus Nabeca; see p. 210. note [3].

[3] Solanum Melongena; see above, pp. 211. 238.

[4] Maundrell, March 30th, end. Pococke, ii. p. 32. fol. Mariti, Germ. p. 410. Hasselquist makes no allusion to it.

[5] Sirac. xxiv. 14. "Une petite herbette que quelques moines trompeurs ont appellée Rose de Jericho;" Belon, Observat. Par. 1588. p. 320. Paulus's Sammlung, i. p. 265. ii. p. 268. See also Rosenmüller's Bibl. Alterthumsk. iv. i. p. 144.

esh-Shâmy, Durah es-Seify) then growing.[1] As we crossed a tract from which a crop of maize had been taken the preceding year, we observed new shoots sprouting from the roots of the old stalks. On inquiry, we were assured, that maize is here a biennial plant, yielding a crop for two successive years from the same roots. Cotton is sometimes planted, and flourishes well; but there was none at present. We saw patches where indigo had been raised a year or two before; it was said to live for seven or eight years. Edrîsi mentions the culture of it here in the twelfth century.[2]

Another plant which formerly was cultivated in abundance in the plains of Jericho, has also disappeared; I mean the sugar-cane. The historians of the crusades inform us, that the earliest crusaders found large tracts of these canes, growing on the coast of the Mediterranean around Tripolis and as far south as Tyre; yielding a substance called Zuccara or Zucra (sugar), then unknown in western Europe; and on whose juice the warriors often refreshed themselves under their many sufferings and privations.[3] According to Jacob de Vitry the canes were also cultivated very extensively on the plains of the Jordan around Jericho; where the many hermits of that region partly lived upon them, regarding the juice as the wild honey of their predecessor John the Baptist.[4]

[1] *Zea Mays, Holcus Durra*, Forskål, Flor. Ægypt. pp. lxxv. 174. Lane's Mod. Egyptians, ii. p. 26.

[2] Edrîsi, par Jaubert, i. p. 339.

[3] See in Gesta Dei per Francos: Alberti Aq. v. 37. p. 270. Fulch. Carnot. p. 401. Anonym. p. 595.—William of Tyre speaks of the sugar-cane as growing abundantly around Râs el-'Ain near the city of Tyre; Hist. xiii. 3. p. 835.

[4] Speaking of the Jordan, Jacob de Vitry says, c. 53. p. 1076: "Campi autem adjacentes ex calamellorum condensa multitudine stillantes dulcedinem, zuccaræ procreant abundantiam." Ibid. p. 1075: "Mellis autem ex calamellis maximam in partibus illis vidimus abundantiam. Sunt autem *calamelli* calami pleni melle, id est, succo dulcissimo, ex quo quasi in torcularî compresso, et ad ignem condensato prius quasi mel, posthæc quasi zuccara efficitur." See generally Ritter's Essay "Ueber die geographische Verbreitung des Zuckerrohrs," in the Transactions

From all these circumstances it would appear, that in the centuries before the crusades, the Saracens had introduced the culture and preparation of sugar into Syria and Palestine with success, and upon a large scale. To that age and object are probably to be referred the many large aqueducts around Jericho, all of Saracenic construction[1], intended to spread an abundance of water over every part of the plain; as also the sugar-mills already mentioned, situated upon the acclivity west of 'Ain es-Sultân. At least all writers and travellers subsequent to the times of the crusades, are silent as to the existence of the sugar-cane in this region in their day; and other circumstances which they relate are at variance with the supposition of its further general culture, and the later construction of the aqueducts. That is to say, there seems to be no later period, when irrigation and cultivation were in like manner and to such an extent spread out over the plain.[2]

In that age indeed the plain of Jericho would seem to have recovered in part its ancient renown, and to have been considered as the garden of Palestine. When the crusaders took possession of the country, this region was assigned to the church of the Holy Sepulchre as a portion of its possessions; and it is one of the reproaches brought against Arnulphus, the third Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, that he gave away this district from the endowment of the church, as a portion to his niece on her marriage with Eustache Grenier in A. D. 1111. At that time, the annual revenue

of the Berlin Academy, Hist. Phil. Class, 1839.

[1] Buckingham, who saw the northern aqueduct at the mouth of Wady Nawâ'imeh from a distance, says it is of Roman architecture. This is possible; but the probability is against it. Travels in Pal. p. 310.

[2] Sugar-cane is still cultivated around Beirût, and at other places along the coast; but no sugar is manufactured from it.

arising from this district is said to have been five thousand pieces of gold[1]; a proof at least of its lavish fertility. It seems soon to have reverted into the power of the church or of the government; for in A. D. 1138 we find Jericho with its rich fields assigned to the convent of nuns erected by queen Melisinda at Bethany.[2]

To the same period of renovated cultivation I am inclined to refer the origin of the present castle; which may not improbably have been erected for the protection of the fields and gardens that covered the plain, and was therefore placed in their midst at a distance from the fountain and the former site of Jericho. It is first mentioned by Willebrand of Oldenborg, A. D. 1211; it was already in a ruinous state and inhabited by Saracens.[3] A village would naturally spring up around it; and such an one is mentioned by Brocardus near the close of the same century, which he regarded as the remains of ancient Jericho, consisting only of eight houses and scarcely deserving the name of a village.[4] Subsequent travellers continue to speak of it only as a small Arab village; in Pococke's day there were here only two or three houses.[5] In the fifteenth century apparently, the square tower or castle began to pass among the monks and pilgrims as the house of Zaccheus, an honour which it retains among them to the present day.[6] The house of Rahab, which

[1] Will. Tyr. xi. 15. "cujus hodie redditus annualis quinque millium dicitur esse aureorum." Probably the gold Byzant is here intended, equal to about five Spanish dollars; see above, p. 48.

[2] Will. Tyr. xv. 26. See above, p. 102. Quaresmius says, there was a suffragan bishop here; but the authorities he quotes do not bear him out; ii. p. 755.

[3] Willebr. ab Oldenb. in L. Allatii Symmikta, p. 151. Col. Agr. 1653, "Venimus Hiericho, quod est castellum parvum, destructos habens muros, a Saracenis inhabitatum."

[4] Chap. vii. p. 178.

[5] Rud. de Suchem in Reissb. p. 848. Cotovicus, p. 311. Quaresmius, ii. p. 755. Maundrell, March 29. Pococke, ii. p. 31.

[6] First mentioned as such apparently by Tucher, 1479, and F.

they also found, seems to have been nearer the fountain;[1] and has since disappeared; unless indeed it be the foundations and broken arches which are still seen in that vicinity.[1]

Having now nothing further to detain us at the castle and village, and not having yet satisfied ourselves as to the site of ancient Jericho, we determined to make a further search along the base of the mountains near the opening of Wady Kelt. Leaving therefore the castle at 5h 50′ we proceeded along the Wady, and passed the cemetery of the village on the north bank. The graves are built over in the Muhammedan fashion with hewn stones taken from former structures. Crossing the Wady and still following it up, we came in fifteen minutes from the castle to the first aqueduct, carrying a fine full stream of water from 'Ain es-Sultân across to the southern plain. Ten minutes more brought us to the second aqueduct, now in ruins; but which once conveyed in like manner a stream, apparently from the fountain of Dûk, to a higher portion of the plain. Both these aqueducts are well and solidly built of hewn stones with pointed arches. The Wady itself, both here and below, was full of the Nŭbk or Dôm.

We now turned somewhat more to the left, and crossing the Jerusalem track, came at 6h 25′ to an immense open shallow reservoir, situated near the base of the western mountain, thirty-five minutes from the castle. It measured 657 feet from E. to W. by 490 feet from N. to S. The direction of the eastern or lower wall is S. 10° W. about six feet high and nine feet thick; all the walls being built of small stones cemented. This reservoir was probably intended to

Fabri, 1483, Reissb. pp. 670. 268. Quaresm. ii. p. 752.—R. de Suchem, W. de Baldensel, and Sir J. Maundeville, in the 14th century, make no allusion to Zaccheus.

[1] See above, p. 284.

be filled from the waters of Wady Kelt, in order to irrigate this part of the plain in summer; and it may perhaps have been connected with the aqueduct mentioned by travellers, half an hour up that valley on the Jerusalem road.[1] On the east at a short distance are foundations, apparently of a large square building or block of buildings; and on the west also are scattered substructions, extending for ten minutes up the gentle slope. At this point are the remains of several buildings apparently not very ancient; there is among them no trace of columns, nor hardly of hewn stones. Indeed, in all the foundations in this vicinity, the stones are unhewn and mostly small.

All these remains lie at the foot of the mountain, just south of the Jerusalem road; and I do not find that the reservoir has ever been noticed by former travellers.—We now proceeded northwards, and found similar substructions extending all the way to Wady Kelt (about ten minutes), and also for some distance on its northern side. Near the southern bank of this Wady is a hill or mound, like a sepulchral tumulus, which one might suppose to be artificial, were there not so many similar ones scattered over the plain below. On its top are traces of former walls; and a wall seems to have run from it to the Wady. Directly on the bank of the latter are a few remains of some ancient building, faced over with small stones about four inches square, cemented together diagonally, forming a sort of Mosaic. Among the scattered foundations north of the Wady, we noticed the fragment of a column; the only trace of an architectural ornament we anywhere saw.—This site is not quite five hours from Jerusalem.[2]

[1] Monro, i. p. 134. Buckingham, p. 293.—From the reservoir the castle at Riha bore N. 73° E. 'Ain es-Sultân N. 15° E. Kâkôn N. 75° W.

[2] Comp. Maundrell, March 29.

About fifteen minutes from Wady Kelt, or halfway towards 'Ain es-Sultân, is another larger tumulus-like hill; the southern side of which at the top is excavated, either artificially or from natural causes, somewhat in the form of an amphitheatre. If artificial, one might be disposed to regard it as a theatre of Herod; but as there are others like it in the vicinity, the appearance is more probably natural. Here begin again the traces of similar foundations, apparently connected with those mentioned yesterday around 'Ain es-Sultân. We came to the fountain in half an hour from Wady Kelt, or in about forty minutes from the reservoir further south. All the foundations here described are of unhewn stones, often small and straggling.[1]

After all our search, we were disappointed in finding so few traces of work in hewn stones; nothing indeed, which of itself could at once be referred to any large or important building; in short, nothing which looks like the ruins of a city of twenty stadia in circumference[2], with a large hippodrome and palaces. It is true, that the greater part of the materials of these structures may have been swallowed up in the later convents, the many aqueducts, and the renovations of the modern village; yet nevertheless, one would naturally expect to find some traces of the solidity and splendour of the ancient city. It seems not improbable, that with the exception of the royal edifices, the houses of ancient Jericho were small, and built of loose unhewn stones or other perishable materials.

According to the Bourdeaux pilgrim, A. D. 333, the Jericho of that day was at the descent of the moun-

[1] These remains and hillocks are mentioned by Buckingham, but greatly exaggerated; p. 295.

[2] Epiphanius adv. Hær. lib. ii. p. 702.

tains, one and a half Roman miles distant from the fountain; while he places the more ancient city at the fountain itself.[1] I am inclined to adopt this suggestion; and to regard the remains around the opening of the Wady Kelt, half an hour S. of 'Ain es-Sultân, as marking the site of the Jericho of Herod and the New Testament; while those around the fountain may have belonged to single edifices scattered among the gardens, and to the walls by which the latter were enclosed. The earliest city of all would naturally have been adjacent to the fountain; and the site of the later Jericho may have been changed in order to evade the curse.[2] But any distinct traces of the former city are now hardly to be looked for.—The site, both at the fountain and at the opening of Wady Kelt, accords entirely with the account of Josephus, that Jericho was sixty stadia distant from the Jordan.[3]

Jericho is often mentioned; but its varying fortunes are not very definitely described. It was early rebuilt, notwithstanding the curse; and became a school of the prophets.[4] After the exile its inhabitants returned; and it was later fortified by the Syrian Bacchides.[5] Pompey marched from Scythopolis along the Ghôr to Jericho, and thence to Jerusalem; and Strabo speaks of the castles Thrax and Taurus, in or near Jericho, as having been destroyed by him.[6] Herod the Great in the beginning of his career captured and sacked Jericho; but afterwards adorned and strengthened it, after he had redeemed its revenues from Cleopatra.[7]

[1] Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, pp. 596, 597. "A civitate passus mille quingentos est fons Helisei prophetæ.—Ibi fuit civitas Hiericho cujus muros gyraverunt filii Israel," &c.

[2] Josh. vi. 26.

[3] Joseph. Ant. v. 1. 4. See above, pp. 287. 289.

[4] Judg. iii. 13. 1 Kings, xvi. 34. 2 Kings, ii. 4, 5.

[5] Ezra, ii. 34. Neh. iii. 2. 1 Macc. ix. 50.

[6] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 4. 1. Strabo, xvi. 2. 40.

[7] Jos. Ant. xv. 4. 1, 2. See above, p. 291. note [1].

He appears to have not unfrequently resided here. He built over the city the fortress Cypros; and between the castle and the former palace, erected other palaces and called them by the name of his friends.[1] There was also here a hippodrome or circus.[2] The cruel tyrant at length closed his career and life at Jericho. It was here, that, the 'ruling passion being still strong in death,' he summoned around him the nobles of the land in great numbers, and having shut them up within the hippodrome, gave a strict charge to his sister Salome to cause them to be put to death the moment he expired; in order, as he said, that his own decease might be commemorated throughout the land by an appropriate mourning. A worthy consummation of an atrocious life! This charge, however, his sister was wise enough to leave unfulfilled.[3] The palace at Jericho was afterwards rebuilt with greater splendour by Archelaus.[4]

It was this Jericho which our Lord visited, lodging with Zaccheus and healing the blind man.[5] The city became the head of one of the toparchies; and was visited by Vespasian just before he left the country, who stationed here the tenth legion in garrison.[6] No further mention of Jericho occurs until the time of Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century; who relate, that it was destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, on account of the perfidy of the inhabitants, and had been again rebuilt.[7] From A. D. 325 onwards

[1] Joseph. Ant. xvi. 5. 2. B. J. i. 21. 4. 9.

[2] Jos. Ant. xvii. 6. 5. B. J. i. 33. 6.

[3] Jos. Ant. xvii. 6. 5. ib. 7. 1, 2. B. J. i. 33. 6–8.

[4] Jos. Ant. xvii. 13. 1.

[5] Luke, xviii. 35. seq. xix. 1–7. Matt. xx. 29. seq. Mark, x. 46. seq.

[6] Joseph. B. J. iii. 3. 5. iv. 8. 1. v. 2. 3.

[7] Onomast. art. *Jericho*. As however Josephus, the cotemporary, is entirely silent as to any such destruction, the fact must be regarded as doubtful. Still more so the modern assertion, that it was rebuilt by Adrian; of which there seems to be no trace in history. Quaresmius, ii. p. 755. Raumer's Pal. p. 205.

five bishops of Jericho are mentioned; the last of whom, Gregorius, appears among the signers at the synod of Jerusalem in A. D. 536.[1] About the same time, according to Procopius, the emperor Justinian erected here a Xenodochium, apparently for pilgrims; and also a church consecrated to the Virgin. The monastery of St. John near the Jordan was likewise already in existence.[2] This Xenodochium is again mentioned by Antoninus Martyr, before the Muhammedan conquests.[3]

At the close of the seventh century, Adamnanus already describes the site of Jericho as wholly deserted of human habitations, (except the house of Rahab,) and covered with corn and vines. Between it and the Jordan the palm-groves still existed; among which were interspersed fields and the dwellings of Canaanites, probably the nomadic inhabitants of the Ghôr.[4] Of this destruction there is no historical account; as there is none of that of Petra. It is probably to be ascribed to the ravages of the Muhammedan conquerors. In the next century St. Willibald speaks only of the fountain; though near the close of the century, there appears to have been a church in the vicinity, perhaps that of Galgala already mentioned.[5] In A. D. 870, Bernard relates that there were already monasteries in the vicinity.[6]—The renovation of the culture of the plain, and the introduction of the sugar-cane, which took place apparently about or not long after

[1] Labb. Coll. Concil. tom. v. p. 283. Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. p. 654. seq. See above, p. 28.

[2] Procop. de Ædific. Justiniani, v. 9.

[3] Itinerar. 13.

[4] "Locus vero totius urbis ab humana desertus habitatione, nullam domum habens commorationis, segetes et vineta recepit," &c. Adamnan. de Loc. Sanct. ii. 13.

[5] See above, p. 272. note [2]. Basil, bishop of Tiberias about the close of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, is said to have previously administered the concerns of the church of Jericho; Leont. Vit. St. Steph. Sabaitæ, 55. in Acta Sanctor. Jul. tom. iii. p. 554. Le Quien, l. c. p. 656.

[6] Bern. Sap. de Loc. Sanct. 16. p. 525. ed. Mabillon.

this time, have already been sufficiently alluded to; as also the probable origin and history of the castle and the modern village.[1]

On arriving at the fountain 'Ain es-Sultân, we found our servants and the rest of the party waiting; they having come thither directly from the castle. All was bright and sparkling around, under the refreshing influence of the limpid waters; and the numerous birds in the groves below had not yet finished their morning song. The old Sheikh Mŭstafa here joined us again, and afterwards accompanied us for some distance. We were glad of his presence, as being perfectly acquainted with all the region round about.[2]

Leaving the fountain at ten minutes past 8 o'clock, we came in ten minutes to the sugar-mills, on the declivity of the low ridge which runs north from Quarantana. They appear to have been once quite extensive and solidly built, though now long deserted. The race or aqueduct which brought the water to them from above, still remains. Five minutes more brought us to the top of the ridge, where we halted for a short time. The water from the fountain of Dûk in the N. N. W. after being conducted along the base of the high mountain in an artificial channel, is here carried through the low ridge by a somewhat deep cut, and distributed by aqueducts to the plain below as already described, after having supplied several mills now in ruins.[3]

We were now at the foot of the mountain Quarantana; so called, as the supposed place of our Saviour's forty days' temptation. The Arabs have adopted the

[1] See pp. 293–295, above.

[2] From the mound over the fountain, we took the following bearings: Castle at Riha S. 35° E. Kakôn S. 42° W. Sugar-mills N. 60° W. Aqueduct in Wady Nawâ'imeh N. 37° E. Mouth of Wady Sha'ib N. 85° E.

[3] Brocardus mentions mills here in his day, probably driven by the same waters; c. vii. p. 178.

name under the form of Jebel Kŭrŭntŭl. The mountain rises precipitously, an almost perpendicular wall of rock, twelve or fifteen hundred feet above the plain, crowned with a chapel on its highest point. The eastern front is full of grots and caverns, where hermits are said once to have dwelt in great numbers. At the present day, some three or four Abyssinians are said to come hither annually and pass the time of Lent upon the mountain, living only upon herbs. There is nothing else remarkable about this naked cliff, to distinguish it from the other similar ones along the Ghôr and the Dead Sea further south.—The tradition which regards the mountain as the place of our Lord's temptation, as well as the name Quarantana, appear not to be older than the age of the crusades.[1]

North of Quarantana the mountains again retreat, sweeping round in the arc of a circle. They thus leave here a broad recess of higher table-land behind the line of low hills which runs out N. N. E. from the foot of Quarantana, and extends nearly across to the mountains further north. The southern part of this higher recess is broken land, as far as to the fountain of Dûk and Wady Nawâ'imeh, which passes down through it; but further north it forms a fine plain or basin, watered by another fountain in its northern part, which gives verdure and beauty to the whole tract. Here too in the northern part of the recess, near the said fountain, is a conical hill crowned by the ruins of a town, which, like the fountain, now bears the name

[1] The first mention of this mountain, as the place of temptation, seems to be by Sæwulf, about A. D. 1103; Peregrinat. p. 268. The name Quarantana I first find in William of Oldenborg in 1211; he writes it Quarennia; Itin. sub fine. Then in Brocardus, c. vii. p. 178.—Jacob de Vitry speaks of many hermits attracted to this region as the scene of John the Baptist's preaching; but says nothing of our Lord's temptation: "Quam plures vero, in solitudinibus Jordanis, ubi beatus Joannes Baptista fugiens hominum turmas—ut viverent Deo, quietis sibi sepulchrum elegerunt;" c. 53. p. 1075.

of el-'Aujeh. This basin seemed to open out directly upon the plain of the Jordan; the line of hills not extending entirely across its front.—From the point where we now stood, we could overlook the whole of this inner tract between the mountains of the line of hills.[1]

We here also had our last and perhaps most splendid view of the plain of Jericho. It is certainly one of the richest in the world; enjoying all the rains like the hill-country, and susceptible besides of unlimited irrigation from copious fountains, as the numerous aqueducts testify. Here we could see still another aqueduct far to the left in the lower plain, which seemed once to have received the waters of the fountain el-'Aujeh. Indeed water is everywhere abundant; the climate propitious; the nature of the soil fertility itself; nothing in short is wanting but the hand of man to till the ground. But the present race of Jericho are only the personification of indolence, misery, and filth.

The principal Wadys and fountains flowing into the Ghôr on both sides, from the Dead Sea northwards as far as to Beisân, so far as we could learn from Sheikh Mŭstafa and other Arabs, are the following, beginning from the south. On the *west* side: Wady Kelt; 'Ain es-Sultân; 'Ain Dûk; Wady Nawâ'imeh, coming from Deir Dîwân; Wady el-Abyad, Wady and Fountain el-'Aujeh, and 'Ain el-Fŭsâil, all three in the northern part of the recess, and the Wadys small; Wady el-Ahmar towards Kŭrn Sŭrtŭbeh; Wady el-Fâri'a north of the Sŭrtŭbeh with a stream of water; Wady el-Mâlih.[2]—On the *east* side; 'Ain es-Suwei-

[1] From this ridge, Jebel es-Salt bore N. 57° E. Kŭsr el-Yehûd S. 64° E. North-east corner of Dead Sea S. E. Castle of Riha S. 40° E. Neby Mûsa S. 15° W. Kâkôn S. 27° W. el-'Aujeh, ruin, N. 15° W.

[2] The Wadys Fâri'a and Mâlih are mentioned by Berggren, who saw them higher up in the

meh; Wady Hesbân; Wady Sha'ib; Wady Zŭrka with a stream; Ghôr el-Wahâdineh.

In the Ghôr, between Jericho and Beisân, the only ruins we could hear of on the *west* side, were es-Sŭmrah and el-'Aujeh. The former would seem to be in the plain north of Wady Nawâ'imeh.[1] On the *east* side, beginning from the sea, we heard of ruins at er-Râmeh, in or near Wady Hesbân; el-Keferein[2]; Nimrîn in Wady Sha'ib; Amatah; and the inhabited village el-Arba'în nearly opposite Beisân.[3]

Josephus informs us, that Herod not only erected castles and palaces in and around Jericho, but built also a city called Phasaëlus in the *Aulon* or Ghôr north of Jericho; by which means a tract formerly desert was rendered fertile and productive.[4] This may not improbably have been situated at or near el-'Aujeh above mentioned. The name seems still to have existed in the middle ages. At least Brocardus speaks of a village Phasellum a league north of Dûk, corresponding to the position of el-'Aujeh; and this name is still to be recognised in 'Ain el-Fŭsâil.[5] Archelaus, the son of Herod, built also a village in the plain, named from himself Archelaïs.[6] This is placed in the Peutinger Tables at twelve Roman miles north of Jericho towards Beisân; and stood probably in or near the opening of one of the Wadys above mentioned.

During the whole time we were on the coast of

western mountains; the former has a mill-stream, the latter a brackish fountain. Reisen, &c. ii. p. 267.

[1] In the plain about ten minutes N. of this Wady, Monro saw "a mound with hewn (?) stones scattered about." Summer Ramble, i. p. 162.

[2] Râmeh and el-Keferein are also mentioned by Burckhardt; p. 391.

[3] For el-Arba'în and Amatah, see Burckhardt, pp. 345, 346. For Amatah (Amathus) see also Reland Palæst. p. 559. Comp. the similar lists given by Burckhardt of Wadys and places in the Ghôr; p. 344.

[4] Joseph. Ant. xvi. 5. 2. xvii. 11. 5. xviii. 2. 2. B. J. i. 21. 9. Reland Palæst. p. 953.

[5] Brocardus, c. vii. p. 178.

[6] Jos. Ant. xvii. 13. 1. xviii. 2. 2. Reland Palæst. p. 576; comp. p. 421. plate.

the Dead Sea, on the Jordan, and in or near the plains of Jericho, we were much interested in looking out among the eastern mountains for Mount Nebo, so celebrated in the history of the great Hebrew legislator, where he was permitted to behold with his eyes the land of promise, and then yielded up the ghost.[1] But our search was in vain; for although we passed in such a direction as to see the mountains over against Jericho from every quarter, yet there seems to be none standing so out from the rest, or so marked, as to be recognised as the Nebo of the Scriptures. There is no peak or point perceptibly higher than the rest; but all is apparently one level line of summit without peaks or gaps. The highest point in all the eastern mountains, is Jebel el-Jil'âd or es-Salt, near the city of that name, rising about three thousand feet above the Ghôr[2]; but this is much too far north to be Mount Nebo, to which Moses ascended from the plains of Moab over against Jericho. Possibly on travelling into these mountains, some isolated point or summit might be found answering to the position and character of Nebo. Indeed, Seetzen, Burckhardt, and also Irby and Mangles, have all found Mount Nebo in Jebel 'Attârûs, a high mountain south of the Zŭrka Ma'în.[3] This, however, as the latter travellers remark, is "far from opposite Jericho;" and would be almost as distant, and as little convenient to the plains of Moab, as is Jebel es-Salt. It may perhaps be sufficient to assume, that Moses merely went up from these plains to some high part of the adjacent mountains; from which he would everywhere have an extensive view over the Jordan-valley and the mountainous

[1] Deut. xxxii. 48. seq. xxxiv. 1. seq.

[2] See more on this mountain above, p. 243. note *.

[3] Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 431. Burckhardt, p. 370. Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 464.

tract of Judah and Ephraim *towards* the western sea. The Mediterranean itself could never well be visible from any point east of the Jordan.[1]

Our former inquiries respecting the site of Ai in the vicinity of Deir Dîwân, had been so unsatisfactory, that we had now determined to take the route from Jericho to the latter place and so to Bethel, in order further to investigate this and other points, and to trace the ancient road between these cities, so often travelled by kings and prophets of old.[2] Three roads now lead from Jericho to Deir Dîwân. The first and shortest passes up the face of the cliffs between Quarantana and Wady Kelt, and then follows a direct course over a tract of high shelving table-land. Another goes to Dûk, and crossing the Nawâ'imeh, ascends the mountain on the north leading strictly to Taiyibeh; but near Rummôn a branch goes off and re-crosses the valley to Deir Dîwân. The third leaves the preceding road just beyond Dûk, and climbing the mountain on the south side of the Nawâ'imeh, falls into the first road some distance higher up. Of these routes the first is the most direct, easiest, and without doubt the ancient road; but we chose to take the third in order to visit the fountain of Dûk and obtain a more extensive knowledge of the country.

Leaving the height above the sugar-mills at 8^h 40′, we passed along the watercourse near the base of Quarantana into the recess. We came in a few minutes to the encampment of Sheikh Mustafa, who had accompanied us from the fountain. It consisted of thirty or forty mean tents arranged in a square, most of them open, the sides being thrown up. These people are

[1] In our list of the Belka is found the name *Neba*, which may not improbably represent the ancient Nebo. It occurs next to Madeba, apparently some distance N. of Jebel 'Attârûs. See at the end of Vol. III. Second Appendix, B. Part II. No. XII. 3.

[2] 1 Sam. xiii. 15. 2 Kings ii. 3, 4. 23.

much darker than the Arabs in general; and seem to constitute a sort of gypsies among them. Here a large bowl of *lebben* (soured milk) was already prepared for our breakfast; but as we were neither hungry nor thirsty, we left it to our attendants, by whom it was greedily devoured. We ourselves passed on.

This old Sheikh and his tribe, as already mentioned, are a sort of Derwishes or sacred characters, respected by the Arabs and peasants, and on this account the safest guides for travellers. His full name was Mŭstafa Abu Yamîn, and his encampment are called the Arabs of Abu Yamîn. Those of another encampment are in like manner called from their Sheikh the Arabs of Abu Nuseir. These two encampments together make out the tribe Ehteim.

Besides the Ehteim, who have gardens at Jericho near the fountain, the following tribes of Arabs also descend more or less into the Ghôr, beginning from the south. On the *west* side: the Ka'âbineh, the Rashâideh, the Ta'âmirah, the Mas'ûdy, the 'Abbâd, the Amîr, the 'Abbâdîn, and the Mushâlikhah. On the *east* side: the 'Adwân, Ibn Ghŭnŭm, Beni Hasan, the Bahârât, the 'Ajârimeh, Beni Sŭkhr, and Beni Hamîdeh.

The hospitable old man sent one of his men to guide us over the broken ground to the fountain of Dûk. At 9 o'clock we came upon Wady Nawâ'imeh, which, after issuing from the mountains just above Dûk, runs here in a south-easterly course, and breaking through the line of lower hills, pursues the same direction to the Jordan. It is the continuation of the Wady el-Mŭtyâh between Deir Dîwân and Rŭmmôn. Water was here flowing in it. We followed it up; and at 9½ o'clock came to the large and beautiful fountain or rather fountains of Dûk, on the southwestern brink of the same Wady. Here are two very copious sources,

besides other smaller ones, all of fine limpid water, like that of 'Ain es-Sultân. The waters naturally all flow down the Wady Nawâ'imeh; but those of the highest and largest fountain, which springs up at the foot of a large Dôm-tree, are carried off by the artificial channel along the base of the mountain, for nearly an hour, to the vicinity of the sugar-mills, and thence distributed to the plain. This stream at first is six or eight feet wide and a foot and a half deep. The remaining waters still follow their natural course down the valley; where they were formerly taken up by the aqueduct at its entrance upon the plain.[1]

Above the fountain are traces of ancient substructions, though not very distinct. Here or in the vicinity of this fountain of Dûk, we are doubtless to look for the site of the ancient castle of Doch near Jericho, in which Simon Maccabæus was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy.[2]

Leaving 'Ain Dûk at 9h 35′, we passed still along the base of the mountain, overlooking on our right the higher plain or basin within the recess, and having in view the hill and ruin el-'Aujeh, and the three smaller Wadys, which descend from the mountains in that part as above described. The plain was covered with verdure, fed by the waters of the fountain of 'Aujeh. In fifteen minutes we came to the opening of Wady Nawâ'imeh, as it issues a deep ravine from the cliffs; and immediately began to climb the angle of the mountain on its southern side. The Taiyibeh-road crosses the Wady and goes up the mountain fur-

[1] From Dûk, el-'Aujeh bore N. 13° W. Kŭrn Sŭrtŭbeh, N. 11° E. Jebel es-Salt, N. 60° E.

[2] Δώκ, 1 Macc. xvi. 14, 15. Josephus relates the same circumstances; but moulding the name more after the Greek form, writes it Δαγών. Antiq. xiii. 8. 1. B. J. i. 2. 3.—Dûk is mentioned as a fortress of the Knights Templars between Jericho and Bethel, and also by Brocardus; who, however, places it too far north. Münter Statutenbuch des Ord. des Tempelh. i. p. 419. Brocardus, c. vii. p. 178.

ther north. The ascent is steep, rugged, and difficult, consisting of two parts. We reached the top of the first and steepest in ten minutes; and at 10h 20′ came out upon the head of the pass or summit of the cliff. Here we had our last view back upon the valley of the Jordan.[1]

The way now became in general less steep, though we still had to climb occasionally sharp ascents and pass along the brow of fearful precipices. On our right the Wady Nawâ'imeh occupied the bottom of a broad sunken tract, composed of chalky mountains rising on each side, presenting only the aspect of a terrific desert. All around we could see nought but waves of naked desolate pyramidal and conical mountains, with deep Wadys between, marked only by the narrow tracks of goats, which climb along their sides to crop the few herbs thinly sprinkled over them. It was one of the most truly desert spots we had yet visited. The path led us along the tops and sides of declivities, as nearly perpendicular as they could be without being composed of solid rock. Our general course was S.E. by S. At 11 o'clock we came out upon one of the highest points; where we stopped for a time to breathe, and to survey the surrounding desolation. Here we could distinguish several places already known to us, as Rŭmmôn, Taiyibeh, and the Mount of Olives; showing that we were approaching a region of more promise.[2]

We now descended slightly after fifteen minutes, on a course W.S.W. The land became less broken, a

[1] We took here the following bearings: Castle of Jericho, S. 39° E. Mouth of Wady Nawâ'imeh and aqueduct, S. 73° E. Mouth of Wady Sha'ib, S. 82° E. Dûk, below, E. Kŭrn Sŭrtŭbeh, N. 17° E. el-'Aujeh, in the recess, N. 8° W.

[2] The bearings from this high point were as follows: Taiyibeh, N. W. Rŭmmôn, N. 54° W. Tell beyond Deir Diwân, N. 65° W. Mount of Olives, S. 61° W. Abu Dîs, S. 53° W. Khân Hŭdhrŭr, S. 42° W. (See under Taiyibeh, p. 122. note [1].) Neby Mûsa, S. 5° E.

tract of shelving table-land. As we advanced, the scattered herbs of the desert were more and more interspersed with dried grass; until at a quarter past noon we reached a burying-place of the Bedawîn in this lone spot, where the country became more open and even. Here we struck the southern road from Jericho to Deir Dîwân, coming up from the left; it having passed, so far as we could see, through a much more level tract than ours, along the water-shed between the branches of Wady Nawâ'imeh and those which go to form Wady Kelt. Our course was now W. by N. We soon came upon small ploughed patches here and there, belonging probably to the Bedawîn. They had been sown with wheat; but the grain, which was now nearly ripe, was thin and scarcely more than six inches high. The surface became gradually more and more covered with limestone rocks, with the usual red soil among them; while vegetation and pasturage increased.

In one place we saw a number of people at some distance before us; who on perceiving us became alarmed and ran off in all haste. Our Arabs called after them to reassure them, and we afterwards overtook them; they proved to be several men and four women from Deir Dîwân.

At five minutes past one, we noticed a cistern by the way-side as we ascended a hill; and two others occurred afterwards; all hewn in the rock, and showing this to be an ancient and important route between Gilgal and Bethel. At half past one the grass and vegetation began to assume a slight appearance of green; and the fields of the Fellâhîn were more numerous. At 2 o'clock we got sight of Deir Dîwân, bearing N.W. On our right at 2^h 35′ were the ruins of an ordinary village, called Abu Sŭbbâh. Shortly before coming to Deir Dîwân we sent on our servants

and luggage to that place, which they reached at 3h 20′; while we turned off to the left to visit the site with ruins on the S. of the village, which had been pointed out to us on our former visit.[1]

The place is on a low hill or point projecting towards the south between two shallow Wadys. In the eastern valley are some excavated tombs. The western valley is the broadest; and the rocks on that side are precipitous for a few feet. Here are three reservoirs dug mostly out of the rock, and bearing marks of antiquity. They measured as follows:

	Length.	Breadth.	Depth.
Upper or Northern	110 feet	32 feet	6 feet
Middle	37	26	12
Lower	88	22	15

On the hill itself are ruins, or foundations of large hewn stones, in no great number. Many stones have probably been taken away to build the modern village. While my companions were measuring the reservoirs, I busied myself in searching for the small tesseræ of Mosaic work, such as are often found around Jerusalem; and picked up a handful within the space of a few feet. All these circumstances indicate an ancient place of some importance; but we were not yet satisfied that it was Ai.

We passed through Deir Dîwân without stopping, leaving it at 3h 40′. The direction of Bethel is about N.W. by W., and the road leads up from the basin by a hollow way, between a conical hill or Tell on the right, and another broader hill on the left. Twenty minutes brought us to the summit of the Tell, from which we looked directly down into the deep narrow bed of Wady el-Mŭtyâh on the north, where a few excavated sepulchres were visible. The village we had left bore S. 46° E. and Taiyibeh N. 45° E. We

[1] See above, p. 118.

had expected to find here some remains of an ancient site; but there was nothing save a cistern, and immense heaps of unwrought stones, merely thrown together in order to clear the ground for planting olive-trees. The position would answer well to that of Ai; and had there been traces of ruins, I should not hesitate so to regard it. I also went out upon the more southern hill, but with no better success; it was wholly covered with rocks in their natural state.

Ai is chiefly celebrated in Scripture history for its capture and destruction by Joshua.[1] It lay on the east of Bethel; Abraham on his arrival in Palestine pitched his tent between the two cities[2]; and they were not so far distant from each other, but that the men of Bethel mingled in the pursuit of the Israelites, as they feigned to fly before the king of Ai, and thus both cities were left defenceless.[3] Yet they were not so near but that Joshua could place an ambush on the west (or southwest) of Ai, without its being observed by the men of Bethel; while he himself remained behind a valley on the north of Ai.[4] At a later period Ai was again rebuilt, and is mentioned by Isaiah and also after the exile.[5] In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, its site and scanty ruins were still pointed out, not far distant from Bethel towards the east.[6]

After all our search, we could come to no other result, than to assign as the probable site of Ai the place with ruins just south of Deir Dîwân. This is an hour distant from Bethel; having near by on the north the deep Wady el-Mŭtyâh; and towards the S.W. other smaller Wadys, in which the ambuscade of the Israelites might easily have been concealed.

[1] Josh. vii. 2–5. viii. 1–29.
[2] Gen. xii. 8. xiii. 3.
[3] Josh. viii. 17.
[4] Josh. viii. 4. 12. verses 11. 13.
[5] Is. x. 28. Ezra, ii. 28. Neh. vii. 32. xi. 31.
[6] Onomast. art. *Agai*.

After remaining for twenty minutes on and around the Tell, we proceeded across the high and beautiful plain, on which Abraham of old must have pitched his tent. The path led us by the ruins of Burj Beitîn. We reached Bethel at 5 o'clock; and encamped for the night on the green grass, within the area of the ancient reservoir, where we had formerly breakfasted.

Tuesday, May 15th. The Arabs encamped at Bethel brought us this morning a young gazelle, which we purchased, intending it as a present for our friend Mr. Lanneau. Our servants carried the little animal in their arms, or on the saddle before them, all the way to Jerusalem; but it seemed to have been in some way injured, and lived only a few days.

We left Bethel at 5^h 50′, and reached the fountain S.W. of el-Bîreh in just an hour, passing this time on the west of the village without entering it. These waters, as already remarked, flow off in a valley towards the east. We now took the Jerusalem road; and leaving the fountain at 7 o'clock, passed in five minutes the low water-shed, which brought us to the beginning of another Wady running south; one of the minor heads of the great Wady Beit Hanîna. The path follows down this Wady, along a sort of hollow way, having on the west an isolated hill of considerable height. My companion ascended this hill in passing; here are merely the foundations apparently of a tower, with heaps of unwrought stones, and fragments of pottery strowed about. Towards the N.W. not far off, are a few foundations called Suweikeh; but we could learn no name for the hill itself. Beyond the hill, in the plain near its southern base, we came at 7^h 40′ to larger ruins containing some arches; above them, on the side of the hill, are two ancient reservoirs, perhaps one hundred feet in length by forty feet in breadth. These ruins are called 'Atâra, a name which

answers to the Hebrew Ataroth. Two places of this name are mentioned in Scripture, on the border between Benjamin and Ephraim [1]; but the site in question cannot well be regarded as either of these, since it lies too far within the territory of Benjamin.[2]

We soon turned off from the Jerusalem road, passing obliquely through the fields towards er-Râm, which we reached at 8^h 25′. It lies upon a high hill about ten minutes east of the road in a direct line. The tract upon the north, as well as upon the west and south, declines towards Wady Beit Hanîna; here indeed begins one of the main heads of that great valley. Râm is a miserable village, with few houses, and these now in summer mostly deserted. There are here large squared stones, and also columns scattered about in the fields, indicating an ancient place of some importance. A small mosk with columns seems once to have been a church. The situation of er-Râm is very conspicuous and commands a wide prospect.

I have already spoken of er-Râm, as without doubt marking the site of the ancient Ramah of Benjamin.[4] Both the name and position are here decisive. Ramah lay near Gibeah, six Roman miles from Jerusalem towards Bethel.[5] The present er-Râm is half an hour

[1] Josh. xvi. 5. 7. xviii. 13.

[2] Eusebius and Jerome speak of two Ataroths in their day in the tribe of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem; Onomast. art. *Atharoth* Ἀταρώθ. To one of these this place doubtless corresponds.—From this spot the village of Kulŭndia bore S. 38° W. Neby Samwîl, S. 43° W. Also er-Râm about S. 15° E. distant three quarters of an hour.

[3] The following among other bearings, were taken at er-Râm: Taiyibeh, N. 36° E. Mŭkhmâs, N. 70° E. Deir Diwân, N. 38° E. 'Anâta, S. 24° E. Tuleil el-Fûl, S. 10° W. Neby Samwîl, S. 75° W. el-Jîb, W. Kefr 'Akab, ruins about 45 minutes distant, N. 5° W. Erha, ruins, S. 12° E. These last ruins are just across a small Wady running down towards Anathoth.

[4] See above, pp. 108. 114. 141.

[5] Judg. xix. 13. Euseb. et Hieron. Onom. art. *Rama*. Hieron. Comm. in Hos. v. 8. "Rama quæ est juxta Gabaa in septimo lapide a Jerosolymis sita." Josephus places it at 40 stadia from Jerusalem. Antiq. viii. 12. 3.

west from Gibeah, and two hours north of Jerusalem. Ramah was again inhabited after the exile; and in the days of Jerome was a small village.[1] In the thirteenth century Brocardus speaks of it correctly as a village south of el-Bîreh, situated on a hill east of the road leading to Jerusalem.[2] But notwithstanding this distinct notice, the place seems to have been again forgotten in monastic tradition for centuries; and of course is not mentioned by travellers. Cotovicus saw the spot, but held it to be Gibeah of Saul.[3] Quaresmius speaks only of Ramah as at Neby Samwîl; and hence probably even the sharp-sighted Maundrell failed to notice er-Râm, and saw Ramah only at the prophet's tomb.[4] Indeed, I have been able to find no further mention of er-Râm until the present century, and that only in one or two travellers.[5]

Jeba', half an hour east of er-Râm, is not visible from it, on account of broad intervening swells of ground. We went out upon these hills half-way to Jeba', where we had a full view of both these villages, and examined the ground carefully in all directions, to see whether there might not be some ancient site between the two. But our search was fruitless; no trace of ruins or of substructions is anywhere to be seen; the surface of the ground being mostly covered with large rocks in their natural position. In consequence of this examination, I do not hesitate to regard Jeba' as the Gibeah of Saul. It was here that our

[1] Ezra, ii. 26. Neh. vii. 30. Hieron. Comm. in Zephan. i. 15, 16. "Rama et Bethoron et reliquæ urbes nobiles a Salomone constructæ parvi viculi demonstrantur."

[2] Brocardus, c. vii. p. 178. Breydenbach copies Brocardus, Reissb. p. 128. Sir John Maundeville, (p. 105.) and William de Baldensel place Ramah somewhere north of Shiloh; p. 353. ed. Basnage.

[3] Itin. p. 331. Fürer von Haimendorf speaks of it in A.D. 1566, and says it was called Ramula; p. 201. Nurnb. 1646.

[4] Quaresm. ii. p. 727. Doubdan, p. 489. Maundrell, Mar. 25th.

[5] First apparently in Turner's Tour, ii. p. 160. Neither Richardson, nor Scholz, nor Monro, nor Schubert, mention the name or place, although they passed on this route.

guide, whom we took from er-Râm, told us of ruins lying eastward from Jeba'.[1]

We left er-Râm at 10 o'clock, and came in ten minutes to the Jerusalem road, at a place called Khŭrâib er-Râm, "Ruins of er-Râm," on the west of the path, bearing from that place S. 55° W. Here are some eight or ten ruined arches in a line parallel to the road; and the foundations of as many more parallel to these. They may probably have belonged to a large Khân for travellers and caravans. There are also several cisterns. Here we stopped nearly ten minutes, and then proceeded along the great road. The waters of this tract all run towards Wady Beit Hanîna. At 10¾ o'clock, near the foot of the ascent leading to the table-land north of Scopus, we passed the junction of the camel-road from Yâfa to Jerusalem, coming by el-Jîb; and just beyond, we came upon ancient substructions, large unhewn stones in low massive walls.

We now left the road again, in order to pass over the high Tell on the left, called Tuleil el-Fûl, "Hill of Beans," six or eight minutes from the path, with a large heap of stones upon it. We reached the top at 11 o'clock. There seems to have been here originally a square tower, fifty-six feet by forty-eight, built of large unhewn stones and apparently ancient; this has been thrown down; and the stones and rubbish falling outside, have assumed the form of a large pyramidal mound. No trace of other foundations is to be seen. The spot is sightly, and commands a very extensive view of the country in all directions, especially towards the east; in this respect it is second only to Neby Samwîl. We had hoped to find here ruins of such a nature, as might justify us in regarding this as the ancient Mizpeh; but I have already detailed the reasons

[1] See above, p. 115.

which induce me, on the whole, to fix upon Neby Samwîl as the probable site of that place.[1]

We remained here half an hour; and then at half-past 11 o'clock descended, and regaining the road, proceeded across the high level tract. In fifteen minutes we were opposite Sha'fât, a small village five minutes on the right, where the remains of an old wall are visible; and at five minutes past noon, we came upon the brow of Scopus, overlooking the Valley of Jehoshaphat and Jerusalem beyond. The view of the city from this spot is celebrated; here Titus first beheld it and admired the magnificence of its temple.[2] The distance of this spot from the Damascus Gate is about twenty or twenty-five minutes.

We now turned to the left along the ridge, having continually fine views of the city, and searching everywhere for ruins which might be regarded as the site of Nob. We came at 12h 20′ to the 'Anâta road. Our search was without fruit; and afterwards in returning from Bethany, I traversed the ridge from the church of the Ascension northwards to the same spot with the like ill-success.[3] We now turned directly towards Jerusalem; and as we descended the Mount of Olives, the Khatîb sent off one of his men with the musket of the tribe along the side of the hill, not caring to have it seen within the city. We reached St. Stephen's Gate at 12h 40′; having lost about twenty minutes by the *detour*. Our friends we were happy to find all well; although the city was still filled with alarm.

Thus through the kind providence of God we had been preserved during a most interesting journey, through what has ever been considered the worst and most dangerous part of all Palestine,—as the retreat

[1] See above, p. 144.—From the Tell, er-Râm bore N. 10° E. Neby Samwîl, N. 70° W. Jerusalem, S. 10° W.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 407.

[3] See more on Nob above, pp. 149, 150.

of robbers and outlaws ever since the most ancient times. Yet under the care of our Sheikh of the Ta'âmirah and his four men, we had not suffered the slightest let or hindrance; nor felt the slightest degree of insecurity, more than in Jerusalem itself. The Khatîb had fulfilled his pledge, and had given us entire satisfaction. We were able to dismiss him likewise satisfied; and parted from him not without feelings of respect, and also of regret, at the idea of meeting him no more.[1]

With the two Mukârîyeh (drivers, muleteers) we had less reason to be satisfied. They were lazy and careless; as well as utterly indifferent to the welfare and accommodation of those, whom they had undertaken to serve. We of course had nothing to do with their subsistence; yet they took nothing with them, and contrived to spunge their meals out of us and our guides. Knowing the stern law of Bedawîn hospitality, that whoever is present at a meal must be invited to partake, whether there be little or much, they were impudent enough always to put themselves in the way of the guides, and thus deprive them of a part of their slender pittance. Indeed, the Mukârîyeh of Jerusalem are notorious for their insolence and bad faith; and we determined, so far as possible, to have nothing more to do with them.

[1] I learn that the Missionaries have since kept up an acquaintance with Sheikh Muhammed, and have visited his people. He too has shown himself faithful, and also grateful for various slight services which they were able to do in his behalf.

SECTION XI.

FROM JERUSALEM TO GAZA AND HEBRON.

On returning from our eight days' excursion to the Dead Sea and Jordan, we found the plague slowly increasing in Jerusalem, and the alarm becoming more deep and general. The superior health-officer of the coast, from Beirût, had arrived; and there was reason to suppose that the city would soon be shut up, either by drawing a cordon of troops around it, or by closing the gates. The object of such a measure, in the true style of oriental despotism, is to hinder the spread of the plague among the villages, by cutting off all communication, and preventing the egress of persons from the city; the inhabitants of the latter being in this manner left, not only to suffer the actual horrors of the plague, but to see them aggravated among a population thus pent up in misery and filth, without fresh air, and without the ordinary supplies of fresh provisions from the country. Some of the other evils attendant on such a state of things, have already been alluded to.[1]

It had been our intention to remain some days in Jerusalem; and we had planned a short excursion to Bethany and St. Saba; and thence by way of the Frank Mountain and Bethlehem to St. John's in the Desert and Sôba. But the circumstances above detailed induced us to change our plan, and depart as

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 368.

soon as possible on a longer journey, before the rumour of the closing of the city should be spread abroad, and prevent perhaps our entrance into the larger towns. We therefore now stopped at Jerusalem but a single day, and took our departure for Gaza and Hebron; intending to make an excursion from the latter place to Wady Mûsa. We chose the direct route to Gaza through the mountains, instead of the usual one by Ramleh, as being less travelled and less known; and one of our main objects in doing so, was to search for the site of the long lost Eleutheropolis. Our departure was well timed; for the gates were closed the very next day, and the city remained shut up until July.

This journey was undertaken by Mr. Smith and myself alone; our companion preferring to remain in the city, and take his risk of a quarantine; which might be necessary in order to join us afterwards on our journey northwards. We left our trunks and extra baggage also in Jerusalem, although we knew there might be difficulty in obtaining them again; but we regarded them as safer in the hands of our friends than elsewhere; and the worst that could happen would be a quarantine in charge of our fellow-traveller. The part of the country to which we were going, was known to be comparatively safe; though stories of robbery were not wanting. We engaged only a single guide, a Christian from Beit Jâla, who had often travelled the route, and proved to be well acquainted with the country. Instead of the insolent Mukârîych of Jerusalem, we now hired muleteers from Lifta, a village in the great Wady Beit Hanîna; where every peasant keeps his mule and usually accompanies it. They brought us four mules and one horse, with a man for each; we paying 15½ or 16 piastres a day for each animal, according to good behaviour; and half price

for the days we should lie by; the men receiving nothing extra, and furnishing themselves. Thus with our two servants and guide, we mustered in all ten men, and felt ourselves secure against all ordinary thieves or plunderers.

Thursday, May 17th. We bade adieu to our friends, and left the Yâfa gate at five minutes before 8 o'clock; taking the Bethlehem road which we had before travelled. The single horse in our party was by a sort of tacit consent allotted to me; but its gait was so hard, and the animal required withal so much urging, that I was glad the next day to exchange it for one of the mules, and was decidedly a gainer.

The proper Gaza road passes down in or near Wady el-Werd; but we made a circuit by the village of Beit Jâla in order to accommodate our guide. We reached Mâr Elyâs in an hour; and leaving the tomb of Rachel at 9½ o'clock, and crossing Wady Ahmed through the olive-groves, we ascended alone the southern side of Beit Jâla, and stopped near its upper part at 10 o'clock. We did not enter the village, but waited among the olive-trees, until our guide had taken leave of his family and again joined us; bringing with him a half-starved donkey, not much larger than a rat.

Beit Jâla is closely built on the eastern declivity of a high hill, and is inhabited solely by Christians. The tradition formerly was current, that no Muhammedan could live in it more than two years.[1] Our guide, in the course of our journey, gave us much information respecting this his native village; the sum of which here follows. Beit Jâla belongs to the Tekîyeh[2], a charitable establishment in Jerusalem, near the

[1] This tradition is mentioned in A. D. 1496, in the Journey of Alexander, Palatine of the Rhine; Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 75. So, too, Doubdan, p. 170. Maundrell, Ap. 2. Pococke, Descr. of the East, ii. p. 45. fol.

[2] I suppose this to be the Hospital of Helena, so called by the Franks.

Haram. Its taxable males, above fifteen years of age, are reckoned at five hundred; indicating a population of about two thousand souls. Of the men, sixty can read, not including the younger boys.

Under the former government, the inhabitants paid the Kharâj to the Greek convents, averaging from twelve to fifteen *Zŭlŭt* (of 30 paras) for each person. From the convents of Mâr Elyâs, el-Musŭllabeh (the Cross), and el-Khŭdr (St. George), three men received from 300 to 500 Zŭlŭt for ploughing; the convents owning the land and furnishing the cattle. Further, the five Sheikhs of the village received each from the convents from 100 to 150 Zŭlŭt per annum towards their support, and also their expenses whenever they went to Jerusalem. To the government the village paid fourteen purses tribute ('Abŭdîyeh); and to the Tekîyeh in Jerusalem each man paid fifteen Zŭlŭt.—Subsequently, the village relinquished to the convents the sums received for ploughing; and the convents relinquished the collection of the Kharâj, continuing to pay it for the village out of their own treasury.

Under the present Egyptian government, only the payment to the Tekîyeh remains as it was. The convents have no claims upon the village, nor the village upon the convents; except that the latter collect voluntary contributions. The demands of the government are as follows: Kharâj, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty-three piastres; Firdeh, twenty piastres; A'âneh (aid) thirty-six piastres, which is increased to forty-five by the five Sheikhs for their support. These are exacted from each man. The village also has to furnish daily twenty men for the public works, who are paid one and a quarter piastre a day by the government, and thirteen piastres weekly by the village For each ewe and she-goat is paid one piastre; for each donkey, ten; for each mule, twenty; for each

camel, thirty; and for every yoke of oxen, one hundred and fifty piastres. This last is considered as a tax upon the grain raised; but the owner of the oxen is responsible for it. Each olive-tree pays one piastre; and for every five trees, an oke[1] of oil is paid in addition. Each Feddân (yoke) of figs and grapes pays thirty piastres. Besides all this, the village has to pay fifteen purses on wine and 'Arak for home consumption, whether they make any or not; and without even the right of selling or giving away.—Our guide, who was only a common man, paid more than three hundred piastres, or fifteen Spanish dollars annually.

We set off again from Beit Jâla at 10¼ o'clock, winding around the hill above the village towards the N. W. among vineyards and gardens of olive and fig-trees. The hill is everywhere terraced and cultivated, as in ancient times; indicating more industry and thrift than is usual in the villages. At half-past ten, we came out upon the height of land, whence we could see Jerusalem, and had also a view before us of the little village of St. George, and of Beit 'Atâb in the distance on a high hill.[2]

Before us was now a level rocky tract of no great breadth, and then a long descent into the short but very deep Wady Bittîr, running N. W. into the Werd. After a delay of ten minutes we set forward, and came in fifteen minutes to a small fountain about half way down the descent, called Haud Kibriyân, "Cyprian's Trough," by which are the remains of a wall of very large stones. Instead of descending any further into the deep valley, we now made a circuit to the left around its head, and at 11½ o'clock were near the little

[1] About 2¾lbs. English. Lane's Mod. Egyptians, ii. p. 372.

[2] The bearings were as follows: Jerusalem, N. E. Mâr Elyâs, N. 65° E. St. George, S. 60° W. Beit 'Atâb, N. 72° W.

village St. George (Arabic, el-Khŭdr) on the rocky land west of Wady Bittîr. We had formerly seen this place as we approached Solomon's Pools from the south.[1] There is here a small building, once a Greek church connected with a small Greek convent. The earlier travellers were accustomed to visit it as one of the holy places around Bethlehem; and were shown in the church the long chain and iron collar, with which St. George had been bound.[2] The place is mentioned still by Pococke as a convent; but the village, which is very small, is now inhabited only by Muhammedans, and the church has become a mosk. The land quite to the vicinity belongs to Beit Jâla.

The village lay somewhat to the left as we passed along N. W. to gain the ridge west of Wady Bittîr, which we then continued to ascend, till at $11\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock we reached its highest point; having lost not less than twenty or thirty minutes by our circuit. From this sightly spot, over Wady Bittîr, we had a commanding view of the country before us; and halted for a time in order to make ourselves acquainted with its leading features.

The view towards the right embraced the whole tract north and west of Jerusalem, drained by the great Wady Beit Hanîna. The Holy City itself was not visible, being situated behind the high ground which lies between Wady Bittîr and Wady el-Werd. But from er-Râm and Neby Samwîl the whole course of the great Wady could be traced, as it passes down S. W. by Kŭlônieh and east of Kŭstŭl and Sôba. Near at hand Wady el-Werd was seen, here also a deep rugged valley, running nearly west by the village el-Welejeh (the St. Philip's of the Latins); and

[1] See Vol. I. p. 321.
[2] Felix Fabri in Reissb. p. 283. Cotovic. p. 240. Quaresmius, ii. p. 11. Doubdan, p. 171. Pococke, ii. p. 44. fol.

uniting with the former valley just beyond the village el-Kâbu, among steep rocky mountains. Below this junction, the great valley takes the name of Wady Isma'în (Isma'îl); bends W. S. W. through a ridge of higher land; and, issuing upon the western plain under the name of Wady es-Sŭrâr, turns N. W. and runs through the plain to the sea near Yebna; where at last it is called Wady Rûbîn. Up this valley there was said to be a very rocky and difficult road. The ridge just mentioned forms the western brow of the high mountainous tract, on which Jerusalem is situated, just where this latter sinks down precipitously to the lower hills, which lie between it and the western plain. The ridge in question forms a continuation of the high ground around and west of Neby Samwîl, running off towards the south; and is skirted on the east by the valley in which Kuryet el-'Enab is situated, running in the same direction to join the great valley. Although Wady Isma'în breaks through this ridge, yet a spur or promontory from it runs out towards the west, along the north side of that valley, quite to the plain, interrupting for a time the tract of lower hills, and forming a bastion around which Wady es-Sŭrâr bends N. W.

South of Wady Isma'în the land is still at first high, and on the brink of the valley stands the lofty village Deir el-Hawa. But the surface soon descends gradually towards the south; and here somewhat lower and nearer to where we stood, though still quite elevated, is the village Beit 'Atâb.

Towards the S. W. our view rested upon a lower region of country, seen down another deep broad valley called Wady el-Musŭrr, here running W. S. W. and uniting further down with several others to form Wady es-Sŭmt. This latter valley runs for a time nearly west, and then bends N. W. and joining Wady

es-Sŭrâr upon the plain, goes to the sea near Yebna.[1] Between the Sŭrâr and the Musŭrr and 'Sŭmt, the elevated land around Deir el-Hawa and Beit 'Atâb declines gradually towards the S. W. forming a high tract of broken table-land, which sinks down suddenly to lower hills just west of the village of Beit Nettîf.

South of Wady el-Musŭrr, the precipitous western wall of the higher mountainous tract towards Hebron lies further back, nearly in a line with the spot on which we stood; while a broad region of lower hills and open valleys is spread out between it and the western plain. This higher tract of mountains, as we have seen, rises to the height of nearly 2800 feet; the region of hills reaches apparently about one third of the same elevation above the sea and plain.—Upon an isolated hill in the midst of Wady el-Musŭrr, on the south side of its bed and near the mountains, lies the village of Jeb'ah. This is doubtless the Gibeah of the mountains of Judah; and probably the Gabatha of Eusebius and Jerome, twelve Roman miles from Eleutheropolis.[2]

As we now saw the somewhat remarkable points Sôba and el-Kŭstŭl for the last time, I prefer to bring together here all that I have yet to say respecting them.

[1] So I understood the information we received at the time. Yet I would not venture certainly to affirm, that Wady el-Musŭrr does not continue its course alone to the sea, forming the Wady and small stream marked on Jacotin's map as passing just N. of 'Esdûd, and entering the sea S. of Yebna. See, too, Richardson's Travels, ii. p. 207.

[2] Josh. xv. 57. Onomast. art. *Gabaatha*.—From this point (W. of Wady Bittîr) the bearings of the various places were as follows: er-Râm, N. 38° E. Neby Samwîl, N. 18° E. el-Kŭstŭl, N. 5° E. Sôba, N. el-Welejeh, N. 2° W. Kuryet es-Sa'ideh, N. 13° W. el-Kabu, N. 38° W. Kefr Sôm, N. 54° W. el-Hûsân, N. 55° W. Deir el-Hawa, N. 57° W. Beit 'Atâb, N. 63° W. Sŭnâsîn, W. Jeb'ah, S. 74° W.

The latter name, el-Kŭstŭl, is obviously an Arabic corruption of the Latin word *Castellum;* but I am unable to say what castle is meant, or whether there was an earlier Arabic name. It suggests, of course, the Emmaus Castellum of the Latin monks; but this appears to have been situated at el-Kubeibeh, not far west of Neby Samwîl.[1] Kŭstŭl lies on a conical hill about an hour from Kuryet el-'Enab towards Jerusalem, south of the road[2]; and also near the way from Sôba to Kŭlônieh and Jerusalem, about equidistant between the two former places.

Sôba is also situated on a lofty conical hill overlooking the great Wady Isma'în on the west, nearly opposite to the convent of St. John. From Kuryet el-'Enab, looking down the valley, it is seen at some distance in the south. It is one hour distant from Kŭlônieh, and two hours and a half from Jerusalem.[3] Sôba belongs to the family of Abu Ghûsh, whose seat is at Kuryet el-'Enab; and the chief of that name whom we saw, related to us, that when governor of Jerusalem, he had been compelled to lay the place in ruins on account of the rebellion of the inhabitants, and had not visited it since.[4]

By a singular perversion, of which I am not able to trace the origin, Sôba has now for centuries been regarded in monastic tradition as the site of the ancient Modin, the city of the Maccabees, where they lived and were buried, and where Simon erected a lofty monument with seven pyramids to their memory.[5]

[1] Pococke, ii. pp. 49, 50. fol. Van Egmond u. Heyman, i. p. 317. Quaresmius, ii. pp. 718, 719. Breydenbach and F. Fabri in Reissb. pp. 105. 241. See more under June 9th.—Compare the similar Latin name Kŭlônieh above, p. 146. note [1].

[2] Prokesch, p. 41. Salzbacher, ii. p. 30. These authors write the name Kassr (Kŭsr).

[3] For the specifications in this and the preceding paragraph, I am indebted to the notes of Mr. Smith on a former visit to these places.

[4] See above, Vol. I. p. 365.

[5] 1 Macc. ii. 1. 15. xiii. 25–30. Joseph. Ant. xiii. 6. 5.

But this monument, according to the nearly cotemporary writer of the first book of Maccabees, was visible to all who sailed along the sea; and Modin lay adjacent to the plain.[1] Eusebius and Jerome likewise testify expressly, that Modin was near to Diospolis (Lydda), where the sepulchres yet remained in their day.[2] On what pretext, therefore, the name can have been transferred to Sôba, a spot several hours distant from the plain upon the mountains, and wholly shut out from any view of the sea, I am unable to divine.[3] The crusaders found Modin still in the plain, apparently between Nicopolis and Beit Nûba; and as late as the close of the fifteenth century, it was yet pointed out from the road between Lydda and Ramleh.[4] Yet Brocardus, two centuries earlier, had already placed it six leagues eastward from Beth-shemesh, by which he probably meant Sôba.[5] So too apparently Breydenbach; and from the sixteenth century onwards to the present day, the correctness of this position seems rarely to have been drawn in question by travellers.[6]

The legend has also found entrance among the common people, and the inhabitants of Sôba relate, that the tombs of the Maccabees still remain there, though buried deep under ground. This account my

[1] 1 Macc. xiii. 29. xvi. 4, 5.

[2] Onomast. art. *Modim.*

[3] Mariti indeed pretends that Sôba is visible from the sea, and that he saw it from the road of Yâfa. But, from the spot where we stood, we could look over Sôba to the much higher ridge beyond it on the west; and could distinguish no trace of the sea. What he perceived from Yâfa was perhaps Neby Samwîl; which we also saw from the tower of Ramleh.

[4] Will. Tyr. viii. 1. F. Fabri in Reissb. p. 240. Perhaps it may have been at Lâtrôn; see under Ramleh, June 8th.

[5] Brocardus, c. xº p. 186.

[6] Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 105. Cotovic. p. 146. Maundrell, Apr. 2. Mariti, Germ. p. 563. Richardson, ii. pp. 226. 383. Cotovicus, in an excursion to Emmaus, (el-Kubeibeh), seems to find Modin near Neby Samwîl, p. 317.; but his account of this excursion is so confused, that I can make nothing of it. Pococke questions the identity of Sôba and Modin; ii. p. 46. So, too, Büsching, th. xi. p. 442. Raumer, Paläst. p. 211. Quaresmius makes no allusion to the place.

companion once heard on the spot; and it was repeated to us by Abu Ghûsh in Jerusalem. In a similar way, Arab guides, accustomed to intercourse with Franks, may have spoken of the place to travellers as Modin; but the ordinary native population certainly know nothing of any such name.[1]

I have already dwelt upon the reasons which render it impossible, that the Ramah of Samuel should have been situated at Neby Samwîl, where modern tradition now shows the prophet's tomb.[2] A few words respecting its probable actual position, may here not be out of place. Samuel was descended from an ancestor named Zuph, an Ephrathite of Bethlehem[3]; his city was called in full, Ramathaim-Zophim, and lay apparently in a tract spoken of as the land of Zuph.[4] Under these circumstances, the name Ramathaim-Zophim probably signifies nothing more than "Ramah of the Zophites," or descendants of Zuph.[5] But where are we to look for this land and city of the Zophites? Saul, departing from Gibeah of Benjamin in search of his father's asses, went first through Mount Ephraim on the north and through other places, and then "passed through the land of the Benjamites, (of course from north to south,) and came to the land of Zuph" and the city of Samuel.[6] As he returned from this city to Gibeah, apparently after travelling some distance, he was to pass "near Rachel's sepulchre, in the (southern) border of Benjamin, at Zelzah."[7] These circumstances show conclusively, that the land of Zuph and

1 Van Egmond u. Heyman, Reizen, i. p. 317. Richardson, ii. p. 226.

2 See above, pp. 141, 142.

3 1 Sam. i. 1. Comp. Ruth, i. 2. where Elimelech and his sons are called Ephrathites of Bethlehem-Judah.

4 1 Sam. i. 1. ix. 5. seq.

5 The triliteral roots, צוף and צפה, from which the names צוּף (Zuph) and צוֹפִים (Zophim) are derived, are of course related, being only different phases of the biliteral צף. The name צוּף (Zuph) takes also the form צוֹפַי (Zophai) in 1 Chron. vi. 11. [26.]

6 1 Sam. ix. 4–6.

7 1 Sam. x. 2.

the city of Samuel were situated on the south of the territory of Benjamin, in such a position, that a person proceeding thence to Gibeah would not unnaturally pass in the vicinity of Rachel's tomb. This is a known point; and I have already spoken of the reasons which forbid any attempt to disturb its general position.[1]

The name Ramah signifies "a height;' and we made it a particular point of inquiry to ascertain, whether on the high grounds around the tomb of Rachel, and especially towards the west, there are any traces either of a name or site, which might be regarded as the remains of the city of Samuel. We inquired of many persons, who were born and had spent their lives in the immediate vicinity; but no one knew aught of any such name or site.[2] It is only since my return to Europe, that the thought has occurred to my mind, whether a reminiscence of Ramathaim-Zophim and of the land of Zuph, may not be contained in the name Sôba. The letters of this name correspond to those of the Hebrew Zuph and Zophim; (*ph* or *p* being not unfrequently changed into *b*;) and its position on a lofty hill south of the land of Benjamin, accords in the main with the view above given.[3]

At first sight, two difficulties seem to militate against this hypothesis. The one arises out of the position of Sôba; since it might be made a question, whether a person returning from Sôba to Gibeah, would naturally pass in the vicinity of Rachel's

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 322, 323. 375.

[2] The monks of the present day do indeed point out the site of Ramah, a few rods east of the tomb of Rachel; Prokesch, p. 110. Salzbacher, ii. p. 164. But neither our Arabs of the Ta'âmirah, nor our Christian guide of Beit Jâla, knew any thing of it; nor did Quaresmius and the older travellers. Yet Eusebius and Jerome also assume a Ramah near Bethlehem, unnecessarily indeed, in order to afford an explanation of Matt. ii. 18. Jer. xxxi. 11. See Onomast. art. *Ramala*. Reland, Pal. p. 964.

[3] Cotovicus identifies Sôba with Ramathaim-Zophim, by transferring the name of Sôba to Neby Samwil. But his account is so confused as to be inexplicable. Itin. p. 316.

tomb. If he took the present direct road from Sôba to Jerusalem or its vicinity, passing near el-Kŭstŭl, he certainly would not approach the sepulchre of Rachel; but if, crossing the great Wady Isma'în, he followed up Wady el-Werd, he would by this detour come near enough to the sepulchre to satisfy all the conditions of the case. It is sufficient, if we suppose that the Zelzah mentioned lay on the high ground north of Rachel's tomb, not far from the convent of Mâr Elyâs, or more probably still further towards the N. W. The distance from Sôba to the vicinity of Jerusalem, on the direct course, as we have seen, is two and a half hours; on the route along Wady el-Werd and the valley of Rephaim it would probably be three hours or more. So that, other circumstances being equal, the identity of the name might perhaps be held to counterbalance the apparent circuitousness of the route.[1]

The other difficulty refers not to Sôba alone, but to every position of Ramah which places it on the south of Benjamin. Elkanah, the father of Samuel, is said to have been a "man of Ramathaim-Zophim, of Mount Ephraim[2];" which certainly implies that the city itself was situated on Mount Ephraim. Here then apparently is a circumstance directly at variance with our preceding conclusion; since the mountains south of Benjamin belong not to Ephraim, but to Judah. But as the circumstances above adduced seem conclusively to fix the position of Ramah on the south of Benjamin, may we not suppose that the mountains of Ephraim

[1] On comparing upon the map the positions of Sôba, Rachel's tomb, and Jerusalem or Gibeah, I am free to confess, that the circuitous route required by the above view, is too great to admit of very much reliance being placed upon the reasoning in the text. Still, the apparent identity of the name, and the further corroborating circumstances presented in the text, restrain me from at once rejecting the hypothesis.

[2] 1 Sam. i. 1.

continued to bear that name quite through the land of Benjamin; much as the Swiss mountains may be said to extend into Italy, or the Welsh mountains into England? This indeed has been assumed by Bachiene, on the ground that in the first division of the land by Joshua at Gilgal, the territory of Benjamin was actually given to Ephraim; not having been assigned to Benjamin until the later division at Shiloh.[1] All this may be true in part; but still, the heights round about the sepulchre of Rachel, could not well have been any other than the mountains of Judah.

There is however another consideration, which seems to relieve the position of Sôba from the difficulty in question, and thus adds something to the probability of its identity with Ramah. I have already remarked, that the mountain ridge west of Wady Beit Hanîna, of which the hill of Sôba forms a part, is a continuation of the ridge of Neby Samwîl and the high grounds around, extending in the S. W. quite out to the plain at the mouth of Wady Sŭrâr.[2] Now all this mountainous tract stands in immediate connection with the proper mountains of Ephraim around el-Bîreh and further north; it is separated entirely by the great Wady Beit Hanîna from the proper mountains of Judah towards the south; and further, as we shall see, the greater part of it did not even fall within the later limits of the tribe of Judah. Under these circumstances it seems not too much to assume, that this tract west of the great Wady, a regular continuation of Mount Ephraim, including Neby Samwîl, might have continued to bear the name of Ephraim; while the Wady would naturally form the dividing line between this range and the proper mountains of Judah. That

[1] Josh. c. xvi. xviii. 1. seq. See Bachiene, th. i. bd. i. p. 220. seq. bd. ii. p. 326. seq.

[2] See the account of this region, p. 326. above.

the name Mount Ephraim did actually thus extend through Benjamin, is rendered probable by the fact, that we nowhere hear of any mountains of Benjamin; and further, the rebel Sheba, a Benjamite, is also said to have been "a man of Mount Ephraim."[1]

In view of all these suggestions, it seems to me, that the hypothesis which would identify Sôba with the Ramah of Samuel is not without some slight grounds of support; and, in the total absence of any thing more definite, is not perhaps to be wholly rejected without consideration.[2]

Another topic which immediately connects itself with the preceding, is the common border between Judah and Benjamin; of which two accounts in an inverse order are given in the Book of Joshua.[3] We have already traced it, as it went up from the well of Nehemiah through the Valley of Hinnom to the northern end of the Valley of Rephaim.[4] From that point it was drawn to the water of Nephtoah; and as it passed also by Zelzah not far from Rachel's sepulchre[5], it would seem to have followed the plain of Rephaim and so along the Wady el-Werd to 'Ain Yâlo. This fountain would then answer to Nephtoah; unless we choose to refer the latter with less probability to 'Ain Kârim, the fountain near the convent of St. John in the Desert. In either case, the next point in the border is the long-lost city Kirjath-Jearim.

The probable position of this ancient city engaged much of our attention, all the time we were in Jerusalem and the vicinity; without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. At first, as we know, Kirjath-Jearim, like Beeroth (el-Bîreh), belonged to the terri-

[1] 2 Sam. xx. 1. 21.

[2] All direct tradition respecting the Ramah of Samuel seems to have been very early lost; see above, p. 142.

[3] Josh. xv. 5–10. xviii. 14–19.

[4] See under En-Rogel, Vol. I. p. 493.

[5] 1 Sam. x. 2.

tory of Gibeon, and could not therefore well have been very far distant from that city.[1] At a later period, the ark was brought thither from Beth-shemesh; the place was rebuilt and inhabited after the exile[2]; and Eusebius and Jerome speak of it in their day, as a village nine or ten miles from Jerusalem on the way to Diospolis (Lydda).[3] These circumstances, taken together, have quite recently suggested to my mind, whether after all, the ancient Kirjath-Jearim is not to be recognised in the present Kuryet el-'Enab? The first part of the name (Kirjath, Kuryet, signifying *City*) is the same in both, and is most probably ancient; being found in Arabic proper names only in Palestine and Syria, and not very frequently even there. The only change then has been, that the ancient 'City of Forests' has in modern times become the 'City of Grapes.'[4] The modern place too is situated on the direct way from Jerusalem to Ramleh and Lydda, just three hours or nine Roman miles from the former city, lying west of Neby Samwîl, and therefore not far remote from el-Jîb or Gibeon. The men of Kirjath-Jearim, when they brought up the ark of God from Beth-shemesh, would naturally pass up the great Wady Sŭrâr, and then along the branch-valley, to the present site.[5]

Thus then we have a place corresponding both in name and position to the ancient Kirjath-Jearim. I am aware of no objection to this hypothesis; except perhaps the assertion of Josephus, that Kirjath-Jea-

[1] Josh. ix. 17. Ezra, ii. 25.

[2] 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2. Ezra, ii. 25. Nehem. vii. 29.

[3] Onomast. arts. *Baal* and *Cariathiarim*. There is no later notice of the place as still extant; unless it be that of Brocardus, who fixes it 4½ leagues west of Jerusalem, probably copying only from Jerome; c. ix. p. 184.

[4] No ancient name corresponding to 'Enab seems to have existed in this quarter. The name 'Anâb is still found beyond Hebron; see p. 195. above. A Betoannaba is spoken of a few miles from Lydda, probably Beit Nûba; Reland, Pal. p. 661.

[5] 1 Sam. vi. 21. vii. 1, 2.

rim was near to Beth-shemesh.[1] But the expression 'neighbour city,' is too indefinite to weigh against the preceding considerations; especially as the actual distance does not exceed two or three hours.[2] It might also be asked, Why then, supposing Sôba to have been the Ramah of Samuel, the men of Beth-shemesh should not rather have caused the ark to be transferred to that place, as being nearer than Kirjath-Jearim? But at that time Samuel was still a child, and his native place was probably a small village, having neither the size nor the renown to which it afterwards attained, when it became one of the seats where Samuel judged Israel.[3]

The monks have found the Anathoth of Jeremiah at Kuryet el-'Enab. There was formerly here a convent of the Minorites with a Latin church. The latter remains entirely deserted, but not in ruins; and is one of the largest and most solidly constructed churches in Palestine.[4]

Assuming therefore the site of Kirjath-Jearim at the modern Kuryet el-'Enab, the border between Judah and Benjamin probably passed from Nephtoah

[1] Joseph. Antiq. vi. 1. 4. γείτονα πόλιν τοῖς Βηθσαμίταις.

[2] The same writer says, too, that Hebron was "not far from Jerusalem," οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων, B. J. iv. 99. Compare also Acts, ix. 38.

[3] 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17.—There can be no question, but that the ark was brought to Kirjath-Jearim itself; 1 Sam. vii. 2. 1 Chron. xiii. 5, 6. But in 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4. both the English Version and Luther place the house of Abinadab in Gibeah; and it might therefore seem as if the Gibeah (now Jeb'ah) of Judah was meant, and that Kirjath-Jearim lay near it, not far from Wady el-Musŭrr; see above, p. 327. But not to dwell upon the fact, that this would bring Kirjath-Jearim quite away from Gibeon (el-Jib), and far from any road leading from Jerusalem to Nicopolis, I would remark, that the Hebrew גִּבְעָה may in this passage properly be rendered 'a hill;' and is actually so rendered by the Sept. (ὁ βουνός) both here and in 1 Sam. vii. 1. In this last passage also the English Version gives it by "hill;" while Luther maintains his consistency at least, and writes Gibeah. The rendering "hill" is indeed necessary, in order to preserve the consistency of the narrative; which represents the ark as carried, not to Gibeah, but to Kirjath-Jearim.

[4] See Bonifacius, quoted by Quaresmius, tom. ii. p. 14. seq.

down the Wady el-Werd to its junction with the great Wady; then along this valley perhaps to the branch coming from Kuryet el-'Enab, and so up the latter to that place. This would give a distinct line of vallies separating the two tribes, from the Valley of Hinnom quite around to Kirjath-Jearim. From this place, the west border of Benjamin seems to have been drawn obliquely down the mountain to the Nether Beth-horon[1]; while the border of Judah turned westward apparently to the brow of the mountain, and was then drawn along or near the ridge southwards, till it descended to Beth-shemesh in the mouth of Wady es-Sŭrâr.[2] Thus originally a corner of Judah ran up for some distance on the west side of Benjamin; including apparently at first the whole breadth of the mountainous tract west of the great Wady; for Zorah (Sŭr'ah), which lay upon the high ground north of Beth-shemesh, belonged at first to the tribe of Judah; though subsequently this, and probably the adjacent mountain-tract, was assigned to the tribe of Dan.[3]— From Beth-shemesh the border of Judah passed near Timnath and Ekron to Jabneel, apparently the same with Jabneh (Yebna); thus following still the general course of the great valley to the sea.[4]

Leaving the high ground west of Wady Bittîr at 12h 20′, we began to descend very gradually towards the village el-Hûsân over a rocky tract. After fifteen minutes we were opposite the head of Wady el-Musŭrr, deep below us on the left; in which appeared a small village called Nŭhhâlîn bearing S. 5° W. From it the Wady ran W. S. W. The village Hûsân was

1 Josh. xviii. 14.
2 Josh. xv. 10.
3 Josh. xv. 33. xix. 41.
4 Josh. xv. 11.

close on our right at 12h 40′. Proceeding along the high water-shed between the Wadys Musŭrr and el-Werd, we had not far distant on the left a village called Fûkîn, which at 1h 10′ bore S. S. W. It was somewhere about this time, that we came in sight of a place with ruins on the brow of the high mountain-ridge towards the south, called Jedûr; which is doubtless the same as the Gedor of the mountains of Judah.[1] This remained in sight for the whole day. Jeb'ah likewise on its conical hill in Wady Musŭrr, was continually before our eyes. At 1h 40′ we came upon the ancient highway from Jerusalem to Askelon and Gaza, which comes down along or across Wady el-Werd from the plain of Rephaim or the tract further west. This road we should have taken from Jerusalem, had we not gone round by Beit Jâla. At the same point was a small ruin on the left called 'Adas.

Wishing to visit Beit 'Atâb, in the hope of being able to see much of the country from that lofty spot, we left the ancient road again after five minutes, and turning more to the right proceeded in that direction. As we advanced the hills became more covered and green with shrubs and bushes, chiefly the prickly oak mingled with arbutus. The country however was little cultivated, and most of the villages were deserted or in ruins. At five minutes past two, a small ruin, Ḥûbîn, was below us in a valley running to the left, bearing S. S. W. At the same time Beit 'Atâb bore N. 75° W. A ruined Khân was also visible at some distance upon the ancient road, bearing S. 65° W.

We reached Beit 'Atâb at ten minutes before 3 o'clock. It is situated on a high hill, and is seen from all parts of the country around; but although it over-

[1] Josh. xv. 58. 1 Chron. xii. 7. It is doubtful whether the narrative, 1 Chron. iv. 39. refers to the same place.

looks a great extent of the lower region towards the south and west, yet it does not afford so extensive a view of places as we had hoped to find. The country is full of sites of ruins and villages, some inhabited and some deserted, at least for portions of the year. Beit 'Atâb has several high, square, tower-like houses of two stories; the rest are small and low; but all are of stone, solidly built. In the centre is a ruined tower or castle; but so dilapidated as to be nearly lost among the houses. The place contains perhaps one hundred and fifty men, or a population of six or seven hundred souls. It is the chief town of the district 'Arkûb, belonging to the province of Jerusalem; and is the residence of the Nâzir (warden) of the district, who was now one of the former Sheikhs of the house called el-Lŭbhâm. We found several of the chief men sitting on carpets under a fig-tree in the middle of the village, smoking and holding converse with each other. The Sheikh himself soon came, a good-looking man; coffee was served for us; and he tried to persuade us to remain all night, saying the people of the village where we expected to lodge were not to be trusted; his hospitality thus leading him even to defame his neighbours. But our time was too precious to stop thus early.

The prospect from Beit 'Atâb towards the S. E. and S. presented nothing new; towards the S. W. along the ridge between the Wadys Sŭmt and Sŭrâr, the place of Beit Nettîf was pointed out, where we were to stop for the night; and in the N. W. we could see the mouth of Wady es-Sŭrâr as it issued from the mountains and turned across the plain beyond. It was here a fine deep valley, with a ruin in it called 'Ain Shems, which we afterwards visited and identified with Beth-shemesh; while on the high northern hill was seen the site of Sŭr'ah, in which we could not

but recognise the ancient Zorah, the birth-place of Samson.[1]

We left Beit 'Atâb at 3¼ o'clock, notwithstanding the somewhat importunate invitations of the Sheikh; who even took hold of us in order to detain us. Descending in the direction of the Khân, we crossed two small Wadys running towards the Sŭrâr. In the first, lower down on the right, the guide spoke of a very large cavern with a fountain in it, capable of containing hundreds of people; it is called et-Tuweimeh. The second Wady is called er-Rûmâny; in it at 4 o'clock, we came to a village called 'Allâr es-Sifla (the lower), to distinguish it from another, 'Allâr el-Fôka (the upper), on higher ground a little further to the left. Here was a ruined church, large and solidly built, and apparently very ancient. A few rods on the left, higher up the valley, is a fine fountain, which waters a tract of gardens and fruit-trees along the bottom. Here were also many olive-trees; which indeed are very abundant throughout all this region.

Ascending the hill we came out again upon the ancient road at 4¼ o'clock, at the Khân already mentioned. It is a ruin; and around it are the ruins of a small village.[2] We stopped here five minutes, and then descended for a time along a Wady, called Wady el-Khân, which runs into the Musŭrr. The ancient road, still called the Sultâna or royal road, apparently follows down this Wady to the Musŭrr, and there divides; one branch passing on direct towards Gaza, and another keeping along the Musŭrr and Sŭmt in

[1] Judg. xiii. 2. First given to Judah, but afterwards assigned to Dan, Josh. xv. 33. xix. 41. See above, p. 337. Eusebius and Jerome place it at ten miles from Eleutheropolis towards Nicopolis; Onom. art. *Saara*.—The bearings of various places from Beit 'Atâb were: Ruined Khân S. 17° W. Beit Nettif S. 60° W. 'Ain Shems N. 65° W. Sŭr'ah N. 56° W. Deir el-Hawa N. 30° W. Sŭnâsîn S. 13° E. Jedûr S. 11° E.

[2] From the Khân, Beit 'Atâb bore N. 17° E. 'Allâr es-Sifla N. 30° E. 'Allâr el Fôka N. 50° E. Beit Nettif S. 85° W.

the direction of Askelon. This latter we afterwards followed for a time; and found wells upon it at intervals. We now turned more to the right, keeping upon the ridge between the Sŭmt and Sŭrâr; and at 5 o'clock had an extensive view of both these vallies, spreading out into fine fertile plains, full of fields of grain. The ridge now became higher towards the west; and we continued to ascend gradually, until at 5^h 50′ we reached the village of Beit Nettîf, situated upon its highest part.

Beit Nettîf, lying thus upon the high ridge between the two great Wadys, enjoys a wide view over the broad western plain and the Mediterranean beyond. A tract of lower hills, an hour or more in breadth, lies between it and the plain. On the north, the Sŭrâr was visible; on the south, the Sŭmt was full of fields of grain now ripening for the harvest; and beyond it and more towards the left extended for a great distance the lower region, which we had first seen from above the head of Wady Musŭrr. This may be called the hill-country, in distinction from the higher mountains on the east. It is the middle region between the mountains and the plain, stretching as we have seen far to the north and south, except where interrupted north of the mouth of Wady es-Sŭrâr. This region is for the most part a beautiful open country, consisting of low hills usually rocky, separated by broad arable vallies mostly sown with grain, as are also many of the swelling hills. The whole tract is full of villages and deserted sites and ruins; and many olive-groves appear around the former. To this hill-country belong also, strictly, both the ridge on which Beit Nettîf stands and that adjacent to Wady es-Sŭrâr on the north; although, as being higher and directly connected with the mountains further back, they appear like promontories, jutting out through the range of hills nearly or quite to the plain.

Indeed, in the tract through which we had descended to-day, between the two great Wadys, the usual steep descent of the mountain towards the west is interrupted; and we now found ourselves in the midst of the lower hill-country, without having made any long or steep descent, such as occurred to us in other parts of the mountains, both towards the north and south.

The climate in this region was more advanced than at Jerusalem; though less so than in the western plain. The grass was chiefly dried up; and the peasants were in the midst of their barley harvest. The wheat was still partially green, and would not be ripe for harvest until about two weeks later. We encamped on a level plat on the east of the village, near by the threshing-floors of barley.

The inhabitants of Beit Nettîf received us with kindness; several of the chief men came around us, and answered our inquiries with readiness and intelligence. We found the view from this high spot to embrace a larger number of villages and sites, than almost any other we visited. We took here quite a number of bearings, given in the note; the places being all pointed out and named by one of the chief men.[1]

In respect to several of the places thus pointed out, it is to be remarked, that Jennâbeh and Shuweikeh lie upon the hills on the south side of Wady es-Sŭmt; the latter about one hour distant from Beit Nettîf. Not far from Beit Ûla, near the foot of the mountains, we were told also of a place called Nŭsîb, not here

[1] Bearings from Beit Nettîf, beginning in the west and proceeding towards the left: Jennâbeh S. 70° W. Derûsieh S. 62° W. Shuweikeh S. 48° W. Beit Fŭsl S. 15° W. Jurfa S. 5° E. Beit-Ûla S. 10 E. Khârâs S. 14° E. Jimrîn S. 19° E. Ghŭrâbeh S. 31° E. Um er-Rûs S. 53° E. Jedûr S. 50° E. Jeb'ah S. 65° E. Burj Keis E. Ahbek N. 70° E. Beit 'Atâb N. 60° E. Jerâsh N. 44° E. Deir el-Hawa N. 37° E. Um Eshteiyeh N. 35° E. Zânû'a N. 12° E. Sŭr'ah N. 4° W. 'Ain Shems N. 12° W. Neby Bûlus N. 34° W. el-Kheishûm N. 44° W. Yarmûk N. 54° W. Tell Zakarîya about N. 78° W.

visible. Zânû'a lies on the low slope of a hill not far east of 'Ain Shems. The Wely Neby Bûlus (Paulus) is on a lower hill near the plain, half an hour distant; and Yarmûk among the hills further south at about the same distance. Near Neby Bûlus was said to be a village called Arba'în. Still beyond, nearer the plain, and near where Wady es-Sŭrâr issues upon it, a deserted site called Tibneh was spoken of, not visible from Beit Nettîf. Near Tell Zakarîya is also a village Zakarîya, in which is a Mukâm (station, tomb), dedicated to Zechariah.

Among the places here visible, not less than ten appear to bear names which have come down from antiquity; and these are probably to be regarded as still marking the same ancient sites. Shuweikeh we have formerly found to correspond to the Hebrew Socoh; and it here, as we shall see later, answers to the Socoh of the plain of Judah.[1]—Jeb'ah and Jedûr, and also Sŭr'ah and 'Ain Shems, we have already noted as the Gibeah of Judah, Gedor, Zorah, and Beth-shemesh, of Scripture.[2] Not far from Zorah lay also Zanoah, which was re-inhabited after the exile; and to this the name and site of Zânû'a still correspond.[3]—In Tibneh we may recognise the Timnah or Timnath of Dan, the city of Samson's wife, to which he "went down" from Zorah; it lies south of west from Zorah, and not more than an hour distant from it.[4] We were

[1] Josh. xv. 35. See p. 195.

[2] See above, pp. 327. 338–340. The proofs in respect to Beth-shemesh will be given in connexion with our subsequent visit to that spot, June 8th.

[3] Josh. xv. 34. Neh. xi. 30. The name *Zanua* existed in Jerome's day, in the region of Eleutheropolis on the way to Jerusalem; Onomast. art. *Zanohua*. — Another Zanoah lay upon the mountains of Judah, Josh. xv. 56.

[4] Josh. xv. 10. xix. 43. Judg. xiv. 1. 5. 2 Chron. xxviii. 18.—Another Timnah lay in the mountains of Judah, Josh. xv. 57. Gen. xxxviii. 12–14. Still a third Timnah or Thamna lay not far from Lydda, and gave name to the "Toparchia Thamnitica" in that quarter; Joseph. B. J. iii. 3. 5. Onomast. art. *Thamna*. This was probably the Timnah fortified by Bacchides; 1 Macc. ix. 50. Joseph. Ant. xiii. 1. 3.

therefore now amid the scenes of Samson's history and exploits.—Yarmûk seems to represent the Jarmuth of Scripture, a city in the plain of Judah not far from Socoh, which so early as the days of Eusebius and Jerome was already called Jermucha, and lay ten miles from Eleutheropolis towards Jerusalem.[1]—Nŭsîb answers to the Nezib of the low country of Judah, and to the Nasib of Eusebius and Jerome, lying seven miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron.[2]—The name Zakarîyeh, as applied to a village, does not indeed belong to Scripture; yet it here probably marks the site of the Caphar Zachariæ mentioned by Sozomen in the region of Eleutheropolis.[3]

The name of Beit Nettîf itself has probably come down from the Hebrew; but I have been able to find no ancient place corresponding to it. A village Netopha is indeed mentioned in Scripture; it lay, however, somewhere between Bethlehem and Anathoth.[4] The Rabbins speak also of a valley called Beth Netopha; but the present place is on a high hill.[5]

Beit Nettîf is a small village near the western extremity of the district 'Arkûb, which constitutes the S. W. part of the province of Jerusalem. Its inhabitants are of the Keis party. Throughout the provinces of Jerusalem and Hebron, the inhabitants of the different villages are broken up into two great parties; one called Keis (Keisîyeh), and the other Yemen (Yeme-

[1] Josh. xv. 35. Neh. xi. 29. Onomast. art. *Jermus.*—The 'Jarimuth' of Jerome, which he says lay *four* miles from Eleutheropolis, is not improbably the same place; since it is also said to have been adjacent to Eshtaol, which must certainly have been much nearer to Zorah, and is placed by the same writers at ten miles from Eleutheropolis; Josh. xv. 33. xix. 41. Onomast. art. *Esthaul.*

[2] Josh. xv. 43. Onomast. art. *Necsib.*

[3] Sozom. Hist. Ecc. ix. 17. It seems also to have been visited by St. Willibald on his way from Gaza to Hebron; Hodœpor. 20. p. 377. —The Beth Zacharia of the first book of Maccabees and of Josephus seems to have lain somewhere upon the mountains of Judah. See the notices collected by Reland, pp. 660. 753.

[4] Ezra, ii. 22. Neh. vii. 26. Reland, Palæst. p. 909.

[5] Reland, Palæst. p. 650.

nîyeh); the inhabitants of the former province being mostly Yemenîyeh, and those of the latter Keisîyeh. No person of whom we inquired, could tell the origin or the nature of this distinction; except that it goes back beyond the memory of man, and does not now pertain in any degree to religious worship or doctrine. It seems indeed to consist in little more than the fact, that one is the enemy of the other. In former times blood was often shed in their quarrels; but now all are quiet. Yet this inbred enmity shows itself in mutual distrust and calumny; and it was probably on this ground, that the Sheikh of Beit 'Atâb, where the people are of the Yemen party, spoke evil of his neighbours the Keisîyeh of Beit Nettîf.

We did not hear of the prevalence of these parties in any other region at the present day; but it is singular, that the same names of hostile parties existed in Syria in the very first century of Muhammedanism. It would be interesting to inquire, whether there is perhaps any connexion between parties thus bearing the same names in the seventh and in the nineteenth centuries.[1]

We found the inhabitants of Beit Nettîf very civil and hospitable; the bad reports about them to the contrary notwithstanding. In the evening several of the chief men visited us in our tent, drank coffee, and gave us much information. On going away, one of them, whom we supposed to be a Sheikh, (though he seemed not to be the chief Sheikh,) inquired if we would have a couple of men from the village to watch

[1] Abulfeda mentions a great battle between the Yemenîyeh and Keisîyeh, A. H. 64 (A. D. 684), at Merj Râhat near Damascus; which is also celebrated by Arabian poets. Annales ad ann. 64. Tabula Syriæ, ed. Köhler, p. 17. See also Reiske's note, ibid. p. 197.—Edrîsi has likewise the name Keis, as of a tribe in the south of Palestine, p. 341. ed. Jaubert. The same parties formerly prevailed throughout Mount Lebanon, both among the Druzes and the Christian population; Niebuhr, Reisebeschr. ii. p. 447. Burckhardt, p. 159.

during the night. This we declined, as unnecessary. We heard however the voices of men all night around our tent, whom we took to be persons watching the threshing-floors of barley, and enjoying the comfort of our fire; indeed they disturbed our sleep by their talking, and especially by their loud manner of story-telling. In the morning, we learned that the Sheikh himself and two men had kept guard during the night of their own accord, and without expecting any remuneration. We afterwards found the same custom at most of the villages where we encamped. It arises, however, rather out of a regard for their own security, than from any particular respect towards the stranger. Every village is made responsible by the government for all thefts committed within its precincts; had we at any time lost any thing by theft or robbery, on complaining to the government, the village where the loss occurred would have been compelled to make it good. On this ground, therefore, and for their own sakes, they usually preferred to set a watch around our tent.

Being now off the track of all former travellers, we came in contact here with oriental hospitality in its primitive and genuine form. The villagers supplied us with every thing we desired; regarding it as an honour, and without expecting a recompense. Such is the custom of all these mountains. The Fellâhîn never sell food to one another; but every stranger is the guest of the village. Our five muleteers, honest and faithful peasants from the village of Lifta near Jerusalem, never thought of paying for their food; not for the sake of spunging, like our former Mukârîyeh, but because it was furnished to them as a matter of course. In every village there is a public room, or more than one, according to the size and ability of the place, devoted to the entertainment of strangers. Such

a room is called a Menzil or Medâfeh, a guest-room.[1] The guest lodges in the Menzil, and his food is supplied by the families, to whose circle it belongs. Sometimes they take turns in his entertainment; at other times it is left to those who offer themselves, or rather who claim the privilege. If the guest be a person of consequence, it is a matter of course that a sheep or goat, a lamb or kid, is killed for him. The Keisîyeh usually kill two; one for the guest, and another for the people of the place. When the guest is a common man, as a muleteer or the like, he is fed with rice, or whatever may be the ordinary food of the people themselves. The guest gives nothing as a remuneration when he leaves. To offer money would be taken as an insult; and to receive it would be a great disgrace. Such is universally the manner of entertainment in the villages throughout the provinces of Jerusalem and Hebron, as well as in other parts of Syria.[1]

On the more travelled roads the Franks have broken in upon this custom; and the people have learned to receive pay from foreigners. We too left our servant behind us in this village, to offer pay for the milk and other articles we had purchased, and in this instance it was received; though subsequently in several cases it was refused.

Friday, May 18th. We rose early, and found the lower hill-country enveloped in a dense fog, over which the tops of the hills were seen like islands. The mist however soon rose from the landscape, and left behind a clear atmosphere and a fine breeze the whole day. The Sheikh who was with us last evening came again early, in order to assist us in making observations; and as we left, he accompanied us, in token of respect, quite out of the village.

[1] See the references above, p 122. note [e].

The great object before us to-day, was to search for the long lost site of the ancient Eleutheropolis, an important episcopal city of the fourth and fifth centuries, assumed indeed by Eusebius and Jerome as the central point in southern Palestine, from which to fix the position of many other places. We had been making inquiries ever since we first reached Jerusalem, to ascertain whether any name or any ruins still existed in the same quarter, which might afford a clue for determining this ancient site. But no trace of any such name could be found; nor could we hear of any such ruins, excepting at a place called Beit Jibrîn. These the Arabs described in extravagant terms; and although we placed little reliance upon their accounts, yet we determined to visit the spot ourselves in the course of our journey. On arriving at Beit Nettîf, we were surprised and gratified to find ourselves surrounded by several places, whose distances from Eleutheropolis are specified by Eusebius and Jerome. Thus the distance both of Beth-shemesh and Zorah is given at ten Roman miles towards Nicopolis; that of Jarmuth (Jarmuch) also at ten miles towards Jerusalem, and that of Socoh (Shuweikeh) at nine miles towards the same city, probably on another road.[1] The first three places all lay within a circle of an hour and a half west of north from Beit Nettîf; and these distances, we thought, might perhaps serve us in some measure as a clue, in our search after the site of Eleutheropolis itself.

We left Beit Nettîf at 7 o'clock, descending immediately southwesterly into Wady es-Sŭmt, in order to strike again the Askelon branch of the ancient road, which passes down this valley. The hill-side was covered with fine groves of olive-trees, some of them planted in rows like a regular orchard; which is not

[1] Onomast. arts. *Bethsamis, Saara, Jermus, Soccho.*

usually the case. Twenty minutes brought us to the bottom; and we now followed down Wady es-Sŭmt on a course W. by N. This valley is formed by the junction of three Wadys at a point directly S. of Beit Nettîf, viz. Wady el-Musŭrr coming from the east northeast; Wady es-Sûr, a large valley from the south; and a smaller one from the N. N. E. just under Beit Nettîf. The bottom is a fine fertile plain with moderate hills on each side. It was now covered with fields of grain, except towards the western part; where are a good many of the trees here called Sŭmt, from which the valley takes its name.[1]

We crossed the water-bed of the valley, now dry, and soon came upon the ancient road, which had followed down Wady el-Musŭrr. The other or Gaza branch goes off more to the left, and crosses Wady es-Sûr near an immense Butm-tree about twenty minutes south of the junction of the vallies. On our left, in a gap of the southern hill, we now had the ruins of Shuweikeh, the Socoh of the plain of Judah, which is enumerated with Jarmuth, Adullam, and Azekah, and lay nine Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards Jerusalem.[2] It was therefore not far from Jarmuth; as it now also lies not far distant from Yarmûk, about half an hour.

Another mention of Socoh enables us to determine

[1] The form *Sŭmt* seems to be merely a corrupt pronunciation of the word *Sŭnt*, the proper Arabic and Egyptian name for the tree whose fruit is called *Karadh*. This is the *Mimosa Nilotica* of Forskål, Flora Ægypt. Arab. p. lxxvii.; and the *Acacia vera s. Arabica* of later botanists, Sprengel, Hist. Rei Herbar. i. pp. 269, 270. The Arabic name Sŭnt is variously written by the Arabs themselves. It is a thorny tree resembling the Tŭlh or Seyâl, with which it has sometimes been confounded.—This Arabic name affords an apt etymology for the Heb. שִׁטָּה, i. q. שִׁנְטָה, the *Shittim*-wood of the Bible (Ex. xxv. 5. 10. 13. &c.) which was probably the same tree; see Celsius, Hierobot. i. p. 498. seq. Gesen. Lex. Heb. art. שִׁטָּה. Rosenmüller, Bibl. Alterthumsk. iv. i. p. 277. These writers however confound the *Acacia vera* (Sŭnt) with the *Acacia gummifera* (Tŭlh).

[2] Josh. xv. 35. See pp. 344. 348.

the ancient name of this fine valley; and fixes it as the scene of a memorable event in Scripture history, the combat of David and Goliath. We are told that the Philistines "were gathered together at Socoh which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Socoh and Azekah. And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together and pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side; and there was a valley between them."[1] The mention of Azekah shows that the Socoh meant, can only be this place; and the valley between the armies, the valley of Elah, in which the combat took place, could well be no other than the present Wady es-Sŭmt. It took its name Elah of old from the Terebinth (Butm), of which the largest specimen we saw in Palestine still stands in the vicinity; just as now it takes its name es-Sŭmt (Sŭnt) from the acacias which are scattered in it.[2]

We now pursued our way down the valley, rejoicing in having thus been able to discover and visit the spot, where the youthful warrior and poet, in firm reliance on the God of Israel, made his first glorious essay as the champion of his people. At $7^{h}\cdot 40'$ we reached a well by the way-side, called Bîr Kŭlîdhia, about twenty-five or thirty feet deep, with several drinking troughs of wood. Fifteen minutes later, the ruins of Jennâbeh were upon the hill at our left. At 8 o'clock Wady es-Sŭmt turned to the right, nearly north, passing off between Tell Zakarîya on the left and the village of the same name on the right, perhaps

[1] 1 Sam. xvii. 1–3.

[2] Monastic tradition, as we have seen, assigns the name of Elah, or Turpentine (Terebinth) Valley, to the great Wady Beit Hanîna; and points out the place of David's combat as a spot north of 'Ain Kârim, not less than five or six hours distant from Socoh. See above, p. 145, note [2].

half an hour distant; and then bending again more to the left, and running to the plain.[1] A road to Ramleh here left ours, passing down the valley.

We continued on the ancient road in a direct course, and ascended the ridge towards the west, reaching the top at 8¼ o'clock. Here a narrower valley lay before us, running off in the direction W. N. W. The numerous olive-groves in this valley and upon the hills around, gave the country almost a wooded appearance. The great western plain was here visible; and in it at some distance an isolated oblong hill, or short ridge, called Tell es-Sâfieh, a very conspicuous point, on which our guide said there were ruins.[2]

We descended into the narrow valley; and after fifteen minutes passed 'Ajjûr, a small village on the left. At 8¾ o'clock, there was another ancient well in the valley, exhibiting quite a pastoral scene of patriarchal days. Many cattle, flocks of sheep and kids, and also camels, were all waiting around the well; while men and women were busily employed in drawing water for them. These people at once offered and drew water for us and our thirsty animals, without the expectation of reward. The well was square and narrow; by measuring the rope we found the depth to be sixty feet. A platform of very large stones was built up around it, and there were many drinking troughs. On the platform was fixed a small reel for the rope, which a man, seated on a level with the axis, wound up, by pulling the upper part of the reel towards him with his hands, while he at the same time pushed the lower part from him with the feet. This may not improbably have been the ancient Egyptian manner of "watering with the foot."[3]

[1] See on p. 327.

[2] The Tell bore from this spot N. 70° W. and Beit Nettîf S. 85° E.

[3] Deut. xi. 10. See more on this subject in Note II. at the end of Vol. I.

In coming thus far from Beit Nettîf, an hour and three quarters, we had on the whole made no southing whatever, but rather the contrary. Our relative position in respect to Sŭr'ah, 'Ain Shems, and Yarmûk was indeed changed; these places all now lying east of north; and being, so far as we could judge, not far from an hour to an hour and a half distant. We knew too, that we must now be at least approaching the ancient road running north from Eleutheropolis to Nicopolis; and there was therefore every reason to suppose, that we could not be more than two or at the most two and a half hours distant from the site of the former city.[1] But with all our inquiry, we could hear of no ruins of any kind, except the great ones (as they were called) at Beit Jibrîn, and the slighter ones at Tell es-Sâfieh. The latter place seemed to be much too far both towards the north and west; it being apparently about an hour and a half distant from this point. We therefore determined at any rate first to visit the ruins at Beit Jibrîn; and then to take such a course as circumstances might dictate.

After a stop of twenty minutes at the well, we now at 9h 05′ turned to the left almost at a right angle, and proceeded on a course about S. by W. We had heard all along, and especially from the Sheikh of Beit Nettîf, of a great cavern in this quarter, a convent under ground, large enough (it was said) to contain all the Pasha's troops. We had hoped it might turn out to be the cave of Makkedah, which Eusebius and Jerome place eight miles east of Eleutheropolis.[2] According to our reckoning, however, we had already travelled too far for this. At 9h 40′, a few steps beyond

[1] The reader will bear in mind, that our usual rate of travel with horses and mules, in a region like this, was very regularly three Roman miles an hour. See above, p. 147. See also Note VII. end of Vol. I.

[2] Josh. x. 10. 16. seq. xv. 41. Onomast. art. *Maceda.*

a village named Deir Dubbâ'n, we came to the cavern (so called) of which we were in search, just by our road on the left. Although not Makkedah, yet the place is certainly a great curiosity.

In the soft limestone or chalky rock, which the soil here scarcely covers, are several irregular pits, some nearly square, and all about fifteen or twenty feet deep, with perpendicular sides. Whether these pits are natural or artificial, it might at first be difficult to say. In the sides are irregular doors or low arched passages, much obstructed by rubbish, leading into large excavations in the adjacent rock in the form of tall domes or bell-shaped apartments, varying in height from twenty to thirty feet, and in diameter from ten or twelve to twenty feet or more. The top of the dome usually terminates in a small circular opening at the surface of the ground above, admitting light into the cavern. These apartments are mostly in clusters, three or four together, communicating with each other. Around one pit towards the S. W. we found sixteen such apartments thus connected, forming a sort of labyrinth. They are all hewn very regularly; but many are partly broken down; and it is not impossible, that the pits themselves may have been caused by the falling in of similar domes. Some of the apartments are ornamented, either near the bottom or high up, or both, with rows of small holes or niches, like pigeon-holes, extending quite around the wall. In the largest cluster, in the innermost dome, a rough block of the limestone has been left standing on one side, ten or twelve feet high, as if a rude pulpit or a pedestal for a statute. In the same apartment are several crosses cut in the wall; and in another of the same suite, are several very old Cufic inscriptions, one of which is quite long. These we neglected to copy, much to our subsequent regret; although from what

we elsewhere saw, they probably would throw no light upon the age and character of these singular excavations.

What then could have been the object of these caverns? Cisterns they were not; and quarries they could hardly have been; as the stone is not hard enough for building, and there is no place in the vicinity erected with such stone. Or, if quarries, why then excavate in this peculiar and difficult form, when all is so near the surface? The form in itself resembles that of the subterranean magazines around many of the villages at the present day; and naturally suggests the idea, that these caverns too may have been intended for magazines of grain. But their great number, and especially the fact of their communicating with each other, is inconsistent with such an hypothesis. I am unable to solve the mystery; and the similar excavations which we afterwards saw on our second visit to Beit Jibrîn, serve only to render the whole matter still more inexplicable. We afterwards found reason to suppose, that the ancient Gath-Rimmon was situated here or in the vicinity.[1]

We spent nearly an hour in exploring these caverns. Proceeding on our way at 10^h 35′, we came in fifteen minutes to a village on our right called Ra'na, with fields of tobacco and cotton. Our guide, by mistake, now took a road lying to the left of the right one, but parallel to it. This brought us at 11^h 25′ to Kudna, a small village, in which are the remains of a large ancient building. A portion of the western wall is standing, some one hundred and fifty feet in length, built of large stones. It is difficult to say, whether it was once a church, or perhaps a castle; it seemed older than the age of the crusades.

[1] See under May 22d; and at the end of the discussion respecting Eleutheropolis, on the subsequent day, May 23d.

Our way wound much, leading us through broad arable Wadys among the low bushy hills. We were now verging towards the border of the hilly tract and the great plain on the west, where hill and plain pass over into each other; and where the frequent and shallow Wadys, running in all directions, render it difficult to mark their general course, or to distinguish any main trunk. As we approached Beit Jibrîn, however, we travelled along a fine open valley or plain, running from S. to N. which seemed to be one of the principal Wadys. It passes onwards to the great plain, where it sweeps round on the south of Tell es-Sâfieh, forming apparently one of the main branches of Wady Simsim, which we afterwards encountered on our way to Gaza.

In this valley along the road were traces of ancient walls, once probably enclosing fields; and in several places we saw short rude pillars, which at first we thought might have been intended as Roman milestones. For this however they were too numerous; and they more probably once served as private landmarks, between the fields of different owners. We reached Beit Jibrîn at 12½ o'clock, situated among low hills at the head of this main valley, where it is formed by the junction of two or three smaller Wadys, and runs at first N. N. W. The site is so shut in by hills, that no other places are visible from it. Like most of the villages in this region, it is surrounded with olive-trees; and beneath one of these, northwest of the ruins, we spread our carpets, and after a few minutes of rest and refreshment, entered upon our examination of this interesting spot.

Here is a village with ruins, apparently of different ages, and more extensive and massive than any we saw in Palestine, except the substructions of the ancient temple at Jerusalem and the Haram at Hebron.

They consist of the remains of a fortress of immense strength, in the midst of an irregular rounded enclosure, encompassed by a very ancient and strong wall. This outer wall was built of large squared stones uncemented. It has been mostly thrown down; but on the northern side it is still several feet in height, running along the southern bank of the water-bed of the Wady which comes down from the E. N. E. In the other quarter also it is still distinctly to be traced. Along this wall on the inside, towards the west and north-west, is a row of ancient massive vaults with fine round arches, apparently of the same age as the wall itself. These are now nearly covered by the accumulated rubbish; yet some of them still serve as dwellings for the inhabitants. The northern wall of this exterior enclosure, representing the diameter from east to west, measured six hundred feet; and the other diameter cannot be much less. The character of this wall and of these vaults, leaves no doubt that they are of Roman origin.

In the midst of this area stands an irregular castle, the lower parts of which seem to be as ancient as the exterior wall; but it has obviously been built up again in more modern times. Indeed, an inscription over the gate-way shows that it was last repaired by the Turks in A. H. 958[1], (A. D. 1551,) nearly ten years after the present walls of Jerusalem were built. The northern and western sides alone are regular; the former measured one hundred and ninety-two feet, and the latter one hundred and ninety-five feet. The gate was now shut up; and the court within planted with tobacco, so far as there was room among the heaps of stones and rubbish. The walls are so far broken down, that we could clamber over them and enter without diffi-

[1] I follow here the Journal of my companion; my own pencil notes made on the spot have A. H. 948.

culty. The interior of the castle was full of arches and vaults; and the people told us of a church with pictures in the southern part, now shut up and indeed buried beneath the ruins. Several small marble columns were strewed around. The area of the enclosure, outside of the castle, is occupied partly by the modern hovels of the village; partly by patches of tobacco and vegetables; while in the northern and eastern quarters, it is confusedly covered with heaps of stones, the materials of ancient walls and structures.

The situation of this fortress was low, on a point between two Wadys, one coming from the E. N. E. and the other from the S. S. E. Back of the village the ground rises into hills, which must have overlooked the fortress. The ancient town appears to have extended for some distance along the open valley towards the N. E. In this part are still remains of the former wall and dwellings. Just by the village on the west, in the other Wady, is a large public well, around which cattle and flocks were collected for watering.

Twenty minutes from the village, in the direction S. 28° E. are seen the ruins of an ancient church, bearing the name of Santa Hanneh (St. Anne), situated on higher sloping ground near the head of the southern Wady, northeast of its water-course. In following up the Wady to this spot, we passed two other wells. One of them about half way, was quite large; flocks and herds were gathered around both; while men and women were drawing water and filling for them the many drinking troughs, presenting an animated scene of oriental pastoral life. Of the church, only the eastern end is standing, including the niche of the great altar, and that of a side chapel, built of large hewn stones of strong and beautiful masonry. The foundations remain throughout; and there are subterraneous vaults, with windows on the north side. In-

deed, the edifice stood on round arches; which with the foundations seem nearly of the same character and antiquity as the fortress itself.[1] In the Wady near by are the ruins of an ordinary village. South-west of the church, on the other side of the Wady, rises a truncated Tell of a chalky and singular appearance. We had been told of a fountain near the church, which became dry for a part of the year; but it turned out, that our informant meant only a well at some distance north-east, where men were drawing water for their flocks. This we found to be fifty-two feet deep, dug mostly in the solid rock, and apparently ancient. There is another on the slope of the hill S. W. of the church, which was now dry.[2]

In returning to the village, as we passed one of the wells where the people were watering their flocks, a man called out to us, "Do not be long," that is, in coming to take possession of the country. Here, as elsewhere, we were supposed to be in search of our hereditary estates. Such expressions we often heard; and this desire for a Frank government or Frank protection we found to be universal in Syria, among both Christians and Muhammedans; not excepting even the Bedawîn. On this ground we were everywhere well received.[3] Here at Beit Jibrîn the people were kind and communicative. The Sheikh of the village was understood to be absent, and we did not now see him.

Beit Jibrîn is a village of moderate size, the capital of a district in the province of Gaza, beginning just west of Beit Nettîf, called the district of the 'Azazeh.

[1] The only allusion I find to this church is in Gaufr. Vinisauf, Iter Hierosol. Regis Richardi, &c. v. 44. in Gale, Scriptores Historiæ Angl. tom. ii. p. 875. See further on p. 361, note [1].

[2] From the hill just E. of Santa Hanneh the following bearings were taken; Tell es-Sâfieh N. 20° W. Beit 'Atâb N. 63° E. Min'în S. 64° E. Dûra on the mountain S. 44° E.

[3] See also at Ma'în, p. 196. above.

It takes this name from an ancient family of Sheikhs, formerly hereditary lords of Beit Jibrîn, and of great power in these parts, being one of the three chief families of the Keisîyeh. Having been leaders in the rebellion of 1834, some of the family were beheaded, and the rest compelled to remove to Tell es-Sâfieh. Another family, called the house of 'Amleh, resides at Beit Ûla; and a third, the house of Ibn 'Omar, at Dûra in the mountains of Hebron. The two former families were head Sheikhs of the lower Keis (el-Keisîyeh et-Tahtà) in and near the plain.—These families of Sheikhs form a species of hereditary nobility; but they are here less ancient and less exclusive, than those of the Druzes in Mount Lebanon. There are also smaller families of less powerful Sheikhs.

Such was the result of our inquiries and observations at Beit Jibrîn on this our first visit. The question now naturally rose, Whether all this presented any ground for regarding this spot as the site of the ancient Eleutheropolis? The ruins certainly seemed to be sufficiently important to warrant such a conclusion; ruins worthy of the Roman name, and of a powerful city. Further, in travelling hither from the well where we had halted, we had by a winding road passed over the anticipated distance of two and a half hours, within which we had supposed Eleuthcropolis must lie. Still, this distance might apply just as well to some place lying more to the northwest; and I had in some way received the groundless impression, that the city in question lay actually in the plain itself, and not among the hills. We concluded therefore to make still further examination; and as, notwithstanding all our inquiries, we could hear of no spot, where there could be the slightest hope of finding the object of our search, unless perhaps at Tell es-Sâfieh, we determined to bend our steps that way.—

We felt ourselves constrained to push our researches further, because the site of Eleutheropolis could not be fixed at this place, without making it identical with another ancient city, whose name has been preserved; an identity of which, as yet, no one had ever dreamed.

Indeed, whatever might be the fact in regard to Eleutheropolis, there could be no doubt upon our minds, that in Beit Jibrîn was to be recognised the Betogabra of Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables, and the Beigeberin (an episcopal city) of the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* of the subsequent centuries.[1] This place is marked in the said Tables at sixteen Roman miles from Askelon, a distance considerably too small; since from the construction of our maps it appears, that the actual distance cannot be less than about twenty geogr. miles.[2] An early legend of the life of Ananias names it "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis;" which, however the phrase may be regarded, implies at least that these places were not far remote from each other.[3] Such is the amount of all the notices respecting the ancient city under this name, down to the time of the crusades.

In the twelfth century, the crusaders found on this spot an ancient site in ruins, called by the Arabs 'Bethgebrim[4];' here they built up again a fortress upon the former foundations, to guard against the incursions

[1] Ptolemy, Βαιτογάβρα. Tab. Peut. *Betogabri*. See Reland, Palæst. pp. 461. 421. 222. 627.—Josephus mentions a large village Βήταρις (Betaris) in this region, which Rufinus reads Βήγαβρις (Begabris) in his copy. Reland suggests that this may have been the same place, which is not improbable; p. 626. Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 1.

[2] It would seem probable that an x may have been dropped in the Peutinger Tables; the original reading having been perhaps xxvi Roman miles.

[3] Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. pp. 613, 614.

[4] "Urbem veterem et dirutam .... Arabice *Bethgebrim*;" Will. Tyr. xiv. 22. This writer gives its distance from Askelon at twelve miles; meaning apparently Italian miles of 60 to the degree; which falls short even of the sixteen Roman miles of the Peutinger Tables. See note [2], above.

of the Muhammedans from Askelon. This took place about A. D. 1134, under king Fulco. William of Tyre describes the fortress as having impregnable walls, with a mound and bastions and other advanced works. The defence of this position was intrusted to the Knights Hospitalers. The Arabic name became corrupted among the crusaders into "Gibelin;" and they and the Christians writers of that age, held the place to be the ancient Beersheba.[1] It is not unfrequently mentioned by Arabian authors; who write the name almost indiscriminately Beit Jibrîn and Beit Jibrîl, the latter signifying the 'House of Gabriel[2];' and they speak of it also as including the surrounding district. Benjamin of Tudela visited the spot, and found here three Jews.[3] After the decisive battle of Hattîn and the capture of Askelon by Saladin, in A. D. 1187, the fortress of Beit Jibrîn also fell into his power[4]; but it seems to have reverted into the hands of the Franks, perhaps with Askelon, and is mentioned in A. D. 1192, as a station in the march of one part of king Richard's army from the south towards Beit Nûba.[5] In A.D. 1244, it was captured by the troops of Bibars.[6] I find no further notice of Beit Jibrîn or its fortress, except in Marinus Sanutus, who merely copies William of Tyre[7]; but

[1] Will. Tyr. xiv. 22. Jac. de Vitr. 36. 41. pp. 1070, 1071. Wilken, Gesch. der Kreuzz. ii. pp. 595. 615. Brocardus, c. x. p. 186. Marin. Sanut. pp. 163. 165. Adrichomius, p. 133. Yet before the days of the latter writer, the true Beersheba had been visited by several travellers; see above, Vol. I. p. 303. G. Vinisauf seems to allude to the church of Santa Hanneh, when he speaks of Ybelin (meaning Gibelin) as being near the valley in which St. Anne was born; see in Gale's Scriptores Historiæ Anglic. tom. ii. p. 395.

[2] Edrîsi, par Jaubert, p. 360. Ibn el-Wardi, in Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 170. See especially Schultens' Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Beit Sjebrinum*.—Still, as the interchange of *l* and *n* is not unfrequent in Arabic, it may after all be a question, whether *Jibrîn* may not be the ancient Hebrew form, meaning perhaps "House of Men." The Greek form Βαιτογάβρα accords better with this supposition.

[3] Benj. de Tudel. par Barat. p. 101.

[4] Bohaed. Vit. Sal. p. 72.

[5] Ibid. p. 229. Wilken, ibid. iv. p. 508.

[6] Makrizi, in Wilken Comment. de Bell. Cruc. p. 204.

[7] De Secr. Fidel. Cruc. p. 165.

the inscription already mentioned shows that it continued to be a place of strength even under the later Turkish dominion; being kept up perhaps in order to hold in check the turbulent spirits of the ancient Arab families of Sheikhs, the former lords of Beit Jibrîn and the adjacent territory. Since the times of the crusades, I am not aware that this place has been visited by any Frank traveller; unless perhaps by Breydenbach and Fabri in A. D. 1483, on their way from Hebron to Gaza; who however make no mention of Beit Jibrîn.[1]

We now left Beit Jibrîn at 2¾ o'clock, for Tell es-Sâfieh. A man from Ramleh, returning from Hebron, fell into our train, and continued with us; although Tell es-Sâfieh was out of his direct course. The way led at first down the same broad valley by which we had approached, and then more to the left. In half an hour, after crossing obliquely the low western slope, we emerged from the hills upon the wide rolling plain which extends to the sea; it is here not very fertile nor very well cultivated; though as we advanced, we found much of it covered with a crop of wheat. At 4h 10′ we passed the large village of Dhikrîn, to which name our guide added the epithet el-Bŭradân. It stands on the left slope of a Wady, which I suppose to be that coming down from Beit Jibrîn, and here sweeping round towards the Wady Simsim in the plain. Near the village are excavations, said to be like those we had seen at Deir Dubbân; but being in a low situation, the water of a small Wady is in winter turned into them, and they are used as cisterns.

This village of Dhikrîn is mentioned by Tucher of

[1] Volney heard the name, as of an inhabited village in this quarter; vol. ii. p. 310. Poujoulat professes to have found the fortress (not the name) four hours S. E. of Askelon on his road from Gaza to Yâfa! Correspondence d'Orient, v. p. 448.

Nürnberg in A. D. 1479. He travelled from Bethlehem to Gaza, passing by St. George and lodging at Thikṛin (Dhikrîn), where he also speaks of cisterns.[1] His route down the mountains must therefore have been in general the same with ours.

We reached Tell es-Sâfieh at a quarter past 5 o'clock. It is an isolated oblong hill or ridge, lying from N. to S. in the plain; the highest part being towards the south. The village lies near the middle; lower down. We pitched our tent just above the village, and immediately repaired to the summit of the hill, in search of the ruins of which we had been told. They proved to be merely the indistinct foundations apparently of a castle on the highest part, constructed of large hewn stones. On the western side of the hill, are also the remains of a terrace built of like materials. There is no fountain here nor in the vicinity; but in the western plain, near the foot of the hill, is a well of living water, which was said to overflow during a part of the year. Upon the hill is seen a solitary palm-tree.—Sâfieh we were told is the name of a ruin in the plain towards the N. E. and this is its Tell or hill.

The hill itself is not high; but rises sufficiently above the surrounding country to be seen at the distance of some hours in every direction, especially towards the north and west. Here it overlooks the plain, which extends north to Ramleh and west to Esdûd (Ashdod). The tower of Ramleh was distinctly visible; the distance was said to be five hours. Nearer the mountain, in the north-east, we could also distinguish 'Amwâs upon a conical hill, the ancient city Emmaus or Nicopolis.[2] A large number of villages and sites were visible on every side, with many of

[1] Reissb. des h. Landes, p. 677.

[2] Not to be confounded with the village Emmaus mentioned Luke, xxiv. 13; though this is very often done. See Reland, Palæst. p. 758.

which we had already become acquainted; though not a few were also new. They are recorded in the note below.[1]

The people of the village flocked around us with kindness; and at evening our tent, as usual, was filled with visitors, conversing and drinking coffee. The Sheikh, Muhammed Sellim, was a young fine-looking man, of prepossessing manners and quite intelligent. He belonged to the family of the 'Azazeh, the hereditary lords of Beit Jibrîn; but they having taken part in the rebellion of 1834, his uncle and brother were beheaded, and the rest of the family ordered to take up their residence in this place.

We here came again in contact with the genuine hospitality of the east. The Sheikh sent two men to keep watch by our tent all night; and when we left in the morning, the people refused to receive pay for the articles which they had furnished to us; saying it would be a disgrace to do so, and the Sheikh would be angry and beat them if they did. They were simple-hearted and kind; and the refusal to take money, seemed to be the unaffected and conscientious observance of ancient national custom.

[1] We took at Tell es-Sâfieh the following bearings, beginning at the south and proceeding towards the left: Dhikrîn S. 10° E. Santa Hanneh S. 20° E. Kudna S. 34° E. Deir Dubbân S. 50° E. 'Ajjûr S. 72° E. Jeb'ah S. 77° E. Tell Zakarîya S. 85° E. Kefr Zakarîya S. 87° E. Beit 'Atâb N. 87° E. Kesla N. 84° E. el-Kheishûm N. 80° E. Deir el-Hawa N. 80° E. el-Bureij N. 70° E. Sŭr'ah N. 67° E. Râfât N. 64° E. el-Mughŭllis N. 55° E. 'Amwâs N. 49° E. er-Ramleh N. 12° E. el-Kŭstîneh N. 36° W. el-Mesmîyeh N. 45° W. Ustâs N. 50° W. Tell et-Turmus N. 55° W. Berkûsieh S. 53° W.— Among these places, *Kesla* might suggest the *Chesalon* of Josh. xv. 10; and we heard too of a *Sa'irah* in the same neighbourhood, which might suggest the Mount *Seir* mentioned in the same passage. But Chesalon and Seir appear to have lain north of Beth-shemesh and the Wady Sŭrâr; while Kesla and Sa'îrah are on the south of that valley. See above, p. 337. Compare the *Chaslon* of the Onomasticon. — El-Mesmîyeh seems to be the *Mesmié* mentioned by Volney between Ramleh and Gaza, four leagues from the former; vol. ii. p. 310. In that case, the Tell of which the same writer speaks, a league east of Mesmîyeh, was probably Tell et-Turmus; but he confounds it in part with Tell el-Hasy; see under May 22.

It had needed but a short survey of this spot to convince us that the site of Eleutheropolis never could have been at Tell es-Sâfieh. One of the places, Zorah, said to be ten Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Nicopolis, lay in sight before us E. N. E. upon the hills, about three hours distant; while Nicopolis itself was distinctly visible in the N. E. not more than an hour or two more remote. It was evident that Zorah and Beth-shemesh could never have been said to lie near the road from Tell es-Sâfieh to 'Amwâs, and especially not at the distance of ten miles on that road, without attributing to Eusebius and Jerome a greater absurdity than any of which they have yet been accused. Indeed Tell es-Sâfieh lies obviously quite too far westward within the plain, to accord with any of the ancient accounts respecting Eleutheropolis. Besides, there was nothing here to mark the site of an ancient place; which we know to have been a large and flourishing city so late as the sixth century.

I know of nothing to connect Tell es-Sâfieh with the history of the Bible or of the early centuries; unless perhaps the name may have some relation to that of the valley of Zephathah near Maresha, where king Asa defeated the hosts of Zerah the Ethiopian.[1] Maresha, as we know, was near Eleutheropolis[2]; and the valley, as well as the Tell, might well take its name from an adjacent city. It may perhaps have been the broad Wady coming down from Beit Jibrîn towards Tell es-Sâfieh.

In the middle ages this Tell became somewhat celebrated; although, as we had with us no history of the crusades, we were not aware of the fact at the time. It appears that about A. D. 1138, several years after

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 10.
[2] Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Masera*, Μαρησά. Reland, Pal. p. 888.

the rebuilding of the ancient fortress at Beit Jibrîn, the crusaders under king Fulco erected upon Tell es-Sâfieh, described as eight Italian miles from Askelon, another castle as a further check upon the excursions of the Muhammedans from that city.[1] It was built of hewn stones with four towers; and became known among the Franks by the name of Blanchegarde.[2] It afterwards came into the possession of Saladin, and was dismantled by him in A. D. 1191[3]; but appears to have been built up again by king Richard of England the very next year.[4]

Some of Richard's romantic adventures are related as occurring in the vicinity of this castle. Once, riding out in this quarter from his camp near Ramleh in search of adventures, he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of a chosen band of Turkish horsemen, whom Saladin had despatched from Askelon to Blanchegarde. At another time, on a similar excursion hither from Askelon, he had an affray with a party of Saracens, of whom he slew three and took five prisoners.[5] Afterwards, this spot is mentioned by Bohaeddin in connection with the march of Richard's army to Beit Nûba; and also as visited by Saladin, who then proceeded from Tell es-Sâfieh to the place called es-Sâfieh, of which we also heard.[6] From that

[1] "Ab Ascalona octo distans miliaribus . . . nomen Arabice *Tell-esaphi*, quod apud nos interpretatur *Mons* sive *Collis clarus*;" Will. Tyr. xv. 25. See Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. ii. pp. 615, 616. But the true distance from Askelon is not much less than eighteen geographical miles; and the reading in William of Tyre ought probably to be *octodecem* instead of *octo*.

[2] Will. Tyr. xv. 25. Jac. de Vitr. 41. p. 1071. The Latin name of the castle was 'Alba Specula,' also 'Alba Custodia,' ibid. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. iv. p. 426. So too 'Candida Custodia,' G. Vinisauf, v. 48. p. 398.

[3] Gaufr. Vinisauf, Iter Hierosol. Richardi Regis, in Gale, Scriptores Hist. Anglic. tom. ii. lib. iv. 23. p. 362. Wilken, l. c. p. 426.

[4] Roger de Hov. Annales Anglic. in Saville, Scriptor. Rer. Angl. fol. 407. B. Wilken, l. c. p. 477.

[5] Gaufr. Vin. l. c. iv. 32. p. 369. v. 29—33. pp. 388–390. Wilken, l. c. pp. 457. 492.

[6] Bohaeddin Vit. Salad. pp. 229. 231. Also G. Vinisauf, l. c. v. 48.

time until the present day, although Blanchegarde maintains its place in the histories of the crusades, yet Tell es-Sâfieh appears to have been lost sight of by all writers and travellers.[1]

Saturday, May 19th. It had been our wish and plan, if possible, to proceed to Gaza by way of Ashdod and Askelon. Finding however that this route would require another day, which we could not well spare, and knowing too that the two latter places had been often visited, we gave up reluctantly this part of our plan, and took the direct road to Gaza. Our search too after Eleutheropolis had thus far produced no decisive nor satisfactory results; and we determined, after visiting Gaza, to return again to the region of Beit Jibrîn on our way to Hebron.

Leaving Tell es-Sâfieh at 5½ o'clock, we descended the western side of the hill into the wide plain. The morning was bright and balmy; and the scene was enlivened by large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, going forth in various directions to pasture. Our road lay obliquely across the plain on a general course W. S. W. ½ S. This is a beautiful and fertile tract of country; for a time almost perfectly level; and after a short distance almost without a stone. The soil is a light brown loam. The barley-harvest was now mostly over. The peasants were in full activity in the beginnig of the wheat harvest; and the fields full of reapers, and the threshing-floors around the villages, presented a lively scene. A large part of the plain, so far as it was tilled, was covered with grain already ripe. Some tracts were sown with Dhurah (millet), now a few weeks above the ground, and yielding a delightful

p. 398.—See above, p. 363. Schultens, Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Tell-Assaphia.*

[1] Poujoulat supposes he found Blanchegarde (not Tell es-Sâfieh) at the village of Yasûr, not far from the sand-hills of Askelon, on one of the roads from Gaza to Yâfa; Correspondence d'Orient, v. p. 417.

refreshmment to the eye by its beautiful green. We saw one field of cotton. The crops were good; yet hardly one half of the plain was under cultivation.

At 6h 5′ we passed Ba'lîn, a small village on the left a short distance from the road; and near by it was Berkûsieh, somewhat larger. At 6h 50′ we came to Sŭmmeil, a considerable village on an elevation in the plain.[1] Here is a large public well at the foot of the hillock; it measured one hundred and ten feet deep to the surface of the water, and eleven feet in diameter; the walls being circular and composed of hewn stones of good masonry. Women were drawing water from the well by a rope passing over a pulley, which they hauled up by running off with it a great distance into the field, in the manner of sailors. In the village itself is a portion of an ancient wall, apparently once belonging to a castle, built of large squared stones uncemented, resembling in a degree the oldest foundations at Beit Jibrîn. At the bottom there is sloping work; and along one side is a long round arch or vault, which however is probably modern. From here Esdûd (Ashdod) was pointed out to us, upon a low round eminence, with trees thick around it like a wood, probably olives. The distance was said to be three hours.[2] Askelon was said also to be only three hours distant; but was probably not less than four or five; the Arabs in general specifying distances by time very loosely.[3]

[1] In our Arabic List of the province of Gaza, this place is called Sŭmmeil el-Khŭlîl, i. e. of Hebron. This accords with the account of Tucher in A. D. 1479, who says it was a dependency of the mosk in Hebron. He however misunderstood the name, and calls it the castle of St. Samuel. See more in Note XXIX. end of the volume.

[2] Esdûd was visited by Irby and Mangles in Oct. 1818; and by Lord Belmore and his party in April 1819. The former describe here a large Khân (pp. 179–182); and Richardson, who was with Lord Belmore, speaks of the site of the town as on the summit of a grassy hill; Travels, ii. p. 206. There are said to be no ruins; and the place seems now to be only an ordinary Muslim village. See also Von Troilo in 1666; p. 349.

[3] Lord Belmore and his party visited 'Askûlân in April 1818;

While we were taking the bearings given in the note below[1], the men of the village flocked around us, and seemed much interested in our proceedings. This indeed was the case in most of the villages. The people in general in this part of the country were ready to give us information, so far as they could; and seemed not to distrust us. Here too we found the same general impression, that our object was to collect information and survey the country, preparatory to the arrival of the Franks; and here too we were addressed in the usual phrase: "Do not be long." Indeed the inhabitants everywhere appeared, for the most part, to desire that the Franks should send a force among them. They were formerly tired of the Turks; they were now still more heartily tired of the Egyptians; and were ready to welcome any Frank nation which should come, not to subdue, (for that would not be necessary,) but to take possession of the land.

After a delay of three quarters of an hour we left Sŭmmeil at 7^h 35′. In about half an hour we passed Juseir on the left, the first village we had yet seen in Palestine not built of stone. The materials of the

Richardson's Travels, ii. pp. 202–204. Other travellers have since taken it in their way. The situation is described as strong; the thick walls, flanked with towers, were built on the top of a ridge of rock, that encircles the town and terminates at each end in the sea. The ground within sinks in the manner of an amphitheatre. The distance from Gaza is about five hours. My companion, Mr. Smith, passed by way of 'Askŭlân in Feb. 1827, and describes it as one of the most mournful scenes of utter desolation he had ever beheld. In A. D. 1666, Von Troilo found it partially inhabited; p. 350.—Askelon bears a conspicuous part in the history of the crusades. After being several times dismantled and re-fortified in the times of Saladin and Richard, its fortifications were at length utterly destroyed by Sultan Bibars in A. D. 1270, and its port filled up with stones thrown into the sea, for fear of further attempts on the part of the crusaders. See Ibn Ferath in Reinaud's Extraits, &c. p. 525. Wilk. Gesch. der Kr. vii. p. 586.

[1] At Sŭmmeil we obtained the following bearings: Tell es-Sâfieh, N. 50° E. Berkûsieh, N. 70° E. Tell et-Turmus, N. 7° W. Esdûd, N. 40° W. (?) Beit Dârâs, N. 53° W. (?) Beit 'Affa, N. 85° W. Hatta, S. 84° W. Juseir, S. 80° W. Kŭrâtiyeh, S. 80° W. el-Fâlûjy, S. 51° W. 'Arâk el-Menshîyeh, S.

houses are here unburnt bricks; and such continued to be the case, all the way to Gaza, and is so elsewhere throughout the plain. The bricks are formed from the common loam of the soil, with straw intermixed to bind the mass together, as in Egypt; they are of very large size, and are merely dried in the sun. Many of them, newly made, were laid in rows along the ground, in the process of drying. At 8h 35′ the similar village of Hatta was on our right. In Kŭrâtîyeh, a village to which we came at 8h 55′, is a ruined tower of modern date, built partly of similar bricks; and we saw also a few ancient columns lying about. Here quite a number of places were in sight.[1]

The country now became more undulating; low ridges or swells ran from S. to N. but the general character of the soil did not change. Our general course was S. W. by W. The white sand-hills which here skirt the shore of the Mediterranean began soon to appear. At 10¼ o'clock, upon one of the said swells, Ṭell es-Sâfieh bore N. 61° E. while the village of Bureir lay before us S. 48° W. We reached the latter place at 11h 10′; and rested for more than an hour and a half under the shade of a spreading tree.

This is a flourishing village, forming a sort of central point in the plain. There is a large public well, at which camels were drawing water by means of a

[1] These places bore from Kŭrâtîyeh as follows: Tell es-Sâfieh, N. 65° E. el-Mesmîyeh, N. 7° W. Yâsûr, N. 12° W. el-Kustîneh, N. 16° W. es-Sawâfîr, N. 32° W. 'Eddis, N. 38° W. el-Fâlûjy, S. 38° E.—Eusebius and Jerome mention a Hazor (Ἀσώρ Asor) belonging to Judah in the borders of Askelon towards the east; Onomast. art. *Asor*. This accords well with the position of Yâsûr as above; but if it be the same, we have here the very unusual change from the Hebrew guttural Heth (ח) to the Arabic Ye with a long vowel. The Onomast. incorrectly takes this village for one of the Hazors of Josh. xv. 25. in the south of Judah.—Sawâfîr seems to be a plural form for the Saphir (Heb. שָׁפִיר) of Mic. i. 11. which Eusebius and Jerome place between Eleutheropolis and Askelon; Onomast. art. *Saphir*. Comp. Gesenius Lex. Heb. art. שָׁפִיר. There are three villages of this name near each other.

Sâkieh, or water-wheel with jars, as in Egypt[1]; the first machinery we had yet seen in Palestine. Flocks and herds were collected around the well; the troughs for which were partly laid up in front with ancient marble columns. Here were also several palm-trees; and the whole scene was animated and pleasing.

Setting off from Bureir at three quarters past noon, we at first took a wrong road, which led us too far south towards the village of Hûj. The direct road keeps along on the north side of the broad Wady Simsim already mentioned, near which Bureir lies, on a general course W. by S. passing the village of Simsim on the northern edge of the Wady, about three quarters of an hour from Bureir. We crossed this Wady on the wrong road; and were then compelled to pick our way through the fields to the Gaza road, leaving the village of Simsim at a distance on the right. At 2h 10′, we passed the little village Nijid on the south of the Wady; here the peasants were winnowing barley by throwing it up into the air with a wooden fork. Ten minutes later (at 2h 20′), we came again into the Gaza road, having lost half an hour by our detour. This road had here crossed the broad Wady very obliquely, and now left it to pass over low swelling hills. The valley bends more to the right; and passing by Deir Esneid, empties into the sea at 'Askŭlân. At 2h 35′, the village of Dimreh was on our right near the bend of the valley.

Our course still continued W. by S. At 3h 20′ we came to the village Beit Hŭnûn on our right in a low rich tract of the plain. Here as elsewhere all were busy with the wheat harvest; the reapers were in the fields; donkies and camels were moving homewards with their high loads of sheaves; while on the threshing-

[1] See Note II. at the end of Vol. I.

floors near the village I counted not less than thirty gangs of cattle, occupied in treading out the grain, with many camels and donkies standing idle around. The whole village seemed at work, and presented a busy scene.

Not far beyond this village, we came upon the immense olive-groves which stretch far to the north of Gaza. At 4 o'clock we fell into the Yâfa road, at the line of hills which bounds the plain on the west, towards the coast. The road here crosses these hills at a low spot or gap, and continues along their western side, on a course S. W. having on the right a tract of drifts and hills of white sand, extending to the sea, here an hour distant. These sands seem only to need water in order to become fertile; even now they are studded with trees and bushes like hedges; apparently from the effect of the rains alone. For the whole distance from the gap of the hills to Gaza, the road passes through a vast grove of olive-trees, not only very numerous, but also large and productive. Many of them are upon the sands. It is said to be the largest olive-grove in Palestine. We saw but a single one more extensive, and that was near Beirût. At 4¾ o'clock we pitched our tent among these trees, ten minutes from the entrance of Gaza, just at the edge of the gardens on the north of the city.

We found a quarantine guard stationed near by, to prevent the approach of persons coming from Yâfa, where the plague was now raging. As however we came from Jerusalem, where its prevalence was less known, no objection was made to our passing. Our servants said to them: "Suppose a party from Yâfa tell you they come from Jerusalem; what then?" The reply was: "That is no concern of ours."

The next day, being Sunday, we remained encamped; and enjoyed a quiet day of rest.

Monday, May 21st. Our Jerusalem friend, Abu Selâmeh, had furnished us with a letter to an Arab Greek Christian in Gaza, named Suleimân el-Hashwy, a merchant who acts in some sort as a Frank agent. We called upon him this morning, and found him in his shop, one of the open stalls of the Bazar; where, like his neighbours, he was sitting cross-legged upon the sort of low counter in front. He received us with great kindness; ordered coffee; and introduced us to his neighbours, many of whom soon gathered around. One of these was a very intelligent Mussulman, who seemed quite interested in seeing strangers from the new world, and made many inquiries respecting America.

After the conversation had been carried on for some time, our new Mussulman friend, to our great surprise, proposed to take us into the neighbouring mosk, the oldest and most important one of the city, anciently a Christian church. Tradition, as a matter of course, ascribes it to Helena, and regards it as having been dedicated to St. John the Baptist.[1] We were not slow to accept the invitation, and went with him; pulling off our shoes at the door, and walking in our stockings over the mats with which the stone floor is covered. The three parallel aisles of the ancient church remain, as well as the columns with Corinthian capitals which divide them. The middle one is higher than the other two, and has a second row of columns on each side above. The length of the building is about one hundred and ten feet; not including the recess of the altar on the south, which is about twenty feet more. On the west side the Muslims have added another low aisle in an inferior style of architecture.

[1] It possibly dates from the beginning of the fifth century, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see; p. 381.

We returned to the shop of Suleimân, who now took charge of my letters, in order to forward them by the Pasha's post to Cairo and Alexandria. This he punctually accomplished. We thought it best also to take here a *Tezkirah* (passport) for Hebron, in order to be able to show that we had come from Gaza and not from Jerusalem, in case of any quarantine regulations at Hebron against the latter city. The governor of Gaza, Sheikh Sa'îd, we learned, was absent at or near Hebron, (where we afterwards met him,) collecting arms from the peasantry; who, although once disarmed, had been fighting among themselves. We therefore waited upon his secretary, accompanied by a man sent by Suleimân; and found him in a dirty room with bare stone-walls, surrounded by six writers. He was an elderly man with a good face and bright eye. On learning that we likewise thought of visiting Wady Mûsa, he asked if we would have the Tezkirah made out for that place also? Not supposing that this could be of the slightest importance, we said that one for Hebron would be sufficient; and he ordered it to be made out accordingly. We afterwards had occasion to regret our decision, or rather the want of information which led to it; for we found at a later period, that the region of Wady Mûsa was under the immediate jurisdiction of Sheikh Sa'îd; and his Tezkirah would have commanded a more implicit obedience from the Arabs of that quarter, than the Firmân of Muhammed Aly himself.

While the Tezkirah was making out, we walked around the city, and spent in all several hours in examining its various parts. The results of our observation and inquiries may be summarily given as follows.

Gaza, in Arabic Ghŭzzeh, is situated on a low round hill of considerable extent, not elevated more

than fifty or sixty feet above the plain around. This hill may be regarded as the nucleus of the city; although only the southern half is now covered with houses. Most of these are of stone, and especially all such as belong to the government. But the greater part of the modern city has sprung up on the plain below, a sort of suburbs, stretching far out on the eastern and northern sides. These suburbs appear to be thickly populated; the houses are numerous and wholly built of mud or unburnt bricks, like the villages we had passed on the great plain.[1]

The ancient city of Gaza, renowned as 'the strong,' lay obviously chiefly on the hill. The present town has no gates, being like an open village; yet the places of the former ones remain, and are pointed out around the hill. One of these, at the foot of the slope on the S. E. is shown as the gate whose doors and bars were carried off by Samson; and just by it is a Mukâm in his honour, which the Muslims pretend is also his tomb. Towards the south is another spot called Bâb ed-Dârôn, a name probably derived from the fortress Dârôn celebrated in the time of the crusades.[2]

[1] So far as I know, the geographical position of Gaza has never been determined by astronomical observation; nor indeed in any way, except by Jacotin, during the march of the French army in 1799. The relative position of Gaza, in respect to Yâfa, on his map, is the best, and indeed the only, approximation which we have. The position of Yâfa, being corrected according to the more accurate observations of Gauttier and Hell, gives, therefore, for that of Gaza, lat. 31° 27′ 30″ N. long. 34° 27′ 24″ E. from Greenwich. See Berghaus' Memoir zu seiner Karte von Syrien, pp. 25, 26. Also Vol. III. First App. p. 42.

[2] The fortress Dârôn, Lat. *Darum*, was built by king Amalrich on the ruins of a Greek convent of the same name, described as four (Italian) miles south of Gaza, and five furlongs from the sea; Will. Tyr. xx. 20. Marinus Sanutus gives the distance from Gaza at fifteen miles; pp. 86. 246. It was stormed by Saladin without success in A. D. 1170; though it fell into his hands, and was enlarged by him, after the capture of Askelon; Will. Tyr. l. c. Bohaed. Vit. Salad. p. 72. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. iii. ii. pp. 135. 138. King Richard took it after a short siege, and destroyed it A. D. 1192; Gaufr. Vinisauf, v. 39. in Gale Scriptor. Hist. Angl. tom. ii. p. 392, 393. Wilken, ib. iv. pp. 498–500. 537. Wilken suggests that this fortress may have been at Khân Yûnâs;

Indeed, all vestiges of the ancient walls and ancient strength of Gaza have disappeared; and nothing remains to mark its former extent, except the bounds of the hill itself on which it stood. Even the traces of its former existence, its vestiges of antiquity, are very rare; consisting of occasional columns of marble or gray granite, scattered in the streets and gardens, or used as thresholds at the gates and doors of houses, or laid upon the front of watering-troughs. One fine Corinthian capital of white marble, lies inverted in the middle of a street running from N. to S. along the eastern foot of the hill.

Gaza is said to be an hour distant from the sea; which is not here visible.[1] Between the city and the shore, are the hills and tracts of sand already mentioned, on which are scattered a few trees and hedges. Around the city on the south, east, and north, are numerous gardens hedged with prickly pear, which forms an impenetrable barrier. The soil of these is exceedingly rich and productive. Apricots and mulberries were already ripe; the former delicious and abundant. Many palm-trees are scattered around the city; though they form no grove as in Egypt; while beyond the gardens, towards the north, lies the extensive olive-grove through which we had passed. There are two pools of water, one on the north and the other south of the city; but they seemed to contain merely stagnant rain-water, of which no use was made. The public cemeteries lie straggling and scattered in all directions, mingling with the houses on the hill and along the roads in the plain.—Towards the east the

which is four hours with camels from Gaza; ib. iii. ii. p. 136. Ali Bey's Travels, ii. p. 206. — The name Dârôn is probably the Hebrew דָּרוֹם 'the south,' which Eusebius and Jerome apply, as a proper name, Daroma, to the south-west part of Palestine; Onomast. art. *Gerara*, *Sicelech*, &c.

[1] Arrian gives the distance from the sea at 20 stadia; Exped. Alex. ii. 26. Abulfeda describes the sand-hills in the same manner; Tab. Syr. p. 77. ed. Köhler.

view is shut in by the line of hills we had crossed. The highest point is a partially isolated hill S. E. of the city about half an hour distant. On it is a Mukâm or Wely called el-Muntâr. The Christians pretend that it was once the residence of a bishop.[1]

The population of Gaza has usually been rated as much too low, as that of Jerusalem has been over-estimated. Travellers have given different judgments, usually from two thousand to five thousand souls.[2] The number of inhabitants has probably increased of late years. From information given us by both Christians and Mussulmans, it appears, that the city now contains nearly four thousand taxable Muhammedans, and one hundred Christians. This indicates a population of not less than fifteen or perhaps sixteen thousand souls, and makes Gaza larger than Jerusalem; a fact which is also confirmed by its greater extent of crowded dwellings. There were said to be fifty-seven resident Christian families; but their number is increased by transient sojourners.

We heard nothing of the port of Gaza, the ancient Majuma[3]; nor did we learn whether it is now visited by vessels. Gaza itself has no more the appearance of a maritime city than Jerusalem. Yet it certainly might be a place of considerable commerce. The fertile soil produces, in abundance, grains and fruits of every kind and of the finest quality. Volney speaks

[1] Jacotin's map, copied also by Berghaus, gives to this eminence the name of 'Samson's Mount,' as being the hill before (Heb. *towards*) Hebron, to which he carried off the doors of the gate of Gaza; Judg. xvi. 3. So, too, the Latin tradition and some travellers; Quaresmius, ii. p. 926. Sandys, p. 117. Büsching, th. xi. s. 451. Raumer, Pal. p. 190. There is nothing improbable in the supposition; but the people of Gaza know of no such name, and have no such tradition.—Richardson makes this hill to be "a lofty promontory of the mountains of Hebron!" vol. ii. p. 198.

[2] Volney, 2000; ii. p. 313. Richardson, 2000 to 3000; ii. p. 199. Fisk, 5000; Raumer's Paläst. p. 192. —Poujoulat comes nearer the truth, when he estimates the population at ten or eleven thousand souls; Corresp. d'Orient. v. p. 399.

[3] Reland, Palæst. p. 791.

here of manufactures of soap, and also of cotton for the supply of the neighbouring Bedawîn.[1] The position of Gaza on the route of the great caravans, which in all ages have passed between Egypt and Syria, is favourable to its commerce and prosperity; both as affording a means of constant communication with both countries, and also from the opportunity of furnishing supplies to the caravans in passing. Those travelling towards Egypt, naturally lay in here a stock of provisions and necessaries for the desert; while those coming from Egypt, arrive at Gaza exhausted, and must of course supply themselves anew. The inhabitants of Ma'ân likewise, on the east of Wady el-'Arabah, about the time of the passing of the Syrian Haj to and from Mecca, buy up provisions of all kinds at Gaza and Hebron, and sell them at a great profit to the pilgrims.[2] The Bazars in Gaza seemed well supplied with wares; far better indeed than those of Jerusalem.

Gaza is among the earliest of the Canaanitish cities mentioned in the Old Testament[3]; and became afterwards celebrated as one of the five cities of the five lords of the Philistines. Joshua extended his conquests to Gaza, but did not vanquish this remarkable people[4]; and although the tribe of Judah, to whose lot it fell, subdued the city, yet they appear to have held it but a short time; and the lords of the Philistines soon not only regained possession of their own territory, but also increased in strength, and at length extended their jurisdiction in turn over the Israelites.[5] After forty years of oppression, Samson appeared as the champion and avenger of his people; and Gaza be-

[1] Voyage, ii. p. 313.

[2] Burckhardt, Travels in Syria, &c. p. 436. Volney, ii. pp. 314, 315.—The caravan route between Ma'ân and Gaza passes near Wady Mûsa, and strikes the fountain el-Weibeh in the 'Arabah.

[3] Gen. x. 19.

[4] Josh. x. 41. xi. 22. xiii. 3.

[5] Judg. i. 18. iii. 3. xiii. 1.

comes renowned as the scene of his later deeds and of his fall. Here too he drew down upon himself and the assembled multitude the temple of Dagon; so that "the dead which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life."[1] After continual wars under the Judges and with Saul and David, the Philistines appear to have been subdued by the latter; and Gaza became the border of Solomon's kingdom on this side.[2] Yet they gave trouble to the following Jewish kings; and Hezekiah at length smote them unto the borders of Gaza.[3]

The situation of Gaza on the great route of the military expeditions, which the monarchs of Egypt, and those of Syria and the East, afterwards undertook against the dominions of each other, necessarily exposed it to the calamities of war and to frequent change of masters. To the Egyptians, Gaza 'the strong,' was the key of Palestine and Syria; and no conqueror could well pass by, until this city had submitted to his power. Thus one of the Pharaohs (probably Necho) subdued it in the time of Jeremiah; and Cambyses during his expedition to Egypt is reported to have deposited here his treasures.[4] Gaza opposed itself for five months to the progress of Alexander the Great; but was finally taken by storm, its brave defenders slaughtered at their posts, their wives and children sold as slaves, and the city repeopled with inhabitants drawn from the surrounding country.[5]

[1] Judg. c. xvi.

[2] 1 Sam. c. iv–vi. xiv. 52. xxxi. 1. seq. 2 Sam. v. 17. seq. viii. 1. xxi. 15. seq. 1 Kings, iv. 24.

[3] 2 Chron. xxi. 16. xxvi. 6. xxviii. 18. 2 Kings, xviii. 8.

[4] Jer. xlvii. 1. Pomp. Mela, i. 11.

[5] Arrian Exp. Alex. ii. 26. καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος· τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων, ἐκρῆτο ὅσα φρούρια ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Strabo, indeed, says that Gaza was destroyed by Alexander, and remained desolate; xvi. 2. 30. ἔνδοξος πότε γενομένη, κατεσπασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μένουσα ἔρημον. But this is contradicted by the express language of Arrian: nor do

During the wars of the Maccabees, Gaza continued to be a place of strength; it was fortified by the Syrian Bacchides, its suburbs burned by Jonathan, and the city itself captured by Simon.[1] Alexander Jannæus at length destroyed Gaza about 96 B. C. after a siege of a year; but it was again rebuilt with other cities by the Roman General Gabinius.[2] Augustus gave it to Herod; and after his death it was assigned to Syria.[3] About A. D. 65, during the government of the procurator Gessius Florus, Gaza with other cities was again laid in ruins by the rebellious Jews.[4] Yet this destruction was probably partial, and could have been but temporary; for there exist coins of Gaza struck in honour of Titus, Adrian, and the following emperors; which show at least that the city was still a place of importance, very soon after the destruction of Jerusalem.[5]

From these details it seems to follow, that the expression in the book of Acts[6], which might at first appear to imply that Gaza was then "desert," is more probably to be referred to the particular road from Jerusalem to Gaza, on which the evangelist was to find the eunuch, viz. the southern road leading from Eleutheropolis to Gaza through the "desert," or region without villages, as is the case at the present day.[7]

A Christian church appears to have been early planted at Gaza; its bishop Silvanus is mentioned by Eusebius as a martyr under Diocletian about A. D.

other writers who describe the siege, mention any such destruction; e. g. Q. Curt. iv. 6. Plutarch, Alex. c. 25. Joseph. Ant. xi. 8. 3, 4. It is also contradicted by the facts which follow in the text.

[1] 1 Macc. ix. 52. xi. 61, 62. xiii. 43. seq. Jos. Ant. xiii. 5. 5. Comp. 1 Macc. xiv. 7. xv. 28. xvi. 1.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 13. 3. xiv. 5. 3.

[3] Ibid. xv. 7. 3. xvii. 11. 4.

[4] Joseph. B. J. ii. 18. 1. Ἀνθεδόνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπτον.

[5] Mionnet, Descr. de Médailles Antiq. v. p. 536. seq. Reland, Palæst. pp. 788. 797.

[6] Acts, viii. 26.

[7] See more in Note XXX.; end of the volume.

285; and among the names of other bishops enumerated, not less than six are found in the subscriptions of councils, as late as to that of Jerusalem in A. D. 536.[1] Yet the city still retained in a great degree its devotion to idolatry; and in the beginning of the fifth century, not less than eight public temples dedicated to the worship of the heathen gods, still existed there.[2] Among these the most celebrated was a temple of Marnion, the Cretan Jupiter. By the influence of Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius, the bishop Porphyrius was invested with authority to demolish these temples; and was furnished with means to erect a Christian church, which was dedicated in A. D. 406 and named after the empress.[3] This may probably have been the great church now converted into a mosk, which we visited.—Eusebius and Jerome speak of Gaza in their day as an important city.[4] About the end of the sixth century, or the beginning of the seventh, Gaza was visited by Antoninus Martyr, who describes it as "splendid and delicious;" and its inhabitants as "noble, liberal, and friendly to strangers.[5]"

Such was Christian Gaza. In A. D. 634 it fell into the hands of the generals of Abu Bekr, the first Muhammedan Khalif, after a decisive battle with the Roman armies; but the Khalif died before the tidings of the victory could reach him.[6] From this time we hear little more of Gaza, except as the birth-place of

[1] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. viii. 13. De Martyrib. Palæst. c. 13. Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. p. 603. seq. Reland, Pal. p. 795. seq.

[2] Marc. Diaconi Vit. Porphyrii, in Acta Sanctor. Feb. tom. iii. p. 655. Reland, Pal. p. 793.

[3] Marc. Diacon. l. c. p. 655. seq. Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. pp. 613, 614. Reland, Pal. pp. 793, 794. Jerome also mentions the destruction of the temple of Marnion in his day, and speaks as if the church was erected on its site; Comm. in Esa. xvii. 3.

[4] "Est usque hodie insignis civitas;" Onomast. art. *Gaza*.

[5] Antonin. Mart. Itin. 33. "Gaza autem civitas splendida, deliciosa, homines honestissimi, omni liberalitate decori, amatores peregrinorum."

[6] Eutychii Annales, ii. p. 260. seq.

esh-Shâfi'y the founder of a Muhammedan sect[1], until the time of the crusades. In A. D. 796 it was laid waste during a civil war among the Arab tribes.[2] During the many wars between the Muhammedan rulers of Egypt and Syria, which preceded the crusades, Gaza appears to have suffered greatly, if indeed it had recovered from the former blow. The crusaders found it deserted, and its ruins spread out over the hill and the adjacent plain, like the city of the present day.[3] Here in A. D. 1152 they erected a fortress, occupying a portion of the hill, in order to cut off the approach to Askelon from the south; the defence of this castle was intrusted to the Knights Templars.[4] The dwellings of the city became again inhabited; but in A. D. 1170 the place was sacked by the troops of Saladin, who however did not get possession of the citadel.[5] Yet after the fatal battle of Hattîn in A. D. 1187, and the surrender of Askelon to Saladin, Gaza also passed into his hands.[6] It appears also to have opened its gates to Richard for a short time[7]; but it must soon have reverted to the Muhammedans. It is afterwards mentioned in the history of the crusades, only as the scene of two battles lost by the Franks in A. D. 1239 and 1244.[8]

According to Brocardus it was in his day commonly called *Gazara*[9]; and it is also mentioned by this name as late as the close of the fifteenth century. At that

[1] Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 77. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. art. *Gazzah*. Reland, Pal. p. 793.

[2] See above, p. 39.

[3] Will. Tyr. xvii. 12. "Gaza urbs antiquissima ab Ascalona decem distans miliaribus, diruta et habitatoribus carens . . . . sita in colle aliquantulum edito, magnum satis et diffusum infra muros continens ambitum." Comp. also xx. 21.

[4] Will. Tyr. l. c. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. iii. ii. p. 10.

[5] Will. Tyr. xx. 21. Wilken, l. c. p. 138.

[6] Bohaeddin, Vit. Saladin. p. 72.

[7] Gaufr. Vinisauf in Gale Scriptor. Hist. Angl. ii. lib. v. 40. p. 394. Comp. v. 19. p. 382. Wilken, ibid. iv. pp. 477. 502.

[8] Wilken, ibid. vi. pp. 588. seq. 642.

[9] Brocard. c. x. p. 186. This is an ancient Greek form; Joseph. Antiq. vii. 4. 1. xiii. 6. 6.

time the pilgrims were accustomed to travel from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai by way of Gaza; where they laid in their stores for the desert.[1] Fabri in 1483 describes the city as populous, with many Jews and Christians as in Jerusalem, and an abundance of provisions, cheap in price and excellent in quality.[2]

Our visit to Gaza was rather an episode in our journey, than the result of any definite plan of inquiry and observation. We did not anticipate here much new information; and were therefore not disappointed. We made minute and particular inquiries after several places, which appear to have lain towards the south and south-east of Gaza, such as Lachish, Ziklag, Gerar, and others; but could hear or find no vestige of them. We afterwards repeated the same inquiries among the Arabs of the plain, but with no better success. Of Gerar, or a name answering to it, some of the Christians of Gaza thought they had heard in the south; but the people of the country knew nothing of it.

According to the ancient accounts, Gerar lay in or near a valley[3], which would seem to be no other than the great Wady Sherî'ah or one of its branches. This Wady, as we have seen, was said to receive Wady es-Seba' which comes down from Beersheba[4]; and we know that Gerar was near the land of the Philistines, and Isaac went up from it directly to Beersheba which was not far distant.[5] The name continued to exist, (perhaps as a matter of tradition,) for several centuries after the Christian era. Eusebius and Jerome place it twenty-five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis to-

[1] So Tucher, 1479, Breydenbach and Fabri, 1483; Reissb. des h. Landes, pp. 678. 187. 289–291.

[2] Reissb. p. 291. So Belon, about 1548, Obs. p. 310; and Helffrich, in A. D. 1565; Reissb. p. 722.

[3] Gen. xxvi. 17.

[4] See above, Vol. I. pp. 299, 300.

[5] Gen. xxvi. 1. 20. 23. 26–33. Comp. xx. 1.

wards the south; and Sozomen relates, that a large and celebrated monastery stood there, adjacent to a winter-torrent.[1] The abbot Silvanus resided there near the close of the fourth century; and the name of Marcian, as bishop of Gerar, (perhaps in the convent,) appears among the signatures of the council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451.[2] Future travellers may perhaps still find traces of this monastery, in connection with Wady Sherî'ah or its branches; although the name of Gerar seems to have become extinct, at least in this district.

We left Gaza the same day (May 21st) at 12h 20′, intending to take a more southern route to Beit Jibrîn on our way to Hebron. We heard much of the village of Hûj, as having been recently founded by order of the government in the territory hitherto occupied by the Bedawîn; and we determined to visit it, and then proceed directly through the country of the Arabs, in the hope of discovering some ancient sites. Our way led us back along the Yâfa road, by which we had approached Gaza, for half an hour, to the gap of the line of hills; thence directly east until 2h 10′; and afterwards about E. by N. The country is undulating; the few shallow Wadys all run northwards to Wady Simsim. At 1½ o'clock we passed the mounds of a former village called Beit Dirdis; and at 1h 55′ the hill el-Muntâr near Gaza bore S. 83° W. We reached Hûj at 2h 55′; it being only about two and a half hours from Gaza.

Hûj is one of the many villages which in former times were left to go to ruin, in consequence of the vexations and oppressions of the Arabs who occupied the neighbouring country, and spread themselves by

[1] Onomast. art. *Gerara.* Sozom. Hist. Ecc. vi. 32. ix. 17. Reland, Palæst. p. 804 seq.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 181. Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. pp. 662, 663.

degrees over the whole district. The region towards the south and east is called the country of Hasy, from a fountain and former place of that name; and is filled with deserted sites and ruined villages; there being not one of them inhabited. The Arab tribes of the Jebârât and Wahâideh, who recently occupied the tract around Hûj, having joined in the rebellion against the Egyptian government in 1834, were defeated and many of them killed. Of the remainder, some were taken as soldiers, and the rest ordered to become Fellâhîn; but the greater portion fled, and these tribes were comparatively exterminated. The small remnants of them were now encamped near Tell el-Hasy. These Wahâideh were said to be relatives of a tribe of the same name further south After the district had thus been left without inhabitants, the village of Hûj was built up with wretched mud houses, and was now occupied by a motley collection of two or three hundred souls.

The village stands on the west of a curve of Wady el-Hasy, which here sweeps round to the north, and then turns to the west after half an hour to join Wady Simsim. We found the lazy inhabitants still engaged in treading out the barley-harvest, which their neighbours had completed long before. Several women were beating out with a stick handfuls of the grain which they seemed to have gleaned.[1] One female was grinding with a handmill; turning the mill with one hand, and occasionally dropping in the grain with the other. Here were several subterranean magazines for grain, like cisterns, with a mouth like a well, such as we had seen in several villages. A yoke of oxen were drawing water from a deep well, by hauling the rope over a pulley; being driven off on

[1] Ruth, ii. 17, "So she gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that she had gleaned." This process we saw often.

a line from the well into the fields. By pacing the ground over which they thus passed, we found the depth of the well to be nearly two hundred feet.

We stopped here for about half an hour, wishing to obtain a guide for es-Sukkarîyeh, the next village on the direct route to Beit Jibrîn, though several hours distant. One was found after some difficulty; but just as we were setting off, we learned from him, that the sites we wished to visit, were not on the direct road, but lay between Bureir and es-Sukkarîyeh. We concluded therefore to return to Bureir, which was in sight, where we had rested on Saturday; and where we were sure of obtaining more certain information and a better guide. We had already paid the Sheikh for the present guide, and now sent for the money back; he came himself to repay it, and rather impertinently demanded a *bakhshish* for his trouble. As however the trouble we had given him, was much less than the vexation he had caused us, we chose to set off one against the other.

From Hûj the village of Bureir lies N. 20° E. We left the former place at 3½ o'clock, passing first over a swell of ground, and in half an hour crossing Wady el-Hasy, here a broad meadow tract running west, and immediately uniting with Wady Simsim. This was the same road which we had taken from Bureir by mistake on Saturday. At 4ʰ 20′ were a mound and some foundations, called Jelameh. We reached Bureir at 4ʰ 50′, and encamped for the night. Several Sheikhs and chief men soon visited us, and answered our inquiries as to places and ruins in the vicinity; some with freedom, and others with more reserve. They gave us at once a guide for to-morrow.

The soil of all the plain through which we passed is good; as is proved by the abundant crops of grain we saw upon it. The whole of this vast level tract is

the property of the government, and not of the inhabitants. Whoever will, may cultivate it, and may plough in any place not already pre-occupied. But for every two yoke of oxen thus employed in tillage, he must pay to the government seven Ardebs of wheat and eight Ardebs of barley. The peasants, when rich enough to own oxen, plough and sow on their own account; but they frequently are the partners of merchants and others in the cities. The merchant furnishes the oxen, and the Fellâh does the work; while the expenses and income are divided equally between them.

In like manner, as we learned, the greater portion of all the rich plains of Palestine and Syria are in the hands of the government; while the hill-country and mountains are held in fee-simple, or nearly so, by the inhabitants. It results from this state of things, that the inhabitants of the hills and mountains are far better off than those of the plains; they raise a greater variety of crops, and have an abundance of all kinds of fruit; while those of the plains are in general poor, and are compelled to cultivate only grain, in order to satisfy the rapacity of the government. Hence, while the rocky and apparently almost desert mountains teem with an active, thrifty, and comparatively independent population, and the hand of industry is everywhere visible; the rich and fertile plains, deserted of inhabitants or sprinkled here and there with straggling villages, are left to run to waste, or are at the most half-tilled by the unwilling labours of a race of serfs.

The land around Bureir, like the rest of the plain, belongs to the government. For the portion cultivated by the people of the village, they now paid annually to the government eight hundred Ardebs of barley and three hundred of wheat. Besides all this, they

paid twelve purses Firdeh, and thirty purses of taxes on property. Fifty men had been taken away as soldiers. The people complained bitterly of oppression; and joined in the universal expression of a wish for a Frank government. Here as elsewhere a watch was given us for the night.

Tuesday, May 22d. We had heard of deserted sites on the way to es-Sukkarîyeh, bearing the names of Um Lâkis and 'Ajlân; as also of a Tell el-Hasy on the right of the road, where from the accounts we thought there might be ruins. Leaving Bureir at 5h 25′, and passing immediately the low plain of Wady Simsim, we continued along the higher undulating tract between that Wady and the Hasy, on a course E.½S. At 6h 10′ Um Lâkis lay at our left upon a low round swell or knoll. It proved to be a former site, now covered confusedly with heaps of small round stones, with intervals between; among which were seen two or three fragments of marble columns. The place was wholly overgrown with thistles. Towards the S. E. below the hill, was a well, now almost filled up, around which were lying several columns.[1]

We had come to this spot, not indeed in the expectation of finding here the site of ancient Lachish, but rather in order to satisfy ourselves more certainly of the fallacy of any supposed resemblance in the two names. These remains are certainly not those of an ancient fortified city, which could for a time at least brave the assaults of an Assyrian army.[2] Nor indeed does either the name or the position of this spot correspond to those of Lachish; although the varying form of the name might be allowed to pass, did other circumstances combine to identify the position.[3] But

[1] From the hill at Um Lâkis, Bureir bore N. 85° W. Tell el-Hasy S. 55° E. Kufeir S. 5° W. Tŭbŭkah S. 10° E. The two last are deserted sites in the district of Hasy.

[2] 2 Kings, xviii. 14. xix. 8.

[3] Besides the addition of Um,

Lachish, although enumerated among the cities of Judah in the plain, is also mentioned between Adoraim and Azekah[1]; and lay according to Eusebius and Jerome seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards the south.[2] This would seem to imply, that it was situated among or near the hills, somewhere to the southward of Beit Jibrîn; while the present Um Lâkis lies in the middle of the plain west of Beit Jibrîn, three hours distant from the tract of hills.—Yet except this spot, we were not able to find, either now or afterwards, the slightest vestige which might be referred either to Lachish itself, or to the apparently neighbouring city Libneh.[3]

The direct road passes on from Um Lâkis to 'Ajlân by a course nearly due east; the distance being about three quarters of an hour. We sent on our servants thither, while we ourselves turned off more to the right to visit Tell el-Hasy, starting again at 6h 20'. The land descends gradually towards the Wady of the same name, which we reached in about forty minutes. The way led us through the open fields, where the people were in the midst of the wheat harvest. The beautiful tracts of grain were full of reapers of the Henâdy Arabs; and also of gleaners almost as numerous. These were mostly women; and this department seemed almost as important as the reaping itself; since the latter is done in so slovenly a manner, that not only much falls to the ground, but also many stalks remain uncut.

The Wady el-Hasy is a broad tract of fine meadow lands; on which a large number of the Henâdy were

the change of *Kaph* into *Koph*, though sometimes found, is not usual; see p. 288. note [2], above. Further, in the Arabic form, an Alef is inserted and the Hebrew Yodh omitted.

[1] Josh. x. 3. 5. 31. xv. 39. 2 Chron. xi. 9.

[2] Onomast. art. *Lachis*.

[3] Josh. x. 29. comp. verse 31. xv. 42. 2 Kings, xix. 8. Onomasticon, art. *Lebna*.

pasturing their horses. These were said to be Bedawîn cavalry in the service of Muhammed Aly. The gravelly bed of the Wady winds through this lower tract; and in it a little water springs up at intervals. It can hardly be said to flow, but rather soaks along through the gravel. The course of the Wady in this part is N.W., and on the S.W. side Tell el-Hasy rises steeply, directly from the bed, to the height of two hundred feet or more; being connected towards the S.W. with other lower swells.—At 7h 5′ we passed in the valley some unhewn foundations of a former village, called Tŭnnŭr; and at 7h 25′, reached the summit of the Tell.

The form of the Tell is singular, a truncated cone with a fine plain on the top, somewhat resembling the Frank mountain, though by no means so high. From the information of our guides, and from the remarkable appearance of this isolated Tell, we had expected to find here traces of ruins; and a finer position for a fortress or fortified city could hardly be imagined. Yet we could discover nothing whatever, to mark the existence of any former town or structure; there was nothing indeed but the level circular plain, which seemed never to have been occupied.[1]

The summit commands a rich and pleasing prospect, over a wide extent of undulating country, low swelling hills and broad vallies, all of the finest soil; yet without a single village or ruin rising above the ground, on which the eye can rest. Still, although in

[1] Yet this must be the hill, I think, which Felix Fabri says some of his party ascended, on the way from Sukkariyeh to Gaza in 1483, and found there "thick ancient walls drawn around it;" Reissb. p. 289. It seems also to be the same hill which Volney describes near a village *Hesi*, as being artificial, and having still on its summit traces of a strong citadel; Voyage, ii. p. 311. Traces of walls may well have formerly existed here; or after all, both these accounts may perhaps rest only on the exaggerated testimony of Arabs. That of Volney certainly does.

the language of Scripture and in common parlance, such a region without fixed habitations may well be called a 'desert,' there was here not wanting the charm of busy life. Several Arab encampments, chiefly Wahâideh and Jebârât, were in sight, surrounded by flocks and herds and troops of camels and asses; besides the tents of the Henâdy and their numerous horses, and the multitudes of reapers and gleaners scattered over the fields. The other principal Arab tribes of the region, were said to be the Zeyâdât, the Sawârikeh, the 'Amarîn, and the Henâideh.—From the Tell, the site of 'Ajlân bore N. 5° W. A Wely was also seen upon a hill not far from the village ed-Dawâimeh, bearing N. 75° E.

From this point to Wady esh-Sherî'ah, the next great valley towards the south, the distance was said to be three hours or more. Wady el-Hasy itself comes down from the vicinity of el-Burj in the south-east, passing by a place of springs called Kŭssâbeh with ruins in its neighbourhood. It afterwards sweeps round near Hûj, on its way to join Wady Simsim. This latter Wady, as we have seen, is the drain of all the region round Beit Jibrîn and Tell es-Sâfieh; and having received the Hasy, bends off N. W. by the village of Deir Esneid, and forms the river of Askelon.[1]

We heard nothing at the time of any village or ruin called el-Hasy, as reported by Volney[2]; but a deserted site of that name is marked in our lists along with Hûj and 'Ajlân. It is therefore probably not far distant from the Tell. In the days of Saladin and Richard, this place is mentioned, in connection with the march of their armies, under the name of *Elhissi* and *Alhassi*; and is said to be near water, and

[1] See above, p. 371. [2] See above, p. 390. note.

not far remote from the mountains of Abraham or Hebron.[1]

We now left Tell es-Hasy at 8¾ o'clock, and came in half an hour directly to 'Ajlân N. ½ W. ascending gradually from the valley. On the way we fell in with a troop of seven gazelles feeding. Here is a site of ruins much resembling Um Lâkis in appearance; a low round hillock covered with scattered heaps of unhewn stones. The name alone identifies it with the Eglon of the Old Testament; and there seems to be nothing in the position to contradict this evidence. Eglon was situated in the plain of Judah, apparently not very far distant from Lachish.[2]

Leaving 'Ajlân at 8h 25′, we bent our course E. by S. towards the village of es-Sukkarîyeh. On the way the muleteers killed a large black snake, six feet long; the only one we saw in Palestine.[3] The day proved exceedingly warm and very uncomfortable; the hot wind coming from behind us. Our eyes and faces were filled all day long with small gnats rising from the wheat fields; and large flies troubled our animals, like swarms of bees. From the dry fields here and there whirlwinds of dust frequently arose, reminding us of those we had formerly seen in the deserts of the south.

We reached es-Sukkarîyeh at twenty minutes past 9 o'clock. Like Hûj, it had recently been built up by the governor of Gaza, Sheikh Sa'îd, upon former foun-

[1] Bohaeddin, Vit. Saladin, pp. 228, 229. 231. 233. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. iv. p. 508. 513.

[2] Josh. x. 34. 36. xv. 39.—Eusebius and Jerome make Eglon identical with Adullam, and place it twelve miles east of Eleutheropolis; Onomast. art. *Eglon*. But this stands in direct contradiction with Josh. xii. 12. 15. xv. 35. 39.—From 'Ajlân, Bureir bore W. 'Arâk es-Suweidân N. 12° W. Beit 'Affa N. 3° W. Tell el-Hasy S. 5° E.

[3] At 8h 55′, at a high point in the road, Sŭmmeil bore N. 21° E. Tell es-Sâfieh N. 32° E. Fâlûjy N. 36° E. es-Sukkarîyeh E.

dations, and was considered as his property. A large house of stone had been erected for himself; and several other houses are also of stone. The name of the village, which signifies "the Sugary," cannot of course be ancient; but tradition knows no other. It existed already in the fifteenth century; and seems to imply the former cultivation of the sugar-cane in the vicinity.[1]—In one place is a small enclosure of large squared stones, apparently of ancient workmanship. Several marble columns and a Corinthian capital, were also strewed upon the ground. In Sheikh Sa'îd's house likewise, many large square stones of former structures have been built in. The place seems to be, without much question, an ancient site; but I am unable to assign to it any scriptural name with even a tolerable degree of probability.[2] From Sukkarîyeh, Tell-es Sâfieh bore N. 27° E.

We were delayed here for half an hour, in procuring a guide for el-Kubeibeh and Beit Jibrîn. We found great difficulty, for the first time, in persuading any one to accompany us for money; although many persons were lounging about the village without occupation. Indeed, we had finally to appeal to the Sheikh, and obtained a man only by his order. The obstacle seemed, in this case, to be sheer indolence; the men were too lazy to take the trouble even to earn money so easily.

Starting again at ten minutes before 10 o'clock,

[1] F. Fabri and Breydenbach with their party, in travelling from Hebron to Gaza in A. D. 1483, spent the night at a Khân in the plain near a village called Zuckaria (Sukkarîyeh). See F. Fabri in Reissb. des h. Landes p. 289. Breydenbach also speaks of the Khân, but gives no name; ibid. p. 186. They probably travelled the usual road by Beit Jibrîn; of which place however neither makes any mention.—Sukkarîyeh is also mentioned by Mejr ed-Dîn in 1495; Fundgr. des Orients, ii. p. 142.

[2] Es-Sukkarîyeh is about 2½ hours W. S. W. of Beit Jibrîn. If the latter be taken as Eleutheropolis, then this distance (but not the direction) would correspond well enough with the position of Lachish. See pp. 388, 389, above.

we took the road to el-Kubeibeh. Just out of the village of Sukkarîyeh we passed the large public well, where a camel was drawing water by a Sâkieh; while large flocks and herds were waiting around. Our course was about E. by N. The country soon became more hilly, and rocks began occasionally to appear. The crops of grain were however good. In one field, as we approached Kubeibeh, nearly two hundred reapers and gleaners were at work; the latter being nearly as numerous as the former. A few were taking their refreshment, and offered us some of their "parched corn." In the season of harvest, the grains of wheat, not yet fully dry and hard, are roasted in a pan or on an iron plate, and constitute a very palatable article of food; this is eaten along with bread, or instead of it. Indeed, the use of it is so common at this season among the labouring classes, that this parched wheat, is sold in the markets; and it was among our list of articles to be purchased at Hebron, for our further journey to Wady Mûsa. The Arabs, it was said, prefer it to rice; but this we did not find to be the case. The whole scene of the reapers and gleaners, and their "parched corn," gave us a lively representation of the story of Ruth and the ancient harvest-home in the fields of Boaz.[1]

We passed el-Kubeibeh at twenty minutes passed 11 o'clock, situated on a stony barren hill ten minutes on our right. It is another village built up by the governor of Gaza on former foundations; but there seemed to be nothing to mark it particularly as an ancient site. Our course now lay more to the left, N. E. over

[1] Ruth. ii. 8, "Then said Boaz unto Ruth,—Go not to glean in another field, neither go from hence, but abide here fast by my maidens." Verse 14. "And she sat beside the reapers; and he reached her parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed, and left." Of the vinegar mentioned in the same verse we heard nothing. See the whole chapter.

the low hills to Beit Jibrîn; which place we reached at half past twelve, descending into the southern valley from the southwest. We spread our carpets under the same olive-tree as on our former visit; and after a lunch laid ourselves down to enjoy a short *siesta*.

On awaking, we found ourselves surrounded by a divân of people, to the number of a dozen or more, who seemed to consider themselves quite at home in our company. They proved to be men from Beit Jâla, friends and neighbours of our guide, who had come down to hire themselves out during the harvest in the plain; their own harvest in the mountains being two or three weeks later. There were said to be few places of importance in the plain, where some of the men of Beit Jâla were not now to be found; a fact which speaks well for their industrious habits. They all gathered around us, and accompanied us wherever we went. The Sheikh of the village was now at home, and came to us. He was an intelligent man, and, of his own accord proposed to show us several antiquities in the vicinity, which we had omitted to see on our former visit. Mounting his sleek mare, and accompanied by several men of the village, and by the whole posse of our friends from Beit Jâla, he led the way to several places of no little interest, which certainly deserve the further attention of travellers and antiquarians.

We went first to some caverns on the S.W. side of the Wady leading up to Santa Hanneh, near the path by which we had approached from Kubeibeh. These are artificial excavations, having partly the character of those we had seen near Deir Dubbân, but of much more careful workmanship. Besides domes, there are here also long arched rooms, with the walls in general cut quite smooth. One of these was nearly a hundred feet in length; having along its

sides, about ten feet above the level of the floor, a line of ornamental work like a sort of cornice. On one side, lower down, were two niches at some distance apart, which seemed once to have had images standing in them; but the stone was too much decayed to determine with certainty. These apartments are all lighted by openings from above. In one smaller room, not lighted, there was at one corner what looked like a sarcophagus hollowed out of the same rock; but it was too much broken away to enable us to speak positively. The entrance to the whole range of caverns is by a broad arched passage of some elevation; and we were surprised at the taste and skill displayed in the workmanship.

The Sheikh now took us across the same valley to other clusters of caverns in the northern hill; more extensive indeed than the former, occupying in part the bowels of the whole hill; but less important and far less carefully wrought. These consist chiefly of bell-shaped domes lighted from above, like those at Deir Dubbân; though some are merely high arched chambers excavated in the face of the rock, and open to the day. The rock is here softer, and very many of the domes are broken down. The Sheikh related, that one chamber before unknown having recently fallen in, he thinking there might be treasure in it, sent down a man to explore it; but he found only a human skeleton. In one of these caverns was a small fountain; and near by were two short inscriptions in very old Cufic, which my companion copied. They seem however to have been the work of casual visitors; and afford no explanation of the age or object of the excavations.[1]

We now struck down to the church of Santa Hanneh, passing on the way the well already described as

[1] See Note XXXI. end of the Volume.

lying N.E. of the ruin.[1] On inquiring of the Sheikh, whether there was any living fountain in the vicinity, he said that according to their tradition, the well in the valley half-way towards the town[2], was once a fountain, whose waters overflowed and ran along the valley; but in order to obtain more, they dug it deeper and walled it up; so that the water now no longer rises to the top. It is called Um Judei'a. This circumstance, as we shall see, is of some historical importance.

We next bent our course towards the Tell on the south of the valley, where from the accounts of the Arabs there seemed to be a prospect of finding ruins. At its foot, just out of the valley, we passed several excavated tombs. I entered one, descending by a few steps; and found it to be about fifty feet long by fifteen or twenty broad, with deep niches on each side and at the end for dead bodies. The others were similar externally. The Tell itself, consisting of chalky limestone, is rather a striking object in this part of the country,—a truncated cone with a flat circular plateau on the top, some six hundred feet in diameter. On this plat are no traces of foundations, except a few on the S.W. part. But towards the S.E. and especially on a lower plateau or projection of the hill on that side, there are many foundations of walls and buildings; yet no hewn stones, nor any remains of the superstructures. There would seem to have been here an ancient site; the materials of whose buildings may perhaps have been absorbed in the later erections of Beit Jibrîn.

But the most remarkable spot of all remained yet to be visited. This was another series of immense excavations on the southern end of the same hill, below the traces of foundations just described. Lighting

[1] Page 358. [2] Page 357.

several candles, we entered by a narrow and difficult passage from a pit overgrown with briers, and found ourselves in a dark labyrinth of galleries and apartments, all cut from the solid rock, and occupying the bowels of the hill. Here were some dome-shaped chambers as before; others were extensive rooms, with roofs supported by columns of the same rock left in excavating; and all were connected with each other by passages, apparently without order or plan. Several other apartments were still more singular. These were also in the form of tall domes, twenty feet or more in diameter, and from twenty to thirty feet high; they were entered by a door near the top, from which a staircase cut in the same rock wound down around the wall to the bottom. We descended into several of these rooms; but found nothing at the bottom, and no appearance of any other door or passage. We could discover no trace of inscriptions; nor any thing, indeed, which might afford the slightest clue for unravelling the mystery, in which the history and object of these remarkable excavations are enveloped.—Near by were said to be other similar clusters, which our time did not permit us further to explore.

Such was the further amount of information which we obtained at Beit Jibrîn on this our second visit. The question naturally now came up again, Whether this was to be regarded as the site of Eleutheropolis? The massive ruins in the village, the fine church of Santa Hanneh, and the immense and singular excavations which we had now explored, testify sufficiently to the existence here of a great and important city; more important indeed, by far, than any other in the whole tract between the coast and the cities of the mountains. We had also now passed through the whole region north and west of Beit Jibrîn, in which, if not here, Eleutheropolis must have stood; and

that without finding the slightest trace of any site, which could even with the remotest probability be referred to that ancient city. All these circumstances tended strongly to produce upon our minds an impression of the identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrîn; but as they were not in themselves decisive, we preferred still to suspend our judgment, and prosecute our inquiries yet further.

From Beit Jibrîn two roads lead to Hebron. The easier and more usual one goes up the left hand valley by the village of Terkûmieh. On or near this road we were told of a place now called Beit Nŭsîb; in which name it was easy to recognise the Nezib of the plain of Judah, situated according to Eusebius nine, and according to Jerome seven miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron.[1] The other road passes up the southern valley by Santa Hanneh; and on this was said to be a village called Idhna, which could be no other than the Jedna of Eusebius and Jerome, lying on the way to Hebron, six Roman miles from Eleutheropolis. The distance of Beit Nŭsîb and Idhna, and especially the latter, would therefore furnish a decisive test as to the probable identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrîn; and we accordingly determined to take the road leading by Idhna. The village ed-Dawâimeh was also spoken of; and having received the impression that it lay on the way to Idhna, we concluded to proceed thither for the night.

The valley in which Santa Hanneh stands, has its head a few minutes above the church; and beyond the water-shed towards the south, is a small plain, formed by the junction of two Wadys, one coming down from the E.S.E. and the other shorter one from the S.S.E. This point of junction is ten minutes from the church, or half an hour from Beit Jibrîn. The

[1] Josh. xv. 43. Onomast. art. *Neesib*. See p. 344. above.

outlet of this little area is towards the west, passing off south of the Tell towards the western plain. We descended from the caverns under the Tell into the little plain; and at half past 4 o'clock proceeded on our way up the southern valley S. 20° E. for forty-five minutes. The Sheikh accompanied us for a considerable distance in token of respect, and to show us the road; and then clapping spurs to his fine animal, soon disappeared down the valley. The hills were bushy and green. For a part of the way, near the head of the little valley, there were traces of an ancient road, with walls in several places. Here were also several rude pillars; and one weather-worn column might well have been a Roman milestone.

At 5¼ o'clock we crossed the water-shed at the head of this valley, and immediately began to descend along another similar Wady running S. 20° W. After about twenty minutes, it enters a much broader Wady coming from the S.E. which then bends off south of west, and passing on into the western plain, runs by Fâlûjy, and finally unites with Wady Simsim. On a high rocky ridge beyond this valley, and around which it thus bends, stands the village of Dawâimeh. We reached it at 5¾ o'clock, making one hour and three quarters from Beit Jibrîn. The surface of the hill is so rocky and uneven, that for some time we could not find a place to pitch our tent. At length, however, after passing the village, we came upon several threshing-floors towards the south, where the stones had been cleared away; and here we encamped for the night.

On inquiring of the people respecting Idhna, we were not a little surprised to hear, that we had taken a wrong road, and were now nearly as far from that place as we had been at Beit Jibrîn. The right road, it seemed, passed up the left hand Wady from the

little plain south of Santa Hanneh; while we had followed the other valley. The mistake was owing to the well-meant officiousness of our guide; who hearing us inquire respecting Idhna and Dawâimeh, and wishing to show us both places, had first brought us hither, intending to-morrow to take Idhna in our way to Hebron. The circuit was of course likely to frustrate the whole purpose of our visit to Idhna; and we were not a little disappointed.

The hill on which Dawâimeh stands, is one of the highest in the surrounding tract. It affords a view of several villages and sites towards the east among the hills, and also on the higher mountain; while on the west an elevated ridge shuts out all view of the great plain. On this ridge stands the Wely we had seen from Tell el-Hasy.[1]

The people of the village came around us as usual; and we found here also several Christians from Beit Jâla, employed as labourers in the harvest. The barley-harvest was just at an end, and the wheat-harvest just beginning; so that the treading out of both species of grain was going on at the same time. Camels laden with sheaves were coming in as we arrived, carrying on their backs almost a small cart-load.—After coffee in our tent, most of the people went away; but the Sheikh remained. We were not much disposed to like him; he was cringing in his manner, and at the same time reserved and unaccommodating. He still sat and sat, until dinner was served, and then partook of our meal; the first time that an Arab had yet eaten with us, though we had always invited them.

[1] We obtained at Dawâimeh the following bearings: Beit 'Auwa, ruin, S. 45° W. Neby Nûh (Noah) near Dûra on the mountain, S. 70° E. Taiyibeh on the mountain N. 85° E. Kusbur N. 72° E. Bŭkkâr N. 72° E. Beit Ummar N. 70° E. Idhna N. 70° E. Wely seen from Tell el-Hasy N. 75° W.

The Sheikh and others spoke much of a ruined fortress called el-Burj, of which we had already heard, situated an hour or two south of Dawâimeh. The former offered to give us a guide thither in the morning; and we concluded on the whole to take this course, and return at a later period directly from Hebron to Beit Jibrîn. The guide was accordingly selected, and received his instructions to be ready at early dawn. We paid eight piastres for his services into the hands of the Sheikh; and regarded it as a much higher price than usual, it being indeed the wages of a whole day; while less than half a day would be occupied by the man, both in going and returning.

Here as elsewhere men were set to watch all night around our tent; but in this instance their charge probably extended also to the adjacent threshing-floors. Yet the Sheikh took good care not to burden his own people; but laid the task upon the poor labourers from Beit Jâla. No pay or present was now or at any time demanded on account of the watch. Our guards here, however, took their own pay in grain from the threshing-floors, which they parched and ate during the night; solacing themselves with this favourite article of harvest-food, and turning their watch into a wake.

Wednesday, May 23d. We rose early; and just as we were mounting to set off for el-Burj, the guide came, and with him the Sheikh, saying he could not go with us unless we paid him a larger price. As this was a barefaced attempt at extortion, I decided instantly to take the road back to Beit Jibrîn and so to Idhna, in order to determine at once the question as to Eleutheropolis. Indeed, we did not regret, either now or afterwards, that this occasion had intervened thus to change our proposed course. We demanded back our money, which was repaid with evident chagrin.

This was the first, and I think the only instance we met with, of a like meanness after a bargain had once been concluded; for however variable and extravagant an Arab may be in his previous demands, yet when an agreement had been actually made, we usually found them faithful to their engagements.

Setting off at once, we returned by our road of last evening to the junction of the two Wadys in the little plain south of Santa Hanneh, half an hour from Beit Jibrîn. Here turning into the more eastern valley at 6½ o'clock, we followed it up on the way to Idhna. I know not when I have felt more the excitement of suspense, than while traversing this short distance. A question of some historical moment was depending on the circumstance, whether we reached Idhna at 8 o'clock. If so, our researches after the long lost Eleutheropolis would be crowned with success; if not, we were again afloat, and certain of nothing.

In this valley also there were occasionally traces of an ancient road, skirted by walls which probably enclosed fields. Our general course all the way to Idhna was E.S.E.½E. The valley became narrower as we advanced, with green bushy hills on both sides. The hills round about had evidently once been terraced for cultivation; but the tillage is now confined mostly to the bottoms of the vallies. At a quarter past seven, we passed a well in the valley, and the ruins of a village called Beit 'Alâm, on a low mound at our left.

Soon after this we saw a man walking before us with a gun; a suspicious circumstance in these days, when the people had been all disarmed. Sending forward a man to reconnoitre, we found he was a peaceable Fellâh from Dûra in the mountains. The inhabitants of that village, in their quarrels among themselves, had recently employed fire-arms; thereby showing

to the government that they still possessed them, although they had formerly professed to give them all up. In consequence of this, the governors of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Hebron, were now at Dûra, demanding from the inhabitants their arms. Every man was required to bring in a gun; no matter whether he possessed one or not. This poor fellow, who had none, had been searching after one for three days in the plain, and had finally purchased a miserable old thing for sixty piastres. He was now returning home in order to surrender it to the governors.

At 7^h 50′, we came to the head of the valley; and here in the midst of a rocky tract of gradual ascent was a large public well. The stones round about it were much worn, by the friction of the ropes in drawing water. It now wanted but ten minutes of 8 o'clock; and as yet nothing was to be seen of Idhna. But as we reached the top of the ascent, the village lay before us, somewhat lower down on the other side; and precisely at 8 o'clock we entered the place and dismounted at the house of the Sheikh. We thus found Idhna to be just two hours, or six Roman miles from Beit Jibrîn; which is the specified distance of Jedna from Eleutheropolis.

At a later period we visited Beit Nŭsîb, lying near the other road from Beit Jibrîn to Hebron, not far from Terkûmieh. This latter village is reckoned at two and a half hours from Beit Jibrîn, and Nŭsîb is apparently a little less distant; corresponding well to the account of Jerome respecting Nezib, that it lay seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron.

ELEUTHEROPOLIS.

I have thus detailed all the circumstances of direct evidence, which led us to the conviction, that Eleu-

theropolis must have been identical with Beit Jibrîn, the ancient Betogabra. The latter was the earlier native appellation, for which (as in so many other cases) the Greek name Eleutheropolis was officially substituted; yet the ancient name maintained its place in the mouths of the people, and the later one at length fell into disuse and was forgotten. An exact parallel is presented by the cases of Lydda, Emmaus, Jerusalem, and several other cities; which after having been for centuries officially known as Diospolis, Nicopolis, and Ælia, afterwards resumed their native names, while the others sank into oblivion. In these and similar instances, there is indeed historical testimony to the identity of the native and foreign appellations; while in the case of Eleutheropolis and Betogabra, it happens, that no such incidental testimony exists. But on the other hand, as we shall see, there also exists none more direct against the identity; and the accidental silence of history cannot weigh against the mass of positive evidence.

Our conviction of the identity of Eleutheropolis with Beit Jibrîn, was derived solely and exclusively from the specifications of Eusebius and Jerome respecting the distances of various places from the former, the sites of which we were able to ascertain. These, as we have already seen, were the following:

Zorah	10 R. M.	on the way towards Nicopolis.
Beth-shemesh	10 "	
Jârmuk	10 "	on the way towards Jerusalem.
Socoh	9 "	
Jedna	6 "	on the way towards Hebron.
Nezib	7 or 9 "	

In respect to these places, it is to be remarked, that the distances specified are not to be regarded as definitely exact, or as having been accurately measured; unless perhaps, in the case of those which might

happen to lie directly upon a great road. Now such a road from Eleutheropolis to Nicopolis, let the former have lain where it may, certainly did not pass through Beth-shemesh and Zorah; it ran without doubt among the hills near the plain, and crossing the mouth of Wady es-Sŭrâr, passed along near the mountains to the city in question. At the tenth mile from Eleutheropolis, a traveller would see Beth-shemesh and Zorah on his right; one in the mouth of Wady es-Sŭrâr, and the other on the high hill further north.—To Jerusalem there appear to have been two roads. One seems to have followed the Nicopolis road until it approached Wady es-Sŭrâr; and then turning through the hills to or near Beth-shemesh, went up the Sŭrâr, where we have seen there is still a neglected path; this would pass at or near Jarmuk, which could not well have been seen from the Nicopolis road. The other probably was nearly the same as the present road through the Wady el-Musŭrr[1]; on this Socoh would be visible and not from the former.—From Eleutheropolis to Hebron there must also have been two roads, as there are now from Beit Jibrîn; for from no conceivable position of Eleutheropolis, could a traveller pass by or even see both Jedna and Nezib on one and the same route to Hebron; inasmuch as they both lie among the hills, nearly two hours apart in a direction from north to south, and are not visible from each other.[2]

These things being premised, and making all due allowance for the merely approximate specifications

[1] See pp. 340. 349.

[2] There are doubtless also corruptions in the Onomasticon. Thus according to Eusebius, Nezib was nine miles from Eleutheropolis, while Jerome gives it at seven, which appears to be correct.—In respect to Jedna the specification of six miles rests on the authority of Eusebius; Jerome's article reads as follows: "Jedna, in *deserto* ab Eleutheropoli lapide pergentibus Chebron." Here "lapide" is without any adjunct, and the word "deserto" should doubtless be read "sexto."

of Eusebius and Jerome, it appears from our routes and examination, as already detailed, that the space actually travelled over by us, in connection with short estimated distances from the first four places, Zorah, Beth-shemesh, Jarmuk, and Socoh, renders it certain, that Eleutheropolis could not have lain at the most more than half an hour further north or further south than Beit Jibrîn.[1] In like manner, the ascertained distances of Jedna and Nezib show, that it could have lain neither further east nor further west than the same place. Further, we had now traversed the country by five different routes (and later by a sixth) on the north, west, south, and east of Beit Jibrîn, anxiously searching out every trace of former sites; and had found nothing, which with the slightest degree of probability, could be tortured into the site of Eleutheropolis. Indeed, in no other position do all these distances from various known points meet at all; while in Beit Jibrîn they come together of themselves, and all the other circumstances likewise correspond.[2] Further, the Itinerary of Antoninus places Eleutheropolis at twenty-four Roman miles from Askelon, which nearly coincides with the true distance of Beit Jibrîn.[3]

Such is the amount of the direct and positive topographical evidence in favour of the identity of Eleutheropolis and Beit Jibrîn; and in the absence of collateral historical testimony, I can hardly conceive of a case more strongly supported. Future travellers, by

[1] Pages 352. 359.

[2] Thus if the site of Eleutheropolis were to be assumed at Kudna, then Socoh becomes less than six, and Jedna more than nine miles distant; the latter besides not then being on any direct road to Hebron. So too of any other position. See more in Note XXXII. at the end of the Volume; where also the varying specifications of the *Itinerarium Antonini* are considered.

[3] See above p. 360. Antonin. Itin. ed. Wess. p. 200. Reland, Pal. p. 420. The same Itinerary sets Eleutheropolis at xx Roman miles from Jerusalem, which should probably read xxx; an x having been lost. This would correspond well with the actual distance.

more exact measurements, may add to, or modify in some degree, this evidence; but I have no apprehension that the main result will ever be disturbed.

Let us look now at the notices of Eleutheropolis, which have come down to us in ancient writers, and compare them with those of Betogabra. Not indeed in the hope of thus decidedly tracing the identity of the two; for the slight link which might connect them in the chain of historical evidence,—a single line upon the page of history,—was unfortunately omitted or has since been lost; but in order to see whether there is any thing which militates against this identity; and if not, to see further, whether this very silence and the attendant circumstances do not tend indirectly to confirm the same hypothesis.

The earliest mention of Betogabra, as we have seen, is by Ptolemy in the beginning of the second century; and again in the Peutinger Tables, probably in the reign of Alexander Severus, about A.D. 230.[1] Whether the name Eleutheropolis already existed in the days of Ptolemy we do not know; but before the construction of the Tables, this name is found upon coins of the city inscribed to Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and dated in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of that emperor, corresponding to A.D. 202 and 203. The emperor had been in Palestine about that time (A.D. 202), and had conferred privileges and immunities on various cities.[2] Among them Eleutheropolis appears to have shared his favour, and thus testified its gratitude. Another coin of the same city, struck in honour of Caracalla, the next emperor, is also extant.[3]

[1] Ptolemæus, iv. 16. Judæa. Reland, Palæst. pp. 461. 421. See Vol. III. First Appendix, pp. 3, 4.

[2] Spartian. in Severo; cap. 16, 17. Belley, p. 431. See the next Note.

[3] See a description of these three coins, (one of which is in the

The earliest writer who mentions Eleutheropolis, is Eusebius in his Onomasticon about A.D. 330 or later, followed by Jerome near the close of the same century. In their day it was an episcopal city of importance; and was so well known, that they assumed it as the central point in southern Palestine, from which to determine the position of more than twenty other places. The renown and the very name of the greater central city have long since passed away; while many of these minor places still remain, and have afforded in their turn, to strangers from a new world, the means of determining the site and re-establishing the claims of the ancient metropolis.

In that age this city was indeed the metropolis of the adjacent country, which is frequently spoken of as the region of Eleutheropolis.[1] The names of five of its bishops are found in the records and signatures of councils, from that of Nicea in A.D. 325 to that of Jerusalem in A.D. 536; besides historical notices of three others during the same period.[2] Epiphanius, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century, is said to have been born at a village three miles distant from Eleutheropolis; he is thence called a native of that city, which he several times mentions in his writings.[3] To the next following centuries belongs

collection of Sir Hans Sloane,) in Mionnet, Médailles Antiques, tom. v. p. 534. Haym, Tesor. Brittan. i. p. 261. Eckhel, Doctr. Nummor. tom. iii. p. 448. Rasche's Lexicon, art. *Eleutheropolis*. See also particularly the able essay of the Abbé Belley, "Sur les Médailles des Villes de Diospolis et d'Eleutheropolis," A. D. 1754, in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, tom. xxvi. p. 429. seq.—On the reverse of these coins the city styles itself *Lucia Septimia Severiana*, after the name of the emperor; just as Cæsarea and Neapolis took on coins the appellation of *Flavia*, Tiberias that of *Claudia*, Gadara that of *Pompeiana*, &c. Belley, p. 431.

[1] Onomast. art. *Esthemo, Maspha*, et al. Hieron. Ep. 39. ad Theophilum: "Monasterium S. Epiphanii in Eleutheropolitano territorio et non in Eliensi situm est."

[2] Reland, Palæst. p. 750. Le Quien, Oriens Christ. iii. p. 633. seq.

[3] See the references in Reland, ib. pp. 751, 752.

the mention of Eleutheropolis as an episcopal city, in two Greek ecclesiastical *Notitiæ;* one of which was compiled before A.D. 451, since it still speaks of Cæsarea as the metropolitan see; while the other, to judge from the preamble, refers to a time not very long after the erection of Jerusalem into a patriarchate.[1] The same age was also the age of legends and lives of saints; and in these the name of Eleutheropolis not unfrequently occurs.[2] About the close of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, Antoninus Martyr appears to have visited this city; the name of which is corrupted in his account, to Eliotropolis and also Heliopolis.[3]

It is somewhat remarkable, that with the exception of the coins above mentioned, the name of Eleutheropolis occurs in profane history only in two writers; both of whom mention it incidentally, in connection with the same period of ecclesiastical renown. The first of these is Ammianus Marcellinus, the cotemporary of Jerome, in the latter part of the fourth century. From his language the conclusion has sometimes been drawn, though without sufficient ground, that Eleutheropolis was built up in the third century, and did not exist before that time.[4] The other writer

[1] See these *Notitiæ* in Reland, Palæst. pp. 214. seq. 219. seq. The last is ascribed to Nilus in A.D. 1151; but it evidently refers to a time preceding the Muhammedan conquests. Jerusalem was made an independent patriarchate at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451–3; see above, pp. 23, 24. In both these Notitiæ the name of Betogabra does not occur.

[2] So in the tract ascribed to Dorotheus bishop of Tyre; where Simon, one of the apostles, is said to have preached at Eleutheropolis; and Jesus surnamed Justus, to have been its first bishop; see the passages cited in Reland, p. 751. So too in the legends respecting Ananias, which will be considered further on; Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 618. Also in the life of St. Euthymius, Cotel. Monum. Eccl. Græc. ii. p. 329. Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 326.

[3] Itin. 32. Reland, ib. p. 752.

[4] Reland, p. 749. The passage of Ammianus is as follows; he is enumerating the cities of Palestine: "Cæsaream . . . Heleutheropolim, et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem, Gazam, ævo superiore extructas;" lib. xiv. 8. 11. Here the last clause, "ævo superiore extructas," can obviously apply in no stronger sense to Eleutheropo-

is the grammarian Suidas; whose work perhaps belongs rather to ecclesiastical history. Writing not earlier than the close of the tenth century, from sources now lost, he mentions circumstances which formerly took place in Eleutheropolis. These are wholly unimportant, relating merely to the unsuccessful attempt of Eutocius, a Thracian soldier, to become a citizen and senator of the city; and also to Marianus, a late poet at Rome, whose father removed to Eleutheropolis, and who acquired honours under the reign of the emperor Anastasius, A.D. 493—518.[1]

This is the amount of all we know of Eleutheropolis before the Muhammedan conquest of Palestine, which was completed in A.D. 636. After that time the city is mentioned only once by a cotemporary writer; and that, in monastic annals, in order to record its fall. In the year 796, the cities of Gaza, Askelon, and Sariphæa are said to have been laid waste, and Eleutheropolis converted into a desert, during a civil war among the various tribes of Saracens in Palestine.[2] Whether it recovered in any degree from this desolation, we are nowhere informed.

During the Muhammedan dominion and the prevalence of the Arabic tongue, it would be natural to

lis, than it does to Neapolis, Askelon, and Gaza; in respect to all which, if understood to imply that they were then first built, it is notoriously false. To say nothing of the antiquity of Gaza and Askelon, I need only remark of Neapolis, that this name is already mentioned by Josephus; B. J. iv. 8. 1.

[1] Suidas, Lexicon art. Εὐτόκιος, Μαριανός. Reland, Palæst. pp. 753, 754. That the reign of Anastasius I. is intended, is apparent; for the short sway of the second emperor of that name (A.D. 713–15), falls nearly a century after Palestine was in the hands of the Muhammedans.

[2] Διαφόρους γὰρ πολυανθρώπους πόλεις ἠρήμωσαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἐλευθερόπολιν παντελῶς ἀεὶ ἀοίκητον ἔθηκαν, πᾶσαν ἐκπορθήσαντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Γάζαν καὶ Σαρεφαίαν καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις δεινῶς εἰλκύσαντο. "Depopulati sunt frequentissimas urbes non paucas; Eleutheropolim, abductis in captivitatem universis, desertam fecere. Ascalonem, Gazam, et Sariphæam, aliasque civitates, violenter diripuerant." So Stephen a cotemporary monk of Mâr Sâba, Acta Sanctor. Mart. tom. iii. p. 167. seq. Reland, Pal. p. 987. Le Quien, Oriens Christ. iii. p. 313. Comp. pp. 39, 40. above.

expect that the ancient name of Betogabra, (later Heb. Beth Gabriel or Beth Gebrin,) which had doubtless remained among the common people, would again become current; and cause the Greek name which so long had usurped its place, to be forgotten. And here, as in so many other instances, this seems actually to have been the case; the ancient name revived, and assumed the Arabic form in which we find it at the present day. In two Latin *Notitiæ*, the date of which is uncertain, but which were obviously first compiled in reference to the centuries preceding the crusades, the name of Eleutheropolis is no longer found; but in its place appears, in one the name Beigeberin, and in the other Beit Gerbein.[1] Not improbably both these notices are to be referred to the eighth century, before the destruction of the city. At any rate, the crusaders found the place in ruins; and if not wholly deserted, yet at least it had long ceased to be an episcopal see. They rebuilt the fortress; and its subsequent history I have already recounted.[2] At that time the name and position of Eleutheropolis were so thoroughly forgotten, that Cedrenus, in the last half of the eleventh century, held it to have been the same with Hebron.[3]

On comparing the preceding notices, it is to be observed, that, with one apparent exception hereafter to be considered, all the writers who mention Betogabra, make no allusion to Eleutheropolis; while all those who so often speak of the latter, are silent as to Betogabra. Indeed, the latter name is found only quite early in Ptolemy and the Peutinger Tables, or again quite late in the two Latin Notitiæ. The Greek name, as appears from the coins, had been adopted

[1] Reland, ib. pp. 222. 227. The latter Notitia is found appended to the History of William of Tyre; Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1044.

[2] Pages 360-362.

[3] Geo. Cedreni Historiar. Compend. Paris, 1647, tom. i. p. 33, Σάπτεται (ἡ Σάρρα) ἐν Χεβρὼν, ἥτις νῦν Ἐλευθερόπολις καλεῖται.

before A.D. 202; but the subsequent mention of Betogabra in the Tables, shows that this more ancient appellation was still generally current. In the fourth century, when Constantine had adorned Jerusalem with splendid churches, and Palestine became the abode of thousands of foreign monks and ecclesiastics, all using the Greek language, it was natural that the Greek name of this episcopal city should obtain the ascendancy. Accordingly we hear no more of Betogabra, until this ecclesiastical authority had been crushed by the Muhammedan conquest, and the ancient name found a more ready utterance upon the lips of a people speaking a kindred tongue. The case, as already suggested, is entirely parallel to those of Diospolis, Nicopolis, and Ælia or Jerusalem itself.

The exception above alluded to, where the names of Betogabra and Eleutheropolis appear to be once mentioned by the same writer, is the expression "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis," to which reference has already been made.[1] This occurs in a professed life of Ananias, an alleged saint and martyr of the first century, whose merits and martyrdom are set forth in all the Greek and Roman Calendars (Menologia and Martyrologia) and Lives of the Saints; chiefly under the first of October, but in some of the latter under the twenty-fifth of January.[2] The whole account, even as found in the earliest calendars, is entirely legendary. It makes Ananias to have been first one of the seventy disciples; then to have become bishop of Damascus, where he restored sight to Paul; and at last, after long preaching the gospel and performing

[1] Ἐν Βηθογαυρῇ τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως. See p. 360. above. The Latin version of Hervetus has "Betagabre Exeutheropolis;" Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 614. note *b*.

[2] Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 613. See the many extracts which Bolland has there collected from various Calendars and Lives of Saints.

many miracles at Damascus and Eleutheropolis, it represents him as suffering death in the former city by order of a Roman governor Licinius or Lucianus.

In recounting these circumstances, the various calendars are in general at least consistent with each other; most of them, though not all, mentioning Eleutheropolis as one of the places where Ananias laboured, and Damascus as the scene of his martyrdom. It is not necessary here to waste words in showing that the whole story can be only a fable; and I would simply remark, that neither in Palestine nor Syria, down to the destruction of Jerusalem, and apparently quite to the end of the first century, was there any Roman governor, whether proconsul, procurator, or military chief, bearing the name either of Licinius or Lucianus.[1]

The biography in question gives the same general account of Ananias, with more of detail; and dwells particularly on the circumstances of his trial and martyrdom. But instead of making Eleutheropolis merely the scene of Ananias' labours, it transfers the seat of the Roman governor himself to that region, and makes him institute a severe persecution against the Christians at "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis." It leaves however the matter somewhat uncertain, whether the trial and death of Ananias took place there or at Damascus; though as he is said to have laboured only at Damascus, and to have been buried in that region,

[1] Josephus enumerates all the proconsuls and procurators of Syria and Palestine down to the time of Titus. See the names of the former collected by Noris, Cenotaphia Pisana, p. 267. seq. E. Spanheim, Chronol. Josephi, in Havercamp's Edition, tom. ii. Append. p. 409. For the procurators, see Spanheim l. c. p. 410., and the Chronol. Tables at the end of Winer's Bibl. Realwörterb. Also for both, American Bibl. Repos. vol. ii. pp. 381, 382. — After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Roman general Lucilius Bassus was sent to subdue the remaining fortresses of Judea; and a Spanish tradition is said to attribute to him the death of Ananias in A.D. 70. Joseph. B. J. vii. 6. 1. 6. Dextri Chronicon A.D. 70, quoted by Bolland, Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 614. note *a*.

it would seem to be implied that he also suffered in that city.[1]

Upon this whole legend of Ananias, it is to be remarked, that the simplest account, and that least remote from Scripture, is doubtless the earliest; and this is that which speaks only of his labours and death at Damascus.[2] In process of time, when Eleutheropolis became a chief city in the south of Palestine, as Damascus was in the north, it was easy for monkish invention to extend his labours over the whole country from Damascus to Eleutheropolis; which thus corresponded in a sense to the ancient phrase "from Dan to Beersheba." The regular biography goes still further; it extends the labours of the saint to Antioch on the north, and changes the seat of the Roman government from Damascus to the district of Eleutheropolis. All this seems to mark a still later origin; and it is hardly necessary to remark, that the lower it descends in the succession of centuries, so much the more is detracted from its authority in respect even to incidental notices in history or topography.

Whence then comes the mention of Betogabra in this document? What is its purport, and to what does it amount? The plain import of the words would doubtless be, that Betogabra was a place within the district of Eleutheropolis, but itself distinct from that city; thus contradicting the identity of the two, which I have above ventured to assume. Now, laying all other things out of view, there certainly is nothing in the age or character of this legend as an historical

[1] The Greek of this life has never been printed; it exists in Europe in two Manuscripts; see Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, lib. v. c. 32. tom. ix. p. 53.; or tom. x. p. 193. ed. Harles. A Latin translation by G. Hervetus is found in the following works: Lipomana de Vitis Sanctor. Oct. 1. tom. vi. Rom. 1551–60. Surius de Vitis Sanctor. Oct. 1. Bolland professes to have made a new version from the Greek; Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 613.

[2] Menologium Græcor. ed. Albani, pars i. p. 79.

document which can for a moment weigh against the mass of direct topographical evidence of identity above presented, founded on the unquestioned statements of Eusebius and Jerome, and confirmed indirectly by the historical facts already adduced. Here is no *balance* of conflicting testimony; the direct and positive evidence is all on one side; while on the other, is only a casual phrase in a legendary tale, the invention of an unknown writer in an unknown age; itself too contradicted by all the other earlier documents, in which the same legend is recognised. Even in this view therefore, and placing the conflict of testimony in its very strongest light, there would seem to be little room for hesitation in respect to the identity in question.

How then are we to account for the mention of Betogabra in this singular connexion, which of itself naturally excites suspicion?[1] After having had the subject for many months before my mind, the following seems to me an easy and not unnatural explanation. The life of Ananias was originally dressed out, apparently while Eleutheropolis was still a flourishing episcopal metropolis; and the name of this city alone stood at first in this form of the legend, as it still does in all the rest. At a later period, perhaps after the destruction of the city, or at least after the Greek name had fallen into disuse, a possessor of the manuscript, in order to explain the now obsolete name Eleutheropolis, interlined the more current Betogabra,

[1] No writer would ever think of using such a phrase as "Bethlehem of Jerusalem," "Buyukdere of Constantinople," "Greenwich of London," or the like. Such a construction would be perhaps more admissible, when the first name indicates a constituent part of a larger place, as "Pera of Constantinople," "Cölln of Berlin," "Westminster of London," &c. In this way the expression "Betogabra of Eleutheropolis" might be accounted for, by supposing that the ancient name belonged more particularly to one part of the later enlarged city. But of this there is not the slightest trace in history; and all the circumstances of the case lead me to prefer the solution given in the text, as being more easy and natural.

or wrote it in the margin as a gloss. In the course of subsequent transcription, by copyists perhaps unacquainted with both names, this gloss would readily find its way into the text, and at length become connected by grammatical construction with the other name. In this way, the expression which at first probably meant nothing more than "Betogabra *or* Eleutheropolis," assumed its present form "Betogabra *of* Eleutheropolis." The examples of various readings arising from like glosses in the manuscripts of the New Testament and other ancient writings, are too numerous and well known, to admit a question as to the propriety of applying the same principle, for the solution of the case before us.

Such, I apprehend, and nothing more, is the weight to be attributed to the expression we have been considering; and this appears to be the only shadow of historical testimony, which might tend to excite a doubt as to the identity of Eleutheropolis with the present Beit Jibrîn.[1]

Another ancient tradition connects itself also, in some degree, with the position of Eleutheropolis; I mean that respecting the miraculous fountain, springing out of the jaw-bone of an ass with which Samson smote the Philistines.[2] Josephus, in relating the same event, says the fountain sprang out of a rock, and the place in his day still bore the name of the "Jaw-bone;" though it may be doubtful whether he does any thing more than merely copy the words of Scripture.[3] All this has no connection with Eleutheropolis. Nor is the language of Jerome much more definite, who in tracing

[1] For the "vicus Betagabæorum" which has been supposed to be the same with Betogabra, see Note XXXIII. at the end of the Volume.

[2] Judg. xv. 18, 19.

[3] Antiq. v. 8. 9. ὁ Θεὸς πηγὴν κατά τινος πέτρας ἀνίησιν ἡδεῖαν καὶ πολλήν· ὅθεν ὁ Σαμψὼν ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον Σιαγόνα, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτο λέγεται. So the Heb. לְחִי, Lchi, i. e. Jaw-bone, Judg. xv. 19.

the journey of Paula from Jerusalem or Bethlehem to Egypt, makes her pass by way of Socoh to the fountain of Samson; around which he then loosely mentions the Horites and Gittites, and the names of several other cities.[1] By the Horites he probably meant Eleutheropolis[2]; and the tradition appears to have been current in his day, that this fountain of Samson was in that region. Somewhat more definite is the testimony of Antoninus Martyr, not long before the Muhammedan conquest; in travelling from Jerusalem to Askelon and Gaza, he came to Eleutheropolis, where the fountain of Samson was still pointed out.[3] All this however only shows that the fountain was held to be in the vicinity of that city.

No further mention of this fountain occurs before the age of the crusades; nor do any of the Frank or Arabian historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, appear ever to have heard of the fountain of Samson, or of Eleutheropolis. Yet a wandering tradition respecting both the fountain and city, would seem to have maintained itself in the Greek church even out of Palestine; for in the twelfth century the historian Glycas relates, that Samson's fountain was to be seen in his day in the suburbs of Eleutheropolis. Yet the value of this tradition is shown by the fact, that a century earlier, Cedrenus had declared Eleutheropolis to be the same with Hebron.[4] From the same legen-

[1] "Transibo ad Ægyptum; et in Sochoth atque apud fontem Samson, quem de molari maxillæ dente produxit, subsistam parumper; et arentia ora colluam, ut refocillatus videam Morasthim, sepulchrum quondam Micheæ Prophetæ, nunc Ecclesiam. Et ex latere derelinquam Chorreos, et Gettheos, Maresa, Idumæam, et Lachis," &c. Hieron. Ep. 86. Epitaph. Paulæ, Opp. tom. iv. ii. p. 677. ed. Mart.

[2] See at the close of Note XXXII. end of the Volume.

[3] Antonini Martyr. Itin. 30. 32. "Venimus in civitatem quæ dicitur Eliotropolis (al. Heliopolis) in loco ubi Sampson, &c.—Qui fons usque in hodiernum diem loca illa irrigat; nam in loco ubi surgit fuimus."

[4] Mich. Glycæ Annales, Par. 1660, p. 164. ἡ τοιαύτη πηγὴ μέχρι καὶ τήμερον ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις Ἐλευθεροπόλεως φαίνεται, Σιαγόνος ἐπονομαζομένη πηγή. For Cedrenus, see above, p. 412. note [3].

dary source apparently, Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century derived a notice of the same fountain, but not of the city. He makes a water run from Bethsur first west and then south; where, after being joined by a stream from the north from the fountain of the Jaw-bone, it flows west to the sea near Askelon.[1] Now the Bethsur of that day was at the present fountain of St. Philip in Wady el-Werd[2]; which indeed flows west to the great Wady es-Surâr. This again runs in a south-westerly direction to the plain; entering the sea, however, not at Askelon, but near Yebna. Hence, whatever position be assigned to the fountain on the testimony of Sanutus, it lying north of Wady es-Sŭrâr, can never have been less than ten Roman miles distant from Eleutheropolis.

Thus the testimony to the existence of Samson's fountain in the immediate vicinity of Eleutheropolis, which at first sight seemed so explicit, becomes on a nearer view quite indefinite. Of this however we were not aware at the time; and therefore inquired the more diligently after the fountains throughout the whole region, in the hope of being thus able to discover a trace of Eleutheropolis. But we could neither find, nor hear of, a single living spring or running brook throughout the district in which that city must have lain. The nearest and only approach to it, was in the large well called Um Judei'a, half-way between Beit Jibrîn and the ruined church of Santa Hanneh, which, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, was once a running fountain.[3] This testimony

[1] Marin. Sanut. p. 252. "De prope Bethsura descendit aqua, primo fluens versus occidens, deinde prope meridiem, et tunc ei jungitur *fons invocantis de maxilla*, veniens a parte aquilonis; et ibi prope fuit baptismus Eunuchi; et descendit ultra Staol, prope Ascalonem, versus occidens in mare."

[2] Brocardus, c. x. p. 186. Adrichomius, p. 44. Quaresmius, tom. ii. p. 696. seq.

[3] See above, p. 397.

is at least as definite and good, as that on which rests the proximity of the ancient fountain to Eleutheropolis; and furnishes, so far as it goes, another proof of the identity of that city with Beit Jibrîn.

I have now done with Eleutheropolis; and if the reader (as I fear) shall regard the investigation as prolix and tedious, I beg him to bear in mind, that the subject is one of some historical importance, and has never before been discussed by any one who had visited the spot.

Having thus presented the evidence which goes to fix the site of Eleutheropolis itself, it may be worth while to look for a moment at two or three other ancient places, the situation of which is only known from their relative position to that city.

The first of these is Gath, one of the five cities of the Philistines, whither the ark was carried from Ashdod; it is also celebrated as the residence of Goliath, and was afterwards fortified by Rehoboam.[1] It appears early to have been destroyed, or at least to have lost its importance; the prophet Amos alludes to such an event, and Gath is not enumerated by the later prophets along with the other four cities of the Philistines.[2] Tradition seems also to have been already at fault in the days of Eusebius, who enumerates two places of this name; one five miles from Eleutheropolis towards Diospolis; and the other, a large village, between Antipatris and Jamnia, which he held to be the Gath whither the ark was carried.[3] Yet

[1] 1 Sam. v. 7, 8. xvii. 4. 23. 2 Chron. xi. 8.

[2] Jer. xxv. 20. Amos, vi. 2. i. 7, 8. Zeph. ii. 4. Zech. ix. 5. Reland supposes this to have taken place about the time of the destruction of the first temple; Palæst. p. 786.

[3] Onomast. art. *Geth*, *Getha*.—The crusaders held Gath to be in this quarter, or rather at Jamnia itself; and erected upon the supposed site the castle of Ibelin or Hibelin, which Bejamin of Tudela identifies with Jabneh, now Yebna. Will. Tyr. xv. 24, 25. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. ii. p. 615. Benj. de Tud. par Baratier, p. 103.

Jerome, who in the Onomasticon merely translates the words of Eusebius, gives us in another work the definite specification, that Gath, one of the five cities of Philistia, was situated near the borders of Judea, on the way from Eleutheropolis to Gaza, and was then a very large village.[1] He does not mention the distance at which it lay from either of these cities; nor whether it still bore the name of Gath; thus leaving it uncertain, after all, whether this specification is any thing more than a conjecture of his own.

No subsequent mention of Gath or its position occurs in history or in the accounts of Palestine; and we sought in vain for any present trace of the name throughout the whole region. On our return from Gaza to Beit Jibrîn, we took the road by es-Sukkarîyeh and el-Kubeibeh, because these villages were much spoken of; and we thought perhaps traces of antiquity might be found there, from which at least a presumption might be drawn as to the site of Gath. But, as already related, we found nothing to authorize even the slightest conjecture. Another road somewhat further north passes through the villages el-Fâlûjy and 'Arâk el-Menshîyeh, which we did not visit, although they were in sight. We could not learn that they contain any remains of antiquity.

The Gath which Eusebius and Jerome place at five Roman miles north of Eleutheropolis towards Diospolis appears to be the same with Gath-Rimmon, a Levitical city in the tribe of Dan[2], which the same writers describe as lying twelve miles from Diospolis towards Eleutheropolis. The distance from Eleutheropolis accords well with the site of Deir Dŭbbân, near which we

[1] Hieron. Comm. in Mich. i. 11. "Geth una est de quinque urbibus Palæstinæ, vicina Judææ confinio, et de Eleutheropoli euntibus Gazam nunc usque vicus vel maximus."

[2] Josh. xix. 45. xxi. 24. 1 Chron. vi. 69.

first fell in with the remarkable excavations of this region. From that place to Beit Jibrîn we travelled not quite two hours, by a somewhat winding road.[1] The distance to Lydda, however, must be more than four hours, or twelve Roman miles.

Another ancient city which lay not far from Eleutheropolis, was Maresha, the Maresa or Marissa of Josephus, situated in the plain of Judah, and afterwards fortified by Rehoboam.[2] Here Asa defeated the immense host of Zerah the Ethiopian; and Judas Maccabæus, after having captured Hebron from the Idumeans, descended by way of Maresha, which he laid desolate, to Ashdod.[3] After various changes of masters it was at length rebuilt and fortified by Gabinius; but was again destroyed by the Parthians during their irruption against Herod.[4] In the days of Eusebius and Jerome the ruins of Maresha were shown "in the second mile" from Eleutheropolis.[5] The direction is not given; but from all the circumstances, it would seem probable, that Eleutheropolis (at first Betogabra) had sprung up after the destruction of Maresha, and had been built with its materials.[6] Assuming Beit Jibrîn as the site of Eleutheropolis, we were led to suppose at the time, that the foundations we discovered on the south-eastern part of the remarkable Tell south of the place, were remains of Maresha. The spot is admirably

[1] See above, p. 352. seq.

[2] Josh. xv. 44. 2 Chron. xi. 8.

[3] 2 Chron. xiv. 9, 10. Joseph. Antiq. xii. 8. 6. Comp. 1 Macc. v. 65–68. where, as Reland shows, Maresa should be read for Samaria; Palæst. p. 889. Comp. p. 365. above.

[4] Jos. Antiq. xiv. 5. 3. xiv. 13. 9.

[5] Onomast. art. *Masera*, Μαρησά.

[6] If we may assume with Reland, that the Betaris of Josephus is for *Begabris* (Betogabra), as Rufinus reads it in his copy, (Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 1. Reland, Palæst. pp. 626. 628; comp. p. 360. note [1], above,) then this village, which Vespasian captured in Idumea, would seem to have sprung into note after the destruction of Maresha, as related in the text; and grew up into the later and more renowned Eleutheropolis. That the Idumea of Josephus extended thus far, will be immediately shown in the text; p. 424.

adapted for a fortress; it lies about a Roman mile and a half from the ruins of Beit Jibrîn, that is, within the second mile, though certainly not two miles distant. Nowhere else in the vicinity could we find or hear of any trace of ruins.[1]

Somewhere in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis lay also the village of Moresheth, the birth-place of the prophet Micah.[2] The name Moresheth-Gath, under which it once occurs, seems to imply that it was near to Gath; Eusebius and Jerome place it eastward of Eleutheropolis; and the latter writer in another place remarks, that it was still a small village near that city.[3] In the journey of Paula, Jerome again speaks of the village in connection with the fountain of Samson, as having formerly contained the sepulchre of Micah, where was now a church.[4] This latter circumstance seems not improbably to refer to the ruined church of Santa Hanneh, twenty minutes S. S. E. of Beit Jibrîn, close by which are the ruined foundations of a village, which may or may not be ancient. In this case Jerome would appear either to have confounded Maresha and Moresheth; or else the one lay perhaps upon the hill, and the other in the valley north, between the church and the excavated sepulchres. That they were two distinct places, appears, partly from the difference of the names, which come from different roots; and partly from the fact, that the prophet Micah mentions them together.[5] More difficult is it to account in any case for the epithet Gath.

[1] Benjamin of Tudela places Maresha at Beit Jibrîn itself; Itin. par Baratier, p. 101. "Sed ejus auctoritas tanti non est," is the remark of Reland, p. 890.

[2] Mic. i. 1. Jer. xxv. 18. Moresheth-Gath, Mic. i. 14.

[3] Onomast. art. *Morasthi*. Hieron. Comm. in Mic. prol. "Ad Michæam de Morasthi, qui usque hodie juxta Eleutheropolin urbem Palæstinæ, haud grandis est viculus."

[4] Ep. 86. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 677. ed. Mart. "Ut refocillatus videam Morasthim, sepulchrum quondam Michææ prophetæ, nunc ecclesiam."

[5] Mic. i. 14, 15.

It appears from history, that during or soon after the Jewish exile, the Edomites spread themselves throughout the south of Judea, which they continued to occupy, and which consequently is included under the name of Idumea by Josephus and later writers. Judas Maccabæus captured from them Hebron, Marissa, and Ashdod; and John Hyrcanus, after taking Adora and Marissa, compelled the Idumean inhabitants of the whole region to conform to the laws and customs of the Jews.[1] Jerome also in speaking of the Idumeans, calls them Horites, and makes them dwell within the borders of Eleutheropolis.[2] Now we know, that the original inhabitants of Idumea proper were actually Horites, that is, Troglodytes, "dwellers in caverns," or under ground; who, although dispossessed by the Edomites, continued to live among the latter, and apparently became with them one people.[3] It is for this reason, probably, that Jerome thus calls the whole nation Horites; adopting however a different signification of the word, "the free," in order (by a Rabbinic conceit) to make out a Hebrew etymology for the later name Eleutheropolis.[4] Yet it is also possible, that the Edomites were called Horites in Palestine in the original acceptation of the word; for Jerome also asserts, that Idumea, or the whole southern region from Eleutheropolis to Petra and Ailah, was full of habitations in caves; the inhabitants using subterranean dwellings on account of the great heat.[5]—Does not this language suggest the idea, that

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xii. 8. 6. xiii. 9. 1. Comp. 1 Macc. v. 65–68. Josephus speaks expressly of Hebron as in Idumea; B. J. iv. 9. 7. He says too that Idumea was round about Gaza; c. Apion. ii. 9.

[2] "In finibus est Ἐλευθεροπόλεως, ubi ante habitaverant Horæi, qui interpretantur *liberi*, unde ipsa urbs postea sortita vocabulum est;" Comm. in Obad. vs. 1.

[3] Gen. xiv. 6. Deut. ii. 12. 22. Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21.

[4] See at the close of Note XXXII. end of the Volume.

[5] Comm. in Obad. vs. 5, 6. "Omnis australis regio Idumæorum de Eleutheropoli usque ad

Jerome is here alluding in part to the singular excavations which we discovered near Deir Dubbân, and which were so particularly numerous around Beit Jibrîn or Elcutheropolis? May we perhaps suppose, that the Idumeans brought with them their habits of life, and preferred to excavate for themselves here dwellings under ground in the soft limestone rock? It did not indeed occur to us at the time, that possibly this had been the object of these caverns; but it might well have been the case; for they were all dry, and in general well lighted. We needed candles only in exploring those on the south side of the Tell near Beit Jibrîn; and even these may not improbably have once received light by openings now filled up.—I do not wish to be considered as here advancing an hypothesis; but merely as bringing forward a suggestion, which may deserve consideration.[1]

May 23*d continued.* The village of Idhna lies just across the water-shed at the head of the valley we had ascended. Just beyond it, another larger valley, Wady el-Feranj, comes from the S. E. and running by the place towards the N. W. ultimately passes down to Beit Jibrîn, forming with others the broad valley which there comes in on the north side. The present Idhna is a small village, divided into two parts by a short Wady or gully running into Wady el-Feranj. Each part has its separate Sheikh with his Kŭsr or tower; and the inhabitants are divided into two parties, according as they live north or south of the water-course. In all civil broils, the Sheikhs with their followers usually take different sides.

Petram et Ailam (hæc est possessio Esau) in specubus habitatiunculas habet; et propter nimios calores solis, quia meridiana provincia est, subterraneis tuguriis utitur."

[1] See the account of these various caverns, not less than five different clusters in all, pp. 353. 362. 395—398.

We had alighted at the Kŭsr of the Sheikh on the north side, a rude square building of stone, two stories high. He was an old man, who welcomed us kindly, and went with us to the top of the hill which overhangs the village on the north, to point out and name the places in sight. According to him, the village once stood upon this hill. It is now cultivated, and covered with young orchards of fig-trees; the ground having been cleared of stones by laying them up in walls. In this way all traces of ancient foundations have been destroyed; but I picked up on the top a handful of marble tesseræ, once belonging to ancient Mosaic work.[1]

Idhna lies near the foot of the mountains, where the steep ascent of the higher ridge begins. Here a village called et-Taiyibeh came in sight, situated on the high ridge above; and the direction of Nŭsîb or Beit Nŭsîb at the foot, was also pointed out; though the place itself was not visible. Beit Ûla lay beyond, also out of sight. These with Nûba and Khârâs form a cluster of villages at the foot of the mountain near Terkûmieh; through which last passes the more travelled road from Beit Jibrîn to Hebron.[2]

While taking our observations on the hill, we were exceedingly incommoded by a strong S. W. wind, which was blowing with some violence, although we had felt it comparatively little in the vallies. Before going with us, it seems, the hospitable old Sheikh had

[1] I am not aware that Idhna (Jedna) can be brought into connexion with any Scriptural name. Reland indeed, forgetting his usual sagacity, finds in it the Ithnan of Josh. xv. 23. But this latter place lay quite at the southern extremity of Judah, towards Edom; comp. vs. 21. Reland, Palæst. p. 862. Raumer, Pal. p. 205.

[2] We took here at Idhna the following bearings of places, all but one (the last) lying east of the meridian line: Um Burj N. 3° E. Jemrûrah N. 8° E. Ribba N. 10° E. Deir el-Hawa N. 23° E. Khârâs N. 56° E. Nûba N. 60° E. Beit Nŭsîb nearly N. 62° E. Jedûr N. 62° E. Beit Ummar N. 67° E. Bŭkkâr N. 70° E. Kusbur N. 78° E. Sŭfa N. 87° E. Taiyibeh S. 80° E. Dawâimeh S. 70° W.

without our knowledge given orders to prepare a breakfast for us; and on our return, the women announced that the bread was baked, and the meal would be ready in a few minutes. Although anxious to get on, we yet waited for some time, rather than disappoint his well-meant though ill-timed hospitality; but as we saw no end to the delay, we at length mounted and moved off. The Sheikh now came running with his bosom full of bread, which he distributed among our muleteers; assuring us that the *semen* (melted butter) and *leben* (soured milk) were already poured upon the bread in a bowl for the breakfast; and beseeching us to wait and partake of it. We thought it better to proceed; much to the dissatisfaction of the muleteers, who complained long afterwards, that we had taken them away from a savoury breakfast.—We had thus far found it so much against the custom to offer money in return for our entertainment, that we had given it up; and from Gaza to Hebron we did not pay a para, nothing being expected. We were doubtless thought the better of, for not making the attempt.

Leaving Idhna at 9¼ o'clock, we followed up Wady el-Feranj on a course E. S. E. into the mountains, which here began immediately to rise on our left. The Wady soon became a deep and narrow glen. At 10h 10′ we reached a fork of the valley, where on a projection of the right hand mountain stands a ruined tower. A path leads along up the right hand Wady towards the village of Dûra, and another up the left hand branch to Taiyibeh; while our road began immediately to climb the mountain between the two vallies. The ascent was long and steep, but rendered easier by many zigzags. At 10h 50′ a village (probably Dûra) appeared S. 10° W. on a distant part of the mountain. We reached the top at 11 o'clock, just by

a cistern of rain-water excavated in the rock. Here our course back bore W. N. W. and Taiyibeh, now about upon the same level, N. by E.

We came out here upon a somewhat narrow ridge of high table-land, between the two vallies above mentioned, which here run nearly parallel to each other towards the N. W. and into both of which we could look down almost perpendicularly to a great depth. This plateau we found after a short distance to be well tilled; its surface being occupied by fields of grain, olive-groves and vineyards. The bottoms of the two deep vallies on each side were also in high cultivation.

Pursuing the same general course and gradually ascending, we reached Teffûh at 11½ o'clock; an old village on a higher and broader part of the same ridge. It contains a good number of inhabitants, and lies in the midst of olive-groves and vineyards, with marks of industry and thrift on every side. Indeed many of the former terraces along the hill-sides are still in use; and the land looks somewhat as it may have done in ancient times. Several portions of walls, apparently those of an old fortress, are visible among the houses; and seem to attest the antiquity of the place. The large stones of which they are built are soft; and the edges being worn away by the weather, the chinks are everywhere filled in with thin pieces of stone, which give to the whole a more modern aspect than really belongs to it. The name Teffûh marks this as the site of the ancient Beth Tappuah of the mountains of Judah, nor far from Hebron.[1] From here Neby Nûh,

[1] Josh. xv. 53. Another Tappuah lay in the plain of Judah, apparently in the vicinity of Zanoah, Jarmuth, Socoh, &c. Josh. xv. 34. Which of these was the place conquered by Joshua, it is difficult to say; Josh. xii. 17. comp. x. 36.— Eusebius and Jerome seem to refer the names Tappuah and Beth Tappuah to one and the same village, and to place it more towards Egypt; Onomast. arts. *Bethaphu*, *Thaffu*.

the Wely near Dûra, bore S. 41° W. Taiyibeh N. 17° W.

After a stop of three quarters of an hour, we set off again at 12¼ o'clock, still ascending gradually along the ridge on a course E. ½ S. The direction of the deep vallies on each side is here more from E. to W. and for a time, our way led along the steep declivity overhanging that upon the south, among slippery rocks, which rendered the path difficult and dangerous. The bottom of the valley, far below us, was highly cultivated and full of vineyards. The Sirocco wind which we had felt all day, now increased to a violent tempest, bringing up the dust and sand from the desert, and filling the air so as to obscure the sun. The whole atmosphere became of a deep dun or yellowish hue, such as we had seen before in the desert near Ruhaibeh.[1] As we approached the height of land, a few drops of rain fell, and left upon our clothes spots of mud as if we had been spattered from a puddle. The guide said immediately this would blast the grain; he thought the mud had a saltish taste, which we could not perceive; nor did we afterwards hear of any damage to the crops.

At 1h 10′ we reached the top of the whole ascent, the height of land and water-shed between the vallies behind us and the branches of that in which Hebron lies. The town itself here came in sight down a valley, S. 65° E. fifty minutes distant. Descending gradually for ten minutes, we came to the head of the fine open valley north of the town. Here in a field on our left, was a very large and beautiful oak tree (*Quercus Ilex*, Arabic *Sindiân*), which passes among the Muhammedans for the tree of Abraham, where his tent was pitched. Towards the city followed fine vineyards and fields of grain, occupying most of the valley, all now in high verdure. At 2 o'clock we reached Hebron, and

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 287–289.

selected a spot for our tent on the grassy slope west of the town, not far above the lower pool, and near the straggling cemetery which covers a part of the open ground. We found great difficulty in pitching the tent, as the Sirocco had now become almost a tornado; the ropes were several times broken, and had at last to be doubled on the windward side. The air became dark, almost like night, from the sand and dust. After a short time, however, the tempest abated; and we had at evening a fine cool wind from the N. W. The actual heat was not unusually great; the thermometer rose only to 86° F.

We here dismissed our trusty muleteers and our guide; with all of whom we had been well satisfied, and indeed much pleased. We too were able to satisfy all their expectations; and they returned with light hearts the same evening to their homes near Jerusalem.

As we were pitching the tent, Elias of Damascus (Elyâs esh-Shâmy) the only Christian resident in Hebron, sent to invite us into the town, and to take up our quarters at his house. We however declined; and he then came himself to repeat and urge the invitation. This he did not knowing who we were, but supposing us to be some "Milords" or other; probably from the rather showy appearance of our tent. We again declined, and positively; for we knew that we should be far more masters of our time and actions in our own tent, than in the house of another person; to say nothing of the inconvenience and vermin to which we should have been thus exposed. The refusal was softened on our part by accepting a dinner, which he soon after sent us. — Elias had two years before removed hither from Damascus, and occupied the post of secretary or banker (or perhaps both) to the governor of Hebron. It was his ambition to become the agent of a Frank consul; and his applications in this behalf, both to English and American

visitors at Hebron, were unceasing and somewhat burdensome.[1] In the mean time, he was fond of appearing as the host and protector of Frank travellers, expecting thus to gain a sort of consideration in the eyes of his Muslim neighbours. This indeed had been the secret of his ready and somewhat officious hospitality towards ourselves.

Before leaving Jerusalem, we had made arrangements, as we supposed, to have men and camels from the Jehâlîn ready for us at Hebron, so as to be able to set off immediately for Wady Mûsa. We had accordingly expected to find them waiting our arrival; but by some mishap, connected probably with the shutting up of Jerusalem, our orders had never been transmitted to Hebron; and we were therefore compelled, to our great disappointment, to lose the whole of the two following days in waiting for camels. Our chagrin was still further aggravated by the mismanagement of Elias, by which we were led to expect the arrival of the camels at every hour; and were thus prevented from making excursions to various places in the vicinity of the town.

Thursday, May 24th. The general appearance of Hebron, and the impression it made upon us as we formerly passed through it, on our way to Jerusalem, have already been described.[2] It is situated in a deep narrow valley, which having its head in the open country an hour north of the place, passes down S. S. E. at first broad, with many vineyards, and then narrower as it approaches the town, with high hills on either side. The town itself consists of three parts. The main quarter is around and north of the great mosk, upon the slope of the eastern hill; here are the bazars and the chief places of business. Further north,

[1] See Mr. Stephens's description of the visit and similar application of Elias to himself; Incidents, &c. ii. p. 166.—Elias however was not a Copt, as there represented.

[2] Vol. I. p. 314–316.

and separated from this part by an open space of fields, is another smaller cluster of houses, like a suburb. On the slope of the western hill, opposite the mosk and the south end of the main quarter, is also a smaller tract of houses; or rather, perhaps, the main quarter may be said here to extend across the valley and occupy the lower portion of both declivities. The town is without walls; yet at the entrance of one or two of the streets, in coming from the country, there are gates.

Directly over against the main part of the town, the high western hill retreats somewhat, leaving a recess with the gentle slope on which we were encamped; while north of this the hill again advances, and the acclivity is thickly covered with olive-orchards of very old trees.[1] The geographical position of Hebron, so far as yet determined, is in Lat. 31° 32′ 30″ N. and Long. 35° 8′ 20″ E. from Greenwich.[2] The elevation above the sea is given by Schubert at 2664, and by Russegger at 2842 Paris feet.[3]

In the bottom of the valley, towards the south, where the town extends across it, is the lower pool; a square reservoir, measuring one hundred and thirty-three English feet on each side, built with hewn stones of good workmanship. The whole depth is twenty-one feet eight inches, of which the water now occupied not quite fourteen feet. Flights of steps lead down to it at each corner. Just at the north end of the main part of the town is another smaller pool, also occupying the bed of the valley, measuring eighty-five feet in length by fifty-five feet broad; its depth is eighteen

[1] Schubert mentions here on the west of the town a number of very old Pistacia-trees (*Pistacia vera*) with large trunks; Reise, ii. p. 478. These we failed to notice.

[2] An observation for the latitude by Moore and Beke gives 31° 31′ 30″; but this does not accord with the distance from Jerusalem, which they also make one minute too far south; see Vol. I. p. 381, note [2]. Journal of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. 1837, vol. vii. p. 456. The longitude is that deduced from our routes to Hebron from Jerusalem, Ramleh, Gaza, and 'Akabah. See Vol. III. First Appendix, pp. 34, 42.

[3] Schubert's Reise, ii. p. 469. Berghaus's Annalen, März, 1839, p. 429.

feet eight inches, of which the water occupied not quite seven feet. These reservoirs seemed to furnish the chief, if not the sole supply of the town at the time; and were constantly frequented by persons carrying away the water in skins. That of the upper pool seemed to be neither clear nor clean. The pools were said to be filled only from the rains. Near the summit of the hill, north of our tent, was a fine cool fountain, from which we obtained our supply; it is sunk in the ground and arched over, with a flight of steps by which to descend to it. Just north of the town too, by the side of the road along the bed of the valley, is another small fountain; which seemed to serve chiefly at this season for watering animals.

The pools above described are doubtless of high antiquity; and one of them is probably to be regarded as the "pool of Hebron" over which David hanged up the assassins of Ishbosheth.[1] The other alleged antiquities of Hebron, (with the exception of the great mosk,) did not occupy our attention. We neither saw nor inquired after the tomb of Abner, nor that of Jesse, nor the red earth of which Adam was formed, nor the place where Cain slew Abel, nor various other legendary spots mentioned by early and later travellers. The place called by the Jews the "House of Abraham," an hour from Hebron towards Jerusalem, with the remains of massive walls, has already been described, as the probable site of what was held to be Mamre in the early Christian ages.[2]

The great Haram, or rather the exterior wall which encloses the mosk, constitutes the most remarkable object in Hebron, and one of the most so in all Palestine. It is also one of the most sacred places of

[1] 2 Sam. iv. 12.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 317–319. The same spot and walls are also described by Von Troilo as Mamre; Oriental. Reisebeschr. p. 319. Dresd. 1676.

the Muhammedans; being held to cover the sepulchre of Abraham and the other patriarchs. We had looked at it with some care in our previous visit; and it was now one of the first things to claim our further attention. On our way thither this morning, we called at the house of Elias in the north part of the main quarter, to pay him our respects in return for his kindness. We found that he and his family had already gone out to spend the day under the greak oak, which we had passed yesterday; and had left an invitation for us to join them there, and breakfast with them at a later hour. We then proceeded to the mosk.

The exterior has the appearance of a large and lofty building in the form of a parellelogram; its longest dimension being along the valley from N. N. W. to S. S. E. and not as in most ancient churches from W. to E. We measured on a line parallel to its eastern side and southern end, as near to it as we could; though not without some hints to desist, from an old man or two who came along. The length proved to be nearest two hundred feet, and the breadth one hundred and fifteen feet. The height cannot be less than fifty or sixty feet. The walls are built of very large stones, all bevelled and hewn smooth; and similar in all respects to the most ancient parts of the walls around the Haram at Jerusalem. But they are not in general so large, nor is the bevelling so deep.[1] The architecture has this peculiarity, that the walls are built up externally with square pilasters, sixteen on each side and eight at each end, without capitals, except a sort of cornice which extends along the whole building. Above this, the walls have been raised by the Muslims

[1] According to Irby and Mangles, and also Mr. Legh, some of these stones are upwards of twenty-five feet in length; Travels, p. 343. Legh, under May 8th. We did not notice any larger than about eighteen feet.

eight or ten feet higher, with a small turret or minaret at each corner. There are no windows in any part of these walls. The places of entrance are at the two northern corners, where a long and broad flight of steps of very gentle ascent, built up and covered along each side of the building externally, leads to a door in each wall opening into the court within. That at the N. W. corner seemed to be the principal entrance, merely perhaps as being the most conveniently situated.—The building stands upon the slope of the eastern hill; the rocks having been excavated along the upper side, in order to lay the foundations.

According to all accounts, the structure here described, including all that is visible from without, is merely an exterior enclosure of walls, around a court within. In this court stands the much smaller mosk, which is said to have been once a Christian church.[1] Here in different parts, the Muhammedans have built tombs for the patriarchs; while their actual place of sepulchre is held to be in a cavern below, which even the faithful are not permitted to enter.[2] But as the jealous bigotry of the Mussulmans of Hebron precludes all admittance to Franks and Christians; and the height of the exterior wall prevents any view of the interior, even from the adjacent hill; we are yet without any intelligible description of the mosk and its appurtenances, and know nothing at all of the cavern which thus represents the cave of Machpelah.[3]

[1] Life of Giovanni Finati, edited by Mr. Bankes, vol. ii. p. 236. Finati as a Mussulman entered the mosk.

[2] "All the sepulchres of the patriarchs are covered with rich carpets of green silk, magnificently embroidered with gold; those of their wives are red, embroidered in like manner. The Sultans of Constantinople furnish these carpets, which are renewed from time to time. I counted nine, one over the other, upon the sepulchre of Abraham. The rooms also which contain the tombs, are covered with carpets." Ali Bey's Travels, ii. p. 233.

[3] The only Europeans, who have entered this Haram, are the Spaniard Badia (Ali Bey), travelling as a Mussulman, and Giovanni

The outer structure thus described, evidently belongs to a high antiquity; and the resemblance of its architecture to that of the remains of the ancient temple at Jerusalem, seems to point to a Jewish origin.[1] Yet we have no certain accounts of it; and all we can learn respecting it, is from a few scattered hints in ancient writers, which merely serve to cast a further gleam of probability upon this conclusion. As a matter of course, monastic tradition refers the edifice to Helena, as one of her churches; but for this, as we have seen, there is not the slighest ground[2]; while the form, direction, and elevation of the structure, and especially the absence of windows, all go to show, that these walls were never any thing more than what they are at present, an exterior enclosure around an inner edifice or court.

I know of nothing that should lead us to question the correctness of the tradition, which regards this as the place of sepulture of Abraham and the other patriarchs, as recorded in the book of Genesis.[3] On the contrary, there is much to strengthen it. Josephus relates, that Abraham and his descendants erected monuments over the sepulchres in question; which

Finati, the Italian servant of Mr. Bankes. The account of the latter is exceedingly brief; and that of the former, besides being brief, is so confused, that I can make out nothing either from his description or his plates. Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.—Monro gives a more intelligible account; but as he does not mention the source of his information, we are still left in the dark as to its credibility; he speaks indeed as if from personal observation, for which, most assuredly, he never had an opportunity; nor does he indeed expressly say so; Summer Ramble, i. p. 243. seq. Yet Raumer, and after him Schubert, incorrectly assume, that he had visited the interior; Raumer, Palæst, p. 199, n. Schubert's Reise, ii. p. 473. — Benjamin of Tudela professes to give a description of the cavern, in which he says are deposited vast quantities of the bones of Jews; Voyages, &c. par Baratier, i. p. 99. seq.

[1] So, too, Mr. Legh: "From the general aspect of the building, resembling neither Grecian, Roman, nor early Christian architecture, it seemed to me to be possibly of Jewish origin." May 8th. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 620.

[2] See above, pp. 16, 17.

[3] Gen. c. xxiii. xxv. 9. xlix. 30, 31. l. 13.

implies at least, that in his day the place was marked by some ancient memorial. In another passage he says expressly, that the sepulchres of the patriarchs were still seen in Hebron, built of marble and of elegant workmanship.[1] In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, the monument of Abraham was yet pointed out[2]; and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, in A. D. 333, describes it as a quadrangle, built of stones of admirable beauty.[3] This description appears to me, without much doubt, to refer to the exterior structure, as we see it now; and I venture to suppose, that this existed already in the days of Josephus and probably much earlier; and was either itself the monument referred to by him, or perhaps the sacred enclosure within which the tombs of the patriarchs were erected. The whole appearance of the building, as well as its architecture, leads decidedly to such a conclusion.

The next notice we have of the sepulchre of the patriarchs is from Antoninus Martyr, not long before the Muhammedan conquest. He describes a "Basilica" upon the spot, a quadrangle with an interior court open to the sky, into which Jews and Christians entered from different sides, burning incense as they advanced.[4] Arculfus visited Hebron near the close of the seventh century; he describes the several sepulchres themselves as small and mean; the feet being turned, not as usual towards the east, but towards the south; they were situated about a stadium from ancient Hebron towards the east, and surrounded by a low wall.[5] In the latter half of the eighth century,

[1] Antiq. i. 14. B. J. iv. 9. 7.

[2] Onomast. art. *Arboch* (Ἀρκώ). The church described by Jerome in the same article, was at the Terebinth; Eusebius does not mention it.

[3] "Inde Therebinto Chebron, mil. ii. Ubi est memoria per quadrum ex lapidibus miræ pulchritudinis, in quo positi Abraham," &c. Itin. Hieros. ed. Wesseling, p. 599. *Memoria* is here i. q. monumentum, sepulchrum; see Wesseling's note.

[4] Antonini Mart. Itin. 30.

[5] "Horum locus Sepulchrorum

St. Willibald passed here on his way from Gaza to Jerusalem, and mentions the sepulchres of the patriarchs at a place called the "Castle of Aframia."[1] In this corrupt reading we may recognise the first trace of the "Castle of St. Abraham," the name by which Hebron was generally known in the age of the crusades, and in allusion to which it is still called among the Arabs el-Khŭlîl. In like manner Sæwulf, about A. D. 1103, speaks of the monuments of the patriarchs as surrounded by a strong castle.[2]

Thus far we find no mention either of a church or mosk within the enclosure; unless it be the above notice of a "Basilica," by Antoninus Martyr, before the Muhammedan conquest. This seems however merely to refer to the exterior structure; for certainly Christians and Jews would not be found occupying a church together. Ali Bey indeed describes the present mosk as having formerly been a Greek church; remarking at the same time, that the body of it is Gothic.[3] But here is an inconsistency; no Greek church has pointed arches, which were first introduced by the Saracens and imitated by the Latins. Hence, if the latter assertion of Ali Bey be correct, the edifice may not improbably have been built as a church by the Latins, when they erected Hebron into a bishopric in A. D. 1167.[4] The historians of that age do not indeed men-

quadrato humili circumvenitur muro;" Adamnanus ex Arculfo, ii. 10. The epithet *humili* was probably added from some misapprehension on the part of Adamnanus himself.

[1] "Et inde tunc ibat ad castellum Aframia; ibi requiescunt tres patriarchæ," &c. Hodœpor. 21. p. 377. ib. 13. p. 387. ed. Mabillon.

[2] "Hebron--in cujus orientali parte monumenta sanctorum patriarcharum antiquitus facta castello fortissimo circumcinguntur." Sæwulf, Peregrinat. p. 269.

[3] Travels, ii. p. 232.

[4] Will. Tyr. xx. 3. Le Quien, Or. Christ. ii. p. 1270. William of Tyre says expressly, there had never been a Greek bishop at Hebron, but only a prior. Mejr ed-Dîn, about A. D. 1495, refers the mosk to the times of the Greeks; by whom he most probably means the crusaders. Fundgr. des Or. ii. p. 375. Benjamin of Tudela, who was here after A. D. 1160, says the tombs had been built up by the Christians; Voyages, par Baratier, p. 100.

tion the building of a church on that occasion; but neither do they speak of the Latin church at Neby Samwîl, as to which however there can be no question. The Arabian historian of Jerusalem and Hebron, describes the mosk as having a large dome between two smaller ones towards the east and west; and speaks of a pulpit with carved work in wood, bearing date A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091); which however was first brought hither by Saladin after the capture of Askelon in A. D. 1187.[1]

Thus, it appears to me, we may rest with confidence in the view, that the remarkable external structure of the Haram is indeed the work of Jewish hands, erected long before the destruction of the nation, around the sepulchre of their revered progenitors, "the Friend of God" and his descendants.[2] The cave of Machpelah is described in Scripture as at the "end of the field," over against Mamre, the same as Hebron[3]; and all the later writers above quoted, speak of the sepulchre of the patriarchs as *at* or *in* Hebron, not near it. Here then the "Father of the faithful," as also Isaac and Jacob, rested from their wanderings!

Just at the left of the principal entrance of the Haram, is a small hole in the massive wall, through which the Jews are permitted at certain times to look into the interior. Here several Jewish women were reading prayers and wailing; although the hole was now closed by a shutter from within. I spoke to some of them in German; but they were all from Spain, and we could hold no communication.

A little north of the Haram, on the main street leading to it, is a castle or citadel, not high, but with massive walls of great strength; a part of which had

[1] Mejr ed-Dîn in Fundgr. des Or. ii. p. 375.

[2] James, ii. 23.

[3] Gen. xxiii. 9. 17. 19. Comp. xxxv. 27.

been thrown down and were now lying in ruins. This was said to have been occasioned by an earthquake. It may perhaps with more probability be referred to the troops of Ibrahim Pasha in 1834; since an earthquake powerful enough to overturn walls so massive, would hardly have failed to leave behind other traces of its devastations.—Near by the Haram, on the opposite side of the same street, the gateway of a Khân, or some building of the kind, bears an inscription with the date of A. H. 679 (A. D. 1280), recording that it was erected by order of the Egyptian Sultan Seif ed-Dîn.

In passing along the skirts of the town on the hill-side north of the Haram, we came upon a large manufactory of water-skins, occupying an extensive yard with several tanners' vats. These are merely the skins of goats stripped off whole, except at the neck; the holes at the legs and tail being sewed up. They are first stuffed out full and strained by driving in small billets and chips of oak-wood; and are then filled with a strong infusion of oak bark for a certain time, until the hair becomes fixed and the skin sufficiently tanned. This constitutes the whole process. Not less than fifteen hundred skins were lying thus stuffed, in rows about the yard. They are sold at different prices, from fifteen up to forty piastres. This establishment is private property.

The Bazar is on a street not far north of the Haram. We were struck with the abundance and large size of the raisins; finer indeed than we saw anywhere else in the East; and also with the excellence and cheapness of the fruits in general. The large delicious oranges of Yâfa were selling here eight or ten for a single piastre. The butchers' stalls attracted our notice by the abundance of mutton hung out before them; the fatness and apparent delicacy of which

would do credit to an English farmer. In other respects, the Bazars were not well supplied; and portions of them stood empty and desolate, in consequence (it was said) of the decay of trade, after the storming of the town in 1834.

In the dark narrow lanes near the north end of the main quarter, are the manufactories of glass for which Hebron has long been celebrated.[1] We looked in upon some of these, and found the processes in general much the same as elsewhere, though more rude. The aspect of these establishments reminded me much of Pittsburg; though they are on a far inferior scale. The articles manufactured consist almost solely of small glass lamps, many of which are exported to Egypt; and rings of coloured glass, worn by females on the arms. We had seen great quantities of these for sale in Jerusalem; and several large crates of rings and lamps were now lying in the streets, ready for loading on camels for transportation.

Returning to our tent, we found there several visitors from Jerusalem. From them we learned, that on the day of our departure proclamation had been made through the streets, that the city would be shut up on the following day; which was done accordingly. They and many others had left their homes; and were now wandering about in the neighbouring towns and villages.

About 11 o'clock, we went out to pay our respects to Elias and his family under the great oak. Just as we left the town, two camels escorted by a few soldiers came in from Dûra, loaded with the miserable spoils in the shape of old and broken fire-arms, extorted from the people of that place by the three governors.[2]

[1] These are mentioned in the 15th century as already flourishing. Gumpenberg's Journal, A. D. 1449, Reissb. p. 445. Felix Fabri in A. D. 1483, ibid. p. 288.

[2] See above, pp. 403, 404.

Our road was the same by which we had arrived yesterday, lying between two walls, and leading through rich fields and vineyards. The general character of these, as well as the variety and abundance of other fruits which grow around Hebron, such as figs, pomegranates, apricots, quinces, and the like, has already been alluded to, in connexion with our former visit.[1] We could now observe more nearly the peculiar manner of training the vines. They are planted singly in rows, eight or ten feet apart in each direction. The stock is suffered to grow up large to the height of six or eight feet, and is then fastened in a sloping position to a strong stake, and the shoots suffered to grow and extend from one plant to another, forming a line of festoons. Sometimes two rows are made to slant towards each other, and thus form by their shoots a sort of arch. These shoots are pruned away in autumn.

The vineyards belonging to the city are very extensive, reaching almost to Teffûh, and also for some distance towards Dhoherîyeh, and covering the sides of nearly all the hills. The lodges of stone, which serve for the watchmen, and also in part for the families of Hebron during the vintage, have been before mentioned.[2] The vintage is a season of hilarity and rejoicing for all; the town is then deserted, and the people live among the vineyards in the lodges and in tents. The produce of these vineyards is celebrated throughout Palestine. No wine, however, nor 'Arak is made from them, except by the Jews; and this not in great quantity. The wine is good. The finest grapes are dried as raisins; and the rest being trodden and pressed, the juice is boiled down to a syrup, which under the name of *Dibs*[3] is much used by all classes

[1] See the account of our first visit to Hebron, Vol. I. p. 316.

[2] Vol. I. p. 314.

[3] This is the Hebrew word דְּבַשׁ, signifying 'honey,' and also 'syrup of grapes.'

wherever vineyards are found, as a condiment with their food. It resembles thin molasses; but is more pleasant to the taste.

The venerable oak (Sindiân) to which we now came, is a splendid tree; we hardly saw another like it in all Palestine, certainly not on this side of the plain of Esdraelon. Indeed large trees are very rare in this quarter of the country. The trunk of this tree measures twenty-two and a half feet around the lower part. It separates almost immediately into three large boughs or trunks; and one of these again, higher up, into two. The branches extend from the trunk in one direction forty-nine feet; their whole diameter in the same direction being eighty-nine feet, and in the other at right angles eighty-three and a half feet. The tree is in a thrifty state, and the trunk sound. It stands alone in the midst of the field; the ground beneath is covered with grass and clean; there is a well with water near by; so that a more beautiful spot for recreation could hardly be found.

I am not sure whether this is the tree which Sir John Maundeville saw near Hebron, of which he relates that it was green in Abraham's day, but dried up at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, like all the other trees then in the world.[1] It seems to be mentioned by Belon in the sixteenth century, as a terebinth; and is described as such by writers in the following century.[2] But this is not a terebinth (Butm); nor is there any large tree of that species in the vicinity of Hebron. Least of all can this be either the tree of Abraham or its successor; for his terebinth probably stood more towards Jerusalem, and had already disappeared in the days of Jerome.[3]

[1] Travels, p. 68. Lond. 1839.

[2] Belon, Observat. Paris, 1588, p. 324. Quaresmius, Elucidat. Terræ Sanct. ii. p. 783. Morone, i. p. 306. Von Troilo, Orient. Reisebeschr. p. 325. Dresd. 1676.

[3] See above, Vol. I. p. 318. Onomast. arts. *Drys*, *Arboch*.

Here we found Elias and his family, spending the day, and enjoying themselves beneath the wide spreading shade of the noble tree. The party consisted of himself, his wife, her sister a young woman of about eighteen, their little son four or five years old, a young man one of the secretaries of the governor of Jerusalem, and two servants. They had brought with them a rope, and suspended it as a swing from the branches of the tree. The two men were lounging at their ease upon carpets, smoking, and occasionally tasting 'Arak, which was presented in a small shallow bowl. The guest was a man of more intelligence and good sense than the host. A fire was kindled not far off, at which the mistress and servants seemed to be engaged in cooking; while the sister and child were playing and swinging. We took our seats upon the carpets; pipes were offered and 'Arak presented and tasted freely by the others; coffee was not brought. The guest joined in the sports of the sister and child; pursuing each other, swinging, laughing, and romping.

After about an hour a servant came from the town, bringing a warm breakfast in a tray upon his head, thickly covered over with large thin sheets of the common bread of the country. Soon after came the wife's mother, who had remained at home to prepare the food. She was mounted on a fine gray mare; which, while yet at some distance, took a start and came up the field and steep banks at full speed; the lady sitting on both sides, and exhibiting no mean skill in eastern horsemanship. She was an active lively elderly woman, and seemed to be the life and soul of the family. We joined the men in breakfasting by ourselves; after we had finished, the women sat down apart at some distance. Such is oriental custom, even among Christians. These females, and especially the elder, were not wanting in intelligence,

though they had never been taught to read. They wore no veils, and exhibited no particular shyness before strangers. They were however from Damascus; where the Christian females are understood to enjoy more freedom, than in many other parts of the East.— We spent here a couple of hours; and then returned to our tent.

In the course of the afternoon, I went out upon the eastern hills, in the hope of obtaining a view of the country around, and thus being able to connect Hebron with some of the points we had formerly visited or seen. But the prospect towards the E. and N. was limited by higher hills near at hand, so that I was compelled to return disappointed in my hope. The summit of this ridge is crowned with vineyards; as is also that of the western hills on the opposite side of the valley.

Painful as was the delay to which we were here subjected, we yet had enough to occupy our time in writing up our journals, and arranging our materials and plans for further inquiries. We were also amused with the proceedings of the people round about us. The fine grassy slope on which we were encamped, besides the cemetery on the north, was occupied towards the south by threshing-floors, where the various processes of threshing, or rather treading out the grain, were continually going on. The wheat-harvest here in the mountains had not yet arrived; but they were threshing barley, 'Adas or lentiles, and also vetches, called by the Arabs Kersenna, which are raised chiefly for camels. The various parcels had apparently lain here for several days; the people would come with their cattle and work for two or three hours, and then go away. Some had three animals, some four; and once I saw two young cattle and a donkey driven round together. In several of the floors they were

now winnowing the grain, by tossing it up against the wind with a fork. Here we needed no guard around our tent. The owners of the crops came every night and slept upon their threshing-floors to guard them; and this we had found to be universal in all the region of Gaza. We were in the midst of scenes precisely like those of the book of Ruth; where Boaz winnowed barley in his threshing-floor, and laid himself down at night to guard the heap of corn.[1]

Friday, May 25th. We had this morning some ground for hope, that we might be able to set off in the course of the day. This hope too proved vain; though it encouraged us for the moment.

We went early to call on the chief Rabbi of the Jews. Finding a young Jew before our tent, and inquiring of him the way, he said the Rabbi was his master and went with us. The Jewish dwellings are in the N. W. part of the main quarter of the town. We were received at the entrance by a Spanish Jew of middle age, with a remarkable bright eye and good countenance; and ushered by him through a long series of passages, into a small but very neat room, with a divân around the walls, and the windows looking out upon the western hills. Every thing here was perfectly clean; the walls and passages whitewashed; and the whole appearance far neater than any thing I had yet seen of eastern life. The old Rabbi soon came in, blind of one eye, and having a long white beard. My companion had already seen him here in 1835. He was a subject of Austria, from Venice; and was the same old man, for whom our countryman Mr. Stephens had procured a passport and protection from the Austrian consul at Beirût in 1836. He now seemed sincerely grateful for this favour, and rejoiced to hear once more some tidings of the stranger who had

[1] Ruth, iii. 2–14.

thus been his benefactor.[1] The manner of the two men was very kind, without being ostentatiously so. Sherbet and coffee were brought; and they pressed us to breakfast, which we declined.

As we sat conversing, we saw the cavalcade of the three governors coming in from Dûra, descending the western hill beyond our tent; in all about twenty-five persons, mounted on beautiful horses, gaily caparisoned. It was said, that they were about to pass on to Carmel; but they stopped for the day in Hebron.

We saw here none of the Jewish women, except in passing the open doors of different rooms where they were sitting; they greeted us kindly. Those whom we had met yesterday at the Haram, and indeed all we had yet seen in Palestine, were habited in white,—a long piece of white stuff like a veil or shawl thrown over the head, drawn together under the chin, and hanging down to the feet. Many of the Arab women dress in the same manner when they go out; but they wear a face-veil to conceal their features, which the Jewish females do not. The appearance of the latter was neat and prepossessing. Indeed, so far as concerns their general condition of thrift, cleanliness, and welfare, the Jews of Hebron seem to be far better off, than their brethren in Jerusalem or elsewhere in the Holy Land.

As we were about to take leave, the two Rabbis of their own accord led us into the synagogue, situated under the same roof. It is a poor, but neat room, furnished with benches; in it was now a school of six or eight boys. The manuscripts of the Old Testament are kept in two cupboards or presses on one side. Like all Hebrew manuscripts, they are written upon long rolls of parchment, at each end of which a rod is fastened, so that they may be rolled backwards or forwards as

[1] Incidents of Travels in Egypt, &c. ii. p. 167. seq.

a person reads; the columns being perpendicular to the length of the roll. In the first cupboard were six or eight manuscripts, enclosed in cases standing upright. The rods are inserted into holes in the top and bottom of the case; and extend up through the top, where they are ornamented with large silver knobs not made fast. The rolls are read as they stand in the cases, without being taken from the cupboard. The manuscript is thus wound off from one rod to the other as the reader advances; the rods being far enough apart to leave a column unrolled between. The other cupboard was also full of rolls; some of them in cases covered over with silver or embroidery. They were said to be presents from wealthy Jews in Europe.—We bade adieu to these kind friends with feelings of respect; and were highly gratified by our visit.

We now repaired to the top of the western hill, in the hope of obtaining a view of the country around. In this we were more successful than I had been yesterday upon the eastern ridge; and from the watch-tower of a vineyard some distance south of the road to Dhoherîyeh, a prospect opened towards the east and south and west, which was very extensive and satisfactory. Towards the N. and N. E. we could see little or nothing. Before us Beni Na'îm and Yŭkîn were visible near at hand; while in the distance we could distinguish Kerak very clearly. Further south the atmosphere was hazy; or we might perhaps have been able to make out Mount Hor. Carmel and the adjacent region were in full view. We could also mark the course of the great valley, which had formerly been on our right as we approached Beni Na'îm[1], and into which the valley of Hebron enters. It passes along S. W. on the north of Yŭtta and to the left of

[1] See above, p. 186.

Dhoherîyeh, towards the region of Beersheba, where it apparently forms one of the main branches of Wady es-Seba'. Behind us, towards the W. and S. W. was a sea of rocky hills; on one of which we could distinguish the village of Dhoherîyeh. We took here several important bearings, which are given in the note below.[1]

The presence of three such dignitaries as the governors of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Hebron, could not but naturally occasion some stir in such a town; and accordingly their movements and actions were the object of general observation. They too seemed not unwilling to make an impression of their dignity and importance. At the mid-day hour of prayer, we could perceive them from our tent proceeding, not to the Haram, but to an open platform adjacent to the west side of the lower pool, near which they lodged, where they performed their devotions in public, surrounded by a crowd of idlers. Although we were not in general much disposed to seek intercourse with authorities, yet as we were now going into a part of the country where the Egyptian government was less known and less felt, we thought it best to lay before the governor of Hebron our Firmân from the Pasha, and inform him of our purpose, in order that in case of accident he might not throw off the responsibility, by saying we had gone without his knowledge. In the course of the afternoon, we therefore sent our servant with the Firmân to his excellency of Hebron, preparatory to paying our respects to him in person. The servant soon came back, saying that the three governors were still together, but

[1] Bearings from the hill west of Hebron: The Haram below us, half a mile distant, N. 67° E. Beni Na'im, estimated distance one hour and a half, N. 82° E. Yŭkin S. 61° E. Kerak S. 50° E. Peak in the mountains of Moab near Khanzîreh S. 37° E. Carmel, the tower, S. 8° E. Dhoheriyeh S. 54° W.

could not read the Firmân; it being in Turkish, and they having no Turkish secretary with them. They were however ready to receive us.

We accordingly repaired to the house where they lodged, in the western quarter of the town, near the lower pool; but found them at dinner. We were nevertheless ushered into the apartment where they were eating, after putting off our shoes; and taking our seats at the side of the room, had leisure to observe the scene before us, which was not in the slightest degree interrupted by our entrance. The house was not large. The room was a common one of the country, about twenty feet square; the ceiling rising into one of the usual small domes upon the roof above it. The stone floor was nearly covered with small carpets of various sizes, qualities, and colours; while a few cushions were scattered in different parts along the walls.

The governor of Gaza, Sheikh Sa'îd, was the father of Sheikh Mŭstafa, governor of Jerusalem; while the governor of Hebron, whose name we did not learn, is subordinate to him of Jerusalem. Of course the principal personage was Sheikh Sa'îd, a fine jolly elderly Mussulman, with good-natured intelligent features, and an air of decision, not inconsistent with an evident liking for the enjoyment of good cheer. His son, Sheikh Mŭstafa, was tall and slender, with a very fine and prepossessing countenance; the Franks indeed complained of him as uncourteous, but one would not expect it from his physiognomy. The Sheikh of Hebron had a more vulgar and almost forbidding aspect.

They were dining in the true oriental, and, as it would seem, official style. A very large circular tray of tinned copper, placed upon a coarse wooden stool about a foot high, served as the table. In the centre of this stood a large tray or dish with a mountain of

pillaw, composed of rice boiled and buttered, with small pieces of meat strewed through and upon it. This was the chief dish; although there were also other smaller dishes, both of meat and vegetables. Around this table ten persons, including the three governors, were seated, or rather squatted on their feet. Each had before him a plate of tinned copper and a wooden spoon. Some used the spoon, without the plate; but the most preferred to eat with the fingers of the left hand, without the aid of either spoon or plate. They all seemed earnestly engaged, and took no notice of any interruption. When at length any one had finished, he immediately rose, and went and washed his hands, by having water poured upon them in an adjacent room. The vacant place at table was immediately filled by a new comer. The Sheikh of Gaza outsat them all; but at last turned round and greeted us kindly. He was the only one who did not leave his place to wash; but had the water brought to him where he sat. An old Derwish from Bagdad was also present, now on his return from Mecca; he had made use of his spoon, and did not wash at all.

Sheikh Sa'îd now drew back to the middle of that side of the room where we were sitting, opposite to the entrance, so that we were now on his left. His colleagues took their seats on his right; the old Derwish sat down near us on our left; ten or twelve other persons were seated around the room; while many were continually passing in and out. Sheikh Sa'îd was emphatically the great man, gave all the orders, and led the whole conversation; his colleagues sitting in such a position, that they could not address us, nor we them. A poor ragged peasant now came in with perfect unconcern, presented himself before

Sheikh Sa'îd, uncovered his wounded shoulder, and begged charity. The Sheikh instantly sent him out; at the same time ordering a garment to be given him. This is one of the traits of oriental society and government, that the highest are thus entirely accessible to the lowest. Coffee was now brought, and presented first to the three Sheikhs, then to us, and afterwards to the rest. There was a good deal of conversation in the room; the old Derwish made inquiries about the new world; he began at length a sort of homily upon the vanity of wealth and power, in which he was rather unceremoniously cut short by Sheikh Sa'îd, and soon left the room.

The Sheikh confirmed the intelligence we had heard, that Jerusalem was shut up; but said an order had since been received from the head-quarters at Aleppo, to impose no quarantine upon the city at large, but only upon the houses where the plague should actually exist. He supposed that the gates would be immediately opened. This was welcome news to us; but the latter part at least did not turn out to be true. He further said, that there was now no danger whatever in going to Wady Mûsa, and made not the slightest objection to our undertaking the journey; but rather gave it his sanction. We too were disposed to regard the present as a favourable moment for accomplishing our object; for the visit of the governors to this region would of course be known among the Bedawîn, and prevent for the time any hostile incursion from the Arabs east of the Dead Sea and Ghôr; the only source from which any danger was to be apprehended to travellers. The conversation of Sheik Sa'îd showed him to be a man of quickness and good sense; and it was probably this union of intelligence and *bonhommie*, that had obtained for him the confidence of Muhammed

Aly, and the powerful influence which he now wielded over the ancient territories of Judah and Edom.[1]

We returned after an hour. As we were now expecting to set off early the next morning, we went to take leave of Elias, whom we found at home lounging on his divân.

The following data for the population of Hebron were given us by Elias, who had the best opportunity of knowing the truth. According to him, there were at the time fifteen hundred taxable Muhammedans, and forty-one Jews who paid taxes, besides some two hundred Jews who had European protections. He himself was the only Christian in Hebron; nor are there any others in the whole district. Not less than seven hundred and fifty Muslims had been taken as soldiers, and about five hundred were killed during the rebellion of 1834. He estimated the whole population at ten thousand souls; which is perhaps not very much larger than the true number.

The trade of Hebron received a heavy blow in 1834, in consequence of the part which the people took in the rebellion of that year, and the subsequent sacking of the place by the Egyptian troops. From this shock it had not yet recovered. Many of the glass lamps and trinkets manufactured here, are exported to Egypt; as well as large quantities of Dibs and raisins. The cities too of the middle and south of Palestine, appear to draw their supplies of all these articles chiefly from Hebron. Notwithstanding the immense

[1] The subsequent fortunes of Sheikh Sa'id show, that he might have done well to listen to the homily of the old Derwish, upon the vanity of wealth and power. In the year 1839, as I am informed, he was deposed from his government on a charge of mal-administration and corrupt practices; his large possessions seized; and he himself thrown into prison at 'Akka, and subjected to the bastinado, until he gnawed the flesh of his own arms in agony. At the same time, his son, Sheikh Mŭstafa, was also deposed at Jerusalem, and sent to Damascus to await in prison the pleasure of the government. Both father and son were still in prison in June 1840.

vineyards, neither wine nor 'Arak, as we have seen, is made for exportation.

I have formerly alluded in general terms to the antiquity of Hebron, and to some of the circumstances of its early history.[1] It is doubtless one of the most ancient cities still existing; having been built, as the sacred writer informs us, "seven years before Zoan in Egypt;" and being mentioned in Scripture still earlier than Damascus.[2] Its most ancient name was Kirjath-'Arba, 'City of Arba,' so called from Arba the father of Anak and the Anakims, who dwelt in and around Hebron.[3] The town itself appears also to have been called Mamre, probably from the name of Abraham's friend; while the terebinth of Mamre is placed, by a tradition older than Josephus, at some distance from the town towards Jerusalem.[4] The ancient city lay also in a valley; and the two pools, one of which at least is as

[1] Vol. I. p. 315.

[2] Num. xiii. 22. Gen. xiii. 18. comp. xv. 2.

[3] Gen. xxiii. 2. Josh. xiv. 15. xv. 13. xxi. 11. Judg. i. 10. &c. In connection with this name, we have a curious instance of the origin of a false tradition. The passage in Josh. xiv. 15. reads literally thus: "And the name of Hebron before was (Kirjath-Arba) the City of Arba, a great man among the Anakims." But as the Hebrew word אַרְבַּע (Arba) also signifies *four*, and the word for *man* (אָדָם) Adam, is likewise used as a proper name, some of the Jewish Rabbins in this verse took Kirjath-Arba in the meaning 'City of the Four,' and read likewise 'Adam the great' instead of 'a great man;' then 'the Four' were held to be the patriarchs Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were supposed to be all buried here. The same conceit Jerome doubtless derived from his Jewish teacher: "Arbee, id est, quatuor; eo quod ibi quatuor Patriarchæ Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob sepulti sunt, et Adam magnus, ut in libro Jesu scriptum est;" Onomast. art. *Arboch.* Comm. in Matth. xxvii. 33. Hence the Vulgate likewise reads in the same verse: "Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est." See Bochart, Phaleg, ed. Villem. p. 300.—A tomb of Adam was shown here with those of the other patriarchs in the seventh century (Adamnanus, ii. 10.); and from this source probably came the later traditions, which connect the creation of Adam with Hebron.

[4] Mamre is expressly said to be Hebron, Gen. xxiii. 19. xxxv. 27. Comp. xiv. 13. 24. The terebinth of Mamre (Engl. Version less correctly, *plain* of Mamre,) seems to be distinguished from Hebron or Mamre itself, Gen. xiii. 18. xviii. 1. See Vol. I. p. 318. and Note. Reland Pal. p. 711. seq. For the market which existed there, and the sale of the captive Jews under Adrian, see above, p. 7. Reland, pp. 714, 715.

early as the time of David, serve unquestionably to identify the modern with the ancient site.[1]

Here Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived and walked with God; and here they were all entombed. From Hebron or its neighbourhood, Jacob and his sons went down by way of Beersheba to Egypt to meet and dwell with Joseph.[2] After the return of the Israelites from Egypt, the city was taken by Joshua, and given over to Caleb, who drove out the Anakims from the region[3]; it was afterwards made one of the six cities of refuge, and assigned to the Levites and priests.[4] Hebron became at length the royal residence of David, where he reigned for seven and a half years over Judah; and here too he was anointed king over all Israel.[5] It was also at Hebron, that Absalom raised the standard of rebellion.[6] This was likewise one of the places fortified by Rehoboam; and after the exile the returning Jews dwelt again in the city and surrounding villages.[7]

The name of Hebron does not occur any further in the Old Testament, and not at all in the New; but we learn from the first book of Maccabees and Josephus, that it came into the power of the Edomites, who had taken possession of the south of Judah, and was recovered from them by Judas Maccabæus.[8] It was afterwards seized by the rebel Simon Giorides; but recaptured and burnt by Cerealis an officer of Vespasian.[9] In the same connection, Josephus describes the tombs of the patriarchs as existing there in his day; and both Eusebius and Jerome, and all

[1] Gen. xxxvii. 14. "the vale of Hebron." 2 Sam. iv. 12.
[2] Gen. xxxvii. 14. xlvi. 1. seq.
[3] Josh. x. 36, 37. xiv. 6–15. xv. 13, 14. Judg. i. 20.
[4] Josh. xx. 7. xxi. 11. 13.
[5] 2 Sam. ii. 1–4. 11. 1 Kings, ii. 11. 2 Sam. v. 1. 3.
[6] 2 Kings, xv. 9, 10.
[7] 2 Chr. xi. 10. Nehem. xi. 25.
[8] 1 Macc. v. 65. Joseph. Ant. xii. 8. 6. For this invasion of the Edomites, and their subsequent subjection by John Hyrcanus, see above, p. 424.
[9] Joseph. B. J. iv. 9. 9.

subsequent writers who mention Hebron, down to the time of the crusades, speak of it chiefly as containing these sepulchres; under which they probably refer more particularly to the ancient massive exterior walls described above, as being apparently remains of Jewish antiquity.[1]

In the course of time, this remarkable external structure, enclosing the tombs of Abraham and the other patriarchs, came to be called the "Castle of Abraham;" and by an easy transition, this name was afterwards applied to the city itself. We have already seen the earliest trace of it in a notice of St. Willibald in the eighth century[2]; and in the time of the crusades, the names of Hebron and the Castle of St. Abraham, were used interchangeably.[3] Hence, as Abraham is also distinguished among the Muhammedans by the appellation el-Khŭlîl, *the Friend*, i. e. of God, this latter epithet passed over among them into a name of the city; and they now know Hebron only as el-Khŭlîl.[4]

Soon after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, Hebron appears also to have fallen into their hands,

[1] Onomast. art. *Arboch*. See the other notices down to the time of the crusades, pp. 436–439. See also the general account of the Haram, pp. 433–440.

[2] See p. 438.

[3] Edrisi mentions Hebron only under the name "Kabr Ibrahîm," Abraham's Sepulchre; ed. Jaubert, p. 338. Albert Aquensis (in Gesta Dei) uses only the name "Castellum seu Præsidium ad St. Abraham," vii. 15. 41. 43. x. 32. xii. 22. (Comp. Gesta Dei, p. 604.) In this last passage, indeed, he seems to distinguish the "Præsidium ad St. Abraham" from the Valley of Hebron; and in vii. 41. he places the former near the Dead Sea; so that it is very possible he may have thought it to be a different place from Hebron. Yet the same facts which he here relates of St. Abraham, are referred by other writers of the same age to Hebron; Gesta Dei, p. 580. Will. Tyr. x. 8.—William of Tyre speaks only of Hebron, e. g. viii. 1. x. 8. xv. 6. &c. Abulfeda has *Beit Hebrûn;* Tab. Syr. ed. Koehler, p. 87. Comp. Mejr ed-Dîn in Fundgr. des Or. ii. p. 140.

[4] Abulfeda describes here the "Mesjid Ibrahîm el-Khŭlîl," Tab. Syr. p. 87. n. Schultens, Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Beit-Sjebrinum*. So too Ibn Batûta, p. 19. See also d'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. arts. *Abraham* and *Khalil*. Comp. James, ii. 23.

and in A. D. 1100 was bestowed as a fief by Godfrey of Bouillon upon Gerhard of Avennes.[1] Saewulf, two years after, describes it as in ruins.[2] We hear not much more of it in the history of those times. In two of the expeditions of king Baldwin I., into the region S. E. of the Dead Sea, in A. D. 1100 and 1116, he is said to have passed by Hebron in going or returning; and the same was perhaps the case in the other similar expeditions of the same sovereign in A. D. 1115, and in that of Baldwin III. in A. D. 1145.[3] In A. D. 1167, Hebron was raised to be a Latin episcopal see, and Rainald appointed bishop; there had before been here only a Greek priory.[4] The title of bishop of Hebron continued for some time in the Romish church, and four other bishops are mentioned, one of them as late as A. D. 1365.[5] But this was merely nominal; for after the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in A. D. 1187, Hebron also reverted to the Muhammedans, and has ever since remained in their possession. The church which the Christians had built or at least decorated, within the structure around the tombs of the patriarchs, now became a mosk, and was honoured with presents from the Sultan.[6]

Thus far there is nothing to excite a doubt as to the identity of the site of the ancient and modern city. Arculfus near the close of the seventh century, found the place without walls, exhibiting only the vestiges of an ancient desolated city; although a multitude of

[1] Albert. Aq. vii. 15. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. ii. p. 44.

[2] Peregrinat. p. 269.

[3] For the first of these expeditions, A. D. 1100, see Albert. Aq. vii. 41. 43. Fulcher Carn. 23. p. 405. Guibert, vii. 36. Will. Tyr. x. 8. Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. ii. pp. 88, 89.—For that in A. D. 1116, see Alb. Aq. xii. 22. Wilken, ib. p. 403. Comp. Will. Tyr. xi. 29.—For the two others, see Will. Tyr. xi. 26. Wilken, ib. p. 402. Will. Tyr. xvi. 6. Wilken, ib. iii. i. p. 208.

[4] Will. Tyr. xx. 3. Jac. de Vitr. 57.

[5] Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. p. 1270.

[6] E. g. the carved pulpit; Mejr ed-Din in Fundgr. des Or. ii. p. 375. See above, p. 439.

people yet lived there in miserable dwellings scattered in the valley, partly within and partly without the ruins of the former walls.[1] Yet Benjamin of Tudela, after A. D. 1160, affirms, that the ancient city was situated on a mountain, and was then desolate and deserted; the city of that day being in the valley.[2] Brocardus, a century later, repeats this account, with more particulars; according to him, the ancient city was on the hill north of the slope on which we encamped, three bow-shots west of north from the modern town, where nothing was then visible except large ruins.[3] This story is copied by writers of the following centuries; and the idea seems to have become current, that the ancient city lay upon the hill.[4] Yet none of the travellers of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, speak of any ruins there on their own knowledge.

We were not aware of this old report at the time of our visit; and therefore did not examine the hill in question. My companion has since informed me, that according to his impression, the site of a former village was spoken of on that hill, similar to several others in the neighbourhood of Hebron; but with the remark that there were no remains there of importance. Had we then known the circumstances above related, we should certainly have gone upon the hill, and ascertained the facts for ourselves. It is a point deserving the attention of future travellers; though I do not anticipate any result, which will counterbalance the mention of

1 Adamnanus ex Arculfo, ii. 8.
2 Voyages, par Baratier, p. 99.
3 Brocardus, c. ix. p. 185.
4 By Marinus Sanutus, p. 248. Breydenbach in Reissb. p. 133. Quaresmius, ii. p. 771. seq. Zuallardo, p. 233. Von Troilo, p. 321. Dresd. 1676. The site upon the hill is alluded to (but not ruins) by F. Fabri in Reissb. p. 287; and also by Baumgarten, p. 78.—But Maundeville, Rud. de Suchem, and William of Baldensel, who all passed through Hebron in the fourteenth century; as well as Stephen von Gumpenberg, F. Fabri, and Mejr ed-Din, who minutely describe it near the close of the fifteenth; and also Belon, who was here about the middle of the sixteenth, make no allusion to any other site than that of the present town.

"the valley of Hebron" in the book of Genesis, and the strong evidence of the ancient pools.[1]

In the fourteenth century, pilgrims passed from Sinai to Jerusalem directly, through the desert by Beersheba and Hebron.[2] In the following century, this route was abandoned for that by Gaza; yet the pilgrims sometimes took Hebron in their way, or visited it from Jerusalem.[3] Writers of that period describe here an immense charitable establishment or hospital, situated near the Hâram, where twelve hundred loaves of bread, besides oil and other condiments, were daily distributed to all comers, without distinction of nation or religion.[4] The annual expenses were said to amount to twenty-four thousand ducats; of which two thousand were derived from the village of Sŭmmeil in the western plain.[5] Hebron continued to be occasionally visited by travellers, down to the latter part of the seventeenth century; although, before that time, it seems no longer to have been generally resorted to by pilgrims.[6] But from that period onward until the present century, no

[1] See pp. 454, 455. A remark of Jerome may seem at first to favour the site upon the hill, and perhaps gave rise to the story; Quæst. in Gen. xxxv. 27. "pro Arbee in Septuaginta *campum* habet, quum *Chebron* in monte sita est." But this expression "in monte" stands here by way of antithesis to a *plain*, and is therefore equally applicable to a high hill-side; in which sense it would also be true of the present town. The ancient city was doubtless larger, and extended further up the sides of the valley.

[2] So Maundeville, R. de Suchem, W. de Baldensel.

[3] Gumpenberg was here in A. D. 1449; Breydenbach and F. Fabri in 1483, on their way to Gaza; Baumgarten in 1507, coming from Gaza; Belon about 1548, &c.

[4] Gumpenberg's Journal in Reissb. p. 445. F. Fabri, ib. pp. 288. 289. Mejr ed-Dîn in Fundgr. des Orients, ii. p. 377. This last writer says there were three distributions of bread and the like daily; in the morning and at noon to the inhabitants only; and in the afternoon to all comers.

[5] F. Fabri, l. c. — For the error which converts Sŭmmeil into St. Samuel, and the greater blunder of Breydenbach, see above, p. 368. and Note XXIX.

[6] Zuallardo speaks of Hebron, probably without having seen it; p. 233. So too Cotovicus, p. 241. seq. Quaresmius appears to have been there, ii. p. 769. seq. Von Troilo visited it in 1666, p. 319. seq. But both Surius and Doubdan, who were earlier than he, and strictly pilgrims, make no mention of Hebron.

Frank traveller appears to have found his way to the city of the patriarchs.

Morison relates, in A. D. 1698, that a few years before, a French (Frank?) merchant on a visit to Hebron, being mounted on a spirited horse, rode over and killed a child in the streets. Although he made shift to escape the rage of the people by flight, yet such was the excitement and the hatred caused by this accident against the Christians, that from that time no traveller had ventured to approach the place.[1] It is not unlikely that some accident of this kind may have alarmed the fears of the monks, and led them to dissuade travellers from going thither; but their timidity was probably still more wrought upon by the restless and warlike disposition of the people of Hebron, and their continual feuds with the inhabitants of Bethlehem and other neighbouring villages; they being of the Keis party, and the latter of the Yemen.[2] Hasselquist in 1751 mentions, that five or six years before, "the inhabitants of Bethlehem and Hebron carried on such a war as destroyed the greatest part of the best inhabitants of both villages; and the neighbourhood of Bethlehem was entirely laid waste."[3] Even so late as 1807, Ali Bey fell in with "a band of Christian shepherds, who were going to Jerusalem, to lay a complaint against the Mussulman shepherds of Hebron, who had carried off a part of their cattle. They had with them two camels, which they had taken from the Mussulmans as reprisals."[4] Under such circumstances, it is not surprising, that the influence of the monks should have been successfully exerted, to

[1] Relation Historique, &c. p. 480.

[2] See pp. 344, 345. Quaresmius relates, that in his day (about 1620) Tekoa was seldom visited for a similar reason: "Non facile possumus Thecuam ire, propter ibi et in via inhabitantes et discurrentes Arabes." Vol. ii. p. 687.

[3] Reise nach Palast. p. 170.

[4] Ali Bey's Travels, &c. ii. p. 230.

restrain travellers from extending their excursions towards the south beyond the pools of Solomon.

In the present century, Seetzen was the first to lay open again the way to Hebron in 1806; he travelled from here to Mount Sinai through the desert, making however a circuit almost to Gaza.[1] He was followed the very next year by Ali Bey.[2] Then another interval of eleven years elapsed, before the visit of Irby and Mangles and their party in 1818, as they passed this way on their route to Wady Mûsa.[3] Thirteen years later, in 1831, Poujoulat made an excursion hither from Jerusalem, as did Monro in 1833.[4] Then came the rebellion of 1834; in which the people of Hebron and the whole region round about bore a conspicuous part, and brought down upon themselves a heavy retribution. They were among the last to hold out; and when, after quelling the disturbances at Nâbulus, Ibrahim Pasha marched southwards with his troops, the rebels gave him battle not far from Solomon's Pools, and were defeated.[5] They retired and entrenched themselves in Hebron; but Ibrahim pressed forward, carried the place by storm, and gave it over to sack and pillage. Many were slain; and the Jews especially are reported to have suffered the most cruel outrages from the brutal soldiery.[6] Many of the rebels escaped and fled to Kerak on the east of the Dead Sea; they were pursued by Ibrahim and his troops; and that place too was taken and laid in ruins. These events inflicted a heavy blow on Hebron, from which it had not yet recovered.[7]

[1] See his letter in Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xvii. p. 132. seq.

[2] Travels, ii. pp. 230, 231.

[3] Travels, p. 342. seq. Legh, May 7, 8. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 619. seq.

[4] Correspond. d'Orient, v. p. 211. seq. Summer Ramble, &c. i. p. 232. seq.

[5] See above, Vol. I. p. 321.

[6] Stephens's Incidents, &c. ii. p. 165. Paxton's Letters from Palest. p. 142. Lond.

[7] See some notices of this war in Mengin's Histoire Sommaire de l'Egypte, &c. de l'an 1823 à l'an 1838, Paris 1839, pp. 73–85. The narrative is written in an Egyptian spirit, with several topographical blunders.

This war removed all obstacles in the way of travellers. My companion was at Hebron in 1835, with other American friends; and since that time, the city has every year been more or less visited by travellers, with as much facility as any other part of Palestine.—In 1839, Hebron was for a short time in the possession of the rebel Abd er-Rahmân of Dûra.

SECTION XII.

FROM HEBRON TO WADY MUSA AND BACK.

On our departure from Jerusalem, we had left a letter to be forwarded to Elias in Hebron, requesting him to send word to the Sheikh of the Jehâlîn, and have him waiting for us with camels, when we should arrive on the 23d of May. This letter never reached its destination; and we were thus subjected to the disappointment and delay already described. Our first care in Hebron was, to despatch a messenger to the camp of the Jehâlîn beyond Carmel. This service Elias undertook to perform for us; and informed us, that he had sent a man the same evening. As the distance was not more than three or four hours, we thought we might reasonably expect the camels, so as to set off the next afternoon, at the latest. But the morrow (Thursday) came and went, without any tidings either from the Jehâlîn or of the messenger.

The following morning, Friday, as we were sitting after breakfast in our tent, we were somewhat surprised to see the head Sheikh of the Jehâlîn, Defa' Allah, whom we had formerly met at the encampment of the Ta'âmirah, riding up to our tent accompanied by a single man on foot. It turned out, however, that he had come from Dûra, where he had been for several days with the governors of Gaza and Jerusalem. He was merely passing through Hebron on his way home; and seeing our tent, called to pay us a visit. He had

of course seen or heard nothing of our messenger. We now made a bargain with him in the presence of Elias, for five camels to Wady Mûsa and back; to go by way of the south end of the Dead Sea and Wady el-'Arabah, and return by the more direct route over Semû'a. The price of the camels was to be two hundred and forty piastres, or twelve dollars each. There were to be five men, all armed; one of whom was to be a responsible person, either the head Sheikh himself or one of his brothers; and for these we were to furnish provisions. Had we chosen to go and return by the direct route, the price would have been ten dollars for each camel. It seemed to be a matter of indifference to Defa' Allah, which route we took; there was not the slightest hint of any more danger on the one than on the other; nor indeed was danger to be apprehended on either, except from casual predatory parties, which might be crossing the Ghôr or 'Arabah. We took the fifth camel for the sake of a supply of water in the Ghôr; and therefore concluded to take also our second servant, whom we had intended to leave at Hebron till our return.

The Sheikh now left us, expecting on his way home to meet the camels coming to us. But the day again wore off in expectation and in disappointment. It turned out afterwards, that the messenger said to have been sent by Elias, had never reached the encampment; so that the camels had to be collected from the distant pastures, and all the preparations made, after the return of the Sheikh. This was enough to occupy Arab dilatoriness for the remainder of the day; and consequently, the camels did not set off for Hebron until the next morning.—There was reason to suppose, that no messenger had ever been sent by Elias, notwithstanding his assurances; he had perhaps directed his servant to send a man, and given himself no fur-

ther trouble in the matter. This and other instances of shuffling conduct, prevented all confidence in the man; and left only a painful impression, in respect to the sole representative of the Christian name in Hebron. Had he performed what he undertook, we should not have lost a day; or had he frankly said he had not sent or could not send, we should have taken other measures, and have improved our time to visit Beni Na'îm, or Sûsich, or other places in the vicinity. As it was, two days were comparatively lost to us; and we, during the whole interval, subjected to that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick."

Saturday, May 26th. This morning was the coolest we had long felt; the thermometer at sunrise standing at 43° F. The camels arrived at 9 o'clock. But we found they had been hastily collected; were without proper furniture; and were indeed intended only to transport us to the territory of the tribe, where we were to stop over the Christian Sabbath. Defa' Allah also made his appearance, and assured us, that we should afterwards have dromedaries and better camels; indeed some delay was occasioned by purchasing saddles and other furniture in Hebron. We deposited with Elias a portmanteau containing our papers and books, and such articles as we did not need upon the journey; and he afterwards came to bid us adieu. All these particulars, and the loading of the camels, occupied what seemed to our impatience no little time.

At length, at twenty minutes past 11 o'clock, we set off, keeping at first down the valley, which soon bends more to the S. S. W. where we left it, to cross obliquely the eastern hill. Descending afterwards gradually through a rocky tract for nearly half an hour, we passed the great Wady into which that of Hebron enters, and which then bears the name of Wady el-

Khŭlîl. It is here an open valley among the rocky hills. I had soon found that my camel, which had been assigned to me as having a stuffed saddle, had also a most intolerable gait, the worst indeed I had ever encountered. I immediately exchanged with one of our servants, and thus, after five minutes delay, obtained the easiest camel I had yet mounted.

The way continued over a broken tract, approaching the open plain or basin on the west of Ziph and Carmel. At ten minutes before one we passed a well; and having now come out upon the open country, we reached at 1 o'clock the foot of Tell Zîf, where we had formerly fallen into our present road in travelling from Beni Na'îm. The road and the country from this point to Carmel, have already been described.[1]

We reached Carmel at 2h 25′, in just three hours from Hebron; here we stopped for fifteen minutes to water the camels. Proceeding on our way at 2h 40′, we passed on the west of Ma'în, not far from the foot of the hill; and began soon to ascend the mountain-ridge beyond, along the bed of a small Wady.[2] Another road equally direct to ez-Zuweirah goes on the left of Ma'în; we had taken the present one in order to encamp near water. An hour from Carmel brought us to the top of the ridge at 3h 40′; from which looking back, Ma'în bore N. 8° W. and Yŭtta N. 30° W.

We now began to descend by a similar Wady on the other side; and a wide prospect soon opened before us, over the country towards the Dead Sea and on the south. An eminence was pointed out near Zuweirah, bearing S. 20° E. The course and chasm of the Dead Sea were distinctly visible; but not the

[1] See above, pp. 191. 193. With camels, our rate of travel by the hour had now, of course, become again nearest 2 geographical, 2¾ English, or 2½ Roman miles.

[2] For Carmel, Maon, and the country around, see above, pp. 193–200. The mountain ridge is also mentioned, pp. 189. 194.

water, which lies too low. The extensive tract we now overlooked, had much of the general character of that around Beersheba; with which indeed it is connected, stretching off in that direction around the southwestern termination of the long ridge which we were now crossing. This tract has apparently a lower level than the enclosed plain behind us around Carmel; the descent of the mountain on this side being greater than the ascent from the north. The country in general is not fertile; though it is in some parts used for tillage, and affords tolerable pasturage. The grass, which earlier in the season had been good, was now dried up; and very few shrubs or trees appeared throughout the the whole region.

This is the country of the Jehâlîn, who were now gathering in their scanty wheat harvest. The tract belonged anciently to the south of Judah, lying beyond the mountainous district of that tribe, and extending so as to comprise Beersheba and Kadesh.[1]—The main encampment of the Jehâlîn was at this time high up on the S. E. side of the mountain, on a small shelf or terrace of cultivated land, overlooking the wide plain. It lay at some distance on the right of our road; and we first saw it at 4½ o'clock. We passed along on a course about S. S. E. among occasional fields of grain in the shallow Wadys, where the reapers were at work; and encamped at a quarter before 5 o'clock near a small threshing-floor belonging to the Jehâlîn. Not far off was a reservoir of rain-water.

Thus far we had only three men, one of whom was Sheikh Sâlim; but here we were to be fitted out with a new set of camels, with every thing in proper order for the journey. It was not yet so late but that we received many visits; and found that although

[1] Josh. xv. 21–32; comp. vs. 48–60.

encamped in the desert, we were not likely to lack an abundance of company. The encampment of the Jehâlîn was in full view on the mountain towards the N. W. at the distance of an hour or more, consisting of seventy or eighty black tents arranged in a large circle. There was said to be one other smaller encampment, which we did not see. The whole tribe belongs to the Keis party; and was said to muster about one hundred and fifty men. None of them can read or write; nor have they any one to lead them in their worship; nor do they assemble for prayer on Friday, the Muhammedan Sabbath. On being told that the Ta'âmirah have a Khatîb, they said the Ta'âmirah were Fellâhîn; implying that of the real Bedawîn none learn to read.—The tribe paid last year to the government a tribute (Mîry) of thirty purses. They are obliged also often to furnish camels for the public service; for which they had only in one case been paid. The animals were once taken to Damascus, and the service credited as part of their tribute.

The Jehâlîn had at this time twenty-two horses and about two hundred camels. The horses of course belonged to the Sheikhs; of the camels, the chief Sheikh owned twenty-five or thirty. There is no living water within the territory of the tribe, except at Kurmul. The cistern near which we were encamped, was large, and excavated in a rocky ledge with a hole above like a well. There had formerly been an opening below on the side; but this was now stopped with large stones laid in mortar. When the cisterns become exhausted later in summer, they have no resource, but to remove their flocks and other animals to the vicinity of Kurmul; where they water in common with the Ka'âbineh.[1] At this season of the year, their

[1] See above, pp. 201, 202.

flocks were watered every two days, and the camels once in three days. As a matter of course, they are exceedingly careful of the supply in their cisterns; and a man received a sharp rebuke in our presence from the Sheikh, for having suffered some 'Alawîn to water a few sheep at that in our neighbourhood.

The Jehâlîn have not been disarmed; they have still their old muskets with matclr-locks; and make their own gunpowder. The nitre they obtain from the dust of the ruined villages in their country; and the sulphur from the shores of the Dead Sea.[1] They mingle these ingredients with pulverized charcoal, and thus obtain a very coarse and inferior powder; which however costs them nothing. They, as well as the Tiyâhah, are at war with several tribes on the east of the Dead Sea, viz. the Beni Sŭkhr, the Bahârât, and the Sŭlît; the latter dwelling around Hesbân. Not many months before, they had made an expedition with the aid of the Tiyâhah against the Sŭlît, by way of the south end of the Dead Sea; and had brought away forty-five camels. We now heard more of the similar expedition which we had met in Bethlehem, and learned the result.[2] It was composed of eighty-six horsemen, of whom twenty-two were Jehâlîn; and the main body passed along the same road which we travelled from 'Ain Jidy to the Jordan. Crossing the river opposite Jericho, they fell upon the encampment of their enemies, the Sŭlît, by surprise, and brought away a hundred camels. We learned too, that the visit of the Sheikh Defa' Allah at Hebron this morning, had for its object to bring two of the captured camels as a present to Sheikh Sa'id of Gaza; whose permission they had obtained before setting off on the expedition.

Sunday, May 27th. We remained all day encamped;

[1] See pp. 221, 222. [2] See above, pp. 158, 159.

but the number of visitors left us no interval of quiet. In the morning, about one hundred and fifty camels were driven by at once to water. We were afterwards visited by Defa' Allah, by the second Sheikh, Mûsa, and by various others. The former was said to have seven brothers, all of whom bore the title of Sheikh. Indeed almost every man who passed along, claimed to be a brother of the Sheikh, and owner of the threshing-floor by our tent; so that at last our servants made it quite a jest, to inquire of every Arab who came by, if he was the Sheikh's brother and owned this floor?—The threshing-floor was very small; and was watched every night. Round about it were lying several small heaps of gleaned wheat. The gleaning is done by the poor; and their little sheaves were deposited here for safe-keeping, till they could beat them out.

Opposite to us the mountains of Kerak were in view; but the city itself was not visible. We heard much to-day of 'Abdeh in the desert south of Beersheba; but the accounts were quite indefinite; nor could we learn that any one of the tribe had been there.[1] We heard also of several ancient names in this region of the south, some of which we were afterwards able to ascertain more accurately.

Defa' Allah visited us again at evening, and informed us, that there were at his encampment five of the Haweitât from the vicinity of Ma'ân, who had been to Hebron to sell a flock of sheep, and were now returning. As their way would lie near Wady Mûsa, the Sheikh advised us to take them into our service for a small pay, in order to increase the strength of our party. This we were willing to do, not so much on this account, as because we might hope to gather information from them respecting their country; and

[1] See Note XXI. end of Vol. I.

because too their presence might secure for us a better reception among the Arabs of that region. We therefore authorized the Sheikh to offer ten piastres for each man for the whole time, without provisions. Some spoke of them as Haweitât, and some as 'Alawîn; the latter are indeed a subdivison of the former; but these individuals were not 'Alawîn of Sheikh Husein's tribe.

Monday, May 28th. We rose before 4 o'clock, hoping to set off early. Very soon the grating sound of the hand-mill was heard from a cave not far off, where an Arab family had taken up their abode during the harvest.[1] In spite of our hopes, and notwithstanding all our former experience, our patience was this morning not a little tried by the dilatoriness of the Arabs. They had yesterday made the fairest promises, that they would come with the camels at evening and sleep at our tent, in order to be ready for an early start; yet only one came; and it was nearly 7 o'clock this morning before they all arrived. Then nothing was ready. The saddles had to be put in order, and some of them re-stuffed with straw. Then one camel had to be shaved; that is, the hair of its lips and face was regularly shaved off with a sharp knife, being occasionally lathered with spittle; the head was then anointed, apparently on account of some disease. It seemed also not yet to be fixed, who should go with us. At last it appeared that only four men instead of five were going; and these mere camel-drivers, no one of whom was a Sheikh nor a responsible person. On learning this we declined going in that manner; and ordered the loading of the camels to be stopped. At length Sheikh Hussân, who had come to see us off, agreed to take us to the place where Sheikh Sâlim (who had come with us on Saturday)

[1] See p. 181. above.

was reaping; and if the latter would not go, he promised to accompany us himself. We consented to the four men the more readily, because the five Haweitât or 'Alawîn had accepted our offer and now presented themselves,—a set of thievish-looking ragamuffins as one would wish to see. We accordingly set off at 7½ o'clock, and travelling south for fifteen minutes, came to the field of reapers, where we stopped for another hour. Here it was finally arranged, that Sheikh Hussân should go with us; and leaving his gala-dress and his sleek mare, and sending for his long gun, he joined us on foot in the common Arab costume. We thus mustered nine armed men, besides our two servants; who also felt their importance somewhat augmented, by being now regularly intrusted each with a gun and pistol.

From this point three sites of ruins were visible, viz. Jenbeh, at the foot of the mountain and now directly under the encampment of the Jehâlîn; el-Kuryetein[1] also at the foot of the mountain; and el-Beyûdh on a low hill more to the left.[2] All these are only foundations of small villages, or merely caves.[3] Another similar site, el-Khuncifit, was spoken of somewhere on the left of our road.

We finally set off at a quarter before 9 o'clock, on a course nearly due south through the rolling plain, along a small shallow Wady. After three quarters of an hour, there was on our right a small site of foundations and walls of round stones, called et-Taiyib, with the remains of a dam in the Wady, apparently for a

[1] El-Kuryetein, 'the two cities,' seems to suggest the Kerioth (cities) of Josh. xv. 25. in the south of Judah; unless the latter is to be united with the next name, and read Kerioth-Hezron, as Reland suggests. Palæst. pp. 700. 708.

[2] This name would seem to correspond to the 'Al-baid' of Irby and Mangles; Travels, p. 348. But their description refers the latter apparently to Kurmul.

[3] They bore as follows; Jenbeh, N. 60° W. el-Kuryetein, S. 75° W. el-Beyûdh, S. 40° W.

reservoir. Here too a hill called Tell 'Arâd, which we had seen for some time in the S. S. W. seemed not more than an hour distant; a barren looking eminence rising above the country around. This marks, without much doubt, the site of the ancient city Arad, situated in the south of Judah; whose inhabitants drove back the Israelites as they attempted to penetrate from Kadesh into Palestine; but were afterwards subdued by Joshua.[1] The Arabs said indeed, that there were now no ruins upon or near it, but only a cavern. We did not visit it, but the name is too decisive to admit of question.[2]

Proceeding on the same course, we came at 10½ o'clock, to another similar site of rude foundations and walls, called Ehdeib, still on the bank of the shallow Wady, which here bears the same name. Fifteen minutes further on, the Wady turns to the east, and runs to the Dead Sea, which it enters under the name of es-Seyâl, between Birket el-Khŭlîl and Sebbeh.[3] At 11 o'clock we passed a circular space blackened by fires and the manure of animals, and marking the place of a recent encampment of the Dhŭllâm. These Arabs, in the spring, pasture in this tract in common with the Jehâlîn; their proper territory lies further west towards Beersheba, where both they and the Tiyâhah water in common.—We were now gradually ascending a broad swell of land. At 11h 5′ was another small ruin, called el-Museik, similar to those before mentioned. We reached the height of the swell or broad ridge at 11h 50′, near another site of ruins,

[1] Judg. i. 16. Numb. xxi. 1. Josh. xii. 14. comp. x. 41. The English version, and also Luther, in Num. xxi. 1, read 'king Arad' incorrectly for 'king *of* Arad;' comp. Josh. xii. 14.

[2] Eusebius and Jerome place Arad at 20 Roman miles from Hebron, equal to about 8 hours with camels; Onomast. art. *Arath* (Ἀραμά). This accords well with our present distance from Hebron. —From the point where we now were, Beyûdh bore W. Encampment of the Jehâlîn, N. 27° W. Jenbeh, N. 15° W.

[3] See above, pp. 205. 207. 240.

and a mound or low Tell on our right, called Rujeim Selâmeh. Here we halted for half an hour for refreshment and to survey the country.

We had here an extensive view of the district through which we had passed, as far back as to the mountain-ridge we had crossed on Saturday, which extended far along on our right towards the S. W.[1] Its furthest point in that direction, a steep low bluff, now bore about west; and seemed almost to close up the plain towards Beersheba. Yet such is not the case; for the Wady es-Seba' has its head on this side of the mountain, in the district around Milh, and passes off around the bluff. The Tell by Milh was pointed out; and also another hill near a place called 'Ar'ârah; both of which we visited on our return.[2] Before us, the country exhibited the same general features as that in our rear.[3]

Setting off again at 12h 20', we passed in ten minutes another small site of foundations, called Sudeid. Our course was now in general about S. E. At 1 o'clock Rujeim Selâmeh bore N. 40° E. and Tell et-Tawâneh, a marked point near Ma'în, N. 5° W. The country continued to bear the same general character as that we had traversed; except that we had found it all day becoming more and more barren, and assuming more the features of the desert. It was here hilly and intersected by small ravines, but without precipices; and had been thinly covered with a slight growth of grass, now dry.

[1] Lord Lindsay says the Arabs called this ridge Jebel el-Kuryetein; Letters, vol. ii. His Arabs had probably been speaking of el-Kuryetein, and therefore named the mountain so. On the north side of it, they would very likely have called it, in the same way, Jebel Ma'în or Jebel Kurmul. We could not find that the ridge had a distinct name.

[2] See under June 3d and 4th.

[3] Here at Rujeim Selâmeh we took bearings: Encampment of the Jehâlîn, N. 15° W. Tell 'Arâd, N. 55° W. el-Milh, about W. 'Ar'ârah, S. 70° W.

At ten minutes past 2 o'clock, we reached the brow of the first descent or offset towards the Dead Sea, a steep declivity of seven or eight hundred feet, leading down to another broad tract, still several hundred feet above the level of the sea. Here are a few traces of rude foundations, the site of a former village called ez-Zuweirah el-Fôka, "Upper Zuweirah." Leaving the camels to descend by the usual circuitous pass, we struck off a short distance to the right along a ridge projecting somewhat towards the S. E. on the point of which are the ruins of a square massive tower, once probably a watch-tower. Here a wide prospect spread itself out before us, over the southern part of the Dead Sea and the southern Ghôr; in which we at once recognised all the features that had already become so familiar to us at 'Ain Jidy.[1]

Below us, still between us and the sea, lay the broad elevated tract above mentioned, thickly studded with white conical hills and short ridges of limestone and chalk of fantastic shapes, presenting the aspect of a frightful desert. It seemed here but a short distance across this tract; but from the foot of the first pass we travelled nearly four hours, and encamped without reaching the shore. Beyond lay Usdum, a low dark ridge, running off nearly S. S. E. along the shore, and then turning almost S. W. Here the long peninsula with its isthmus was on our left; and Sebbeh could not have been far distant, though it was not now visible, nor did we at any time get sight of it. The south end of the sea lay before us in perfect distinctness, opposite the S. E. angle of Usdum; and we could now mark the wet and slimy surface of the ground along the Ghôr, which had deceived us at

[1] Compare generally the description of this part of the Dead Sea as seen from the cliff over 'Ain Jidy; p. 204. seq.

'Ain Jidy.[1] Further south, the Ghôr was partially covered with vegetation; and still further we could perceive a line of whitish cliffs crossing it obliquely, with which we afterwards became better acquainted. Beyond these, the desert tract of the broad sandy valley stretched off in a southerly direction beyond the limit of vision. The eastern mountains were now very distinct; though Kerak was not visible, being hidden by intervening peaks. Yet the Wady Kerak or ed-Dera'ah could be seen coming down upon the isthmus, and covering the northern side of it with verdure.[2] Just north of this we could distinguish a small ravine called Wady Beni Hemâd. South of the isthmus, nearly opposite to us, was Wady el-Kuneiyeh; while a little beyond the S. E. corner of the sea, Wady el-Kŭrâhy issues from the mountains, bearing higher up the name of Wady el-Ahsy; this also occasions a tract of verdure in the Ghôr. Far in the south, among the eastern mountains, Sheikh Hussân thought he could point out, though somewhat indistinctly, the peak of Mount Hôr.[3]

We descended by a shorter and steeper route, and met the camels just as they also reached the foot at 3 o'clock. Here we crossed the bed of a torrent running to the right, called Wady el-Jerrah. Further down in the same direction it receives another called Wady el-Fâ'iya coming from the S. W.[4] and then turn-

[1] See above, p. 206.

[2] See above, pp. 231, 232.

[3] From this high point at ez-Zuweirah el-Fôka, the various places visible bore as follows: Encampment of the Jehâlîn, N. 25° W. Tell et-Tawâneh, near Ma'în, N. 10° W. North end of the peninsula, N. 70° E. Mouth of Wady Beni Hemâd, N. 82° E. North side of isthmus and mouth of Wady Kerak, N. 85° E. South end of peninsula, and south side of isthmus, S. 78° E. Peak in mountains of Moab, seen from Hebron, S. 52° E. South-east corner of the Dead Sea, S. 44° E. South-east angle of Usdum, S. 41° E. Mouth of Wady el-Kŭrâhy, S. 40° E. Mount Hor, about S. The lower pass of ez-Zuweirah, before us, bore S. 45° E.

[4] We passed near the head of Wady el-Fâ'iya on our return; see under June 3d.

ing eastwards, the united Wady takes the name el-Muhauwat, and finds its way down to the sea at the north end of Usdum. We now kept on S. E. across the tract of desolate chalky hills above described, mostly along a winding valley. Nowhere had we seen a more hideous desert. After a long and tedious ride we came out at 5h 50′ upon the brow of the second descent. Here is another steep rocky declivity, also of not less than seven or eight hundred feet. The path keeps mostly along a ravine in the rock; and in the lower part is quite steep, though not particularly difficult. The ravine is the head of Wady ez-Zuweirah, which here runs off directly towards the Dead Sea. At the bottom of the pass, the formation of limestone and chalk, through which we had passed, gives way to a soft chalk or whitish indurated marl, in horizontal layers, washed by the rains into pilasters and other fantastic shapes. At the very bottom, which we reached at 6h 40′, just where the Wady runs off apparently on a level towards the sea, stands a small Saracenic fort, on an isolated cliff of this chalky earth, so soft as to be easily broken off with the hands. It is entirely surrounded and overlooked by other similar chalky cliffs of much greater elevation. The Wady is here narrow; and in the perpendicular wall nearly over against the fort, a chamber with loop-holes is excavated in the soft rock at some height above the ground. Near by are two reservoirs built up of stone, and a cistern, all now dry; but our Arabs said there was rain-water in a ravine higher up. This spot is ez-Zuweirah; in distinction from which the other is called "the Upper."

We now followed down Wady ez-Zuweirah. Through its narrow opening we could look out upon the sea and eastern mountains, on which the setting sun just now threw its beams, tinging their naked sides with

crimson hues. At length at 6h 50′ we turned aside into a narrow ravine, called Wady en-Nejd, coming in from the left; and encamped for the night in one of the wildest spots we had yet visited, shut in on every side by whitish perpendicular cliffs of indurated marl. Our guides sought this retreat, in order that our tent and fire might escape notice, should there be any strangers passing along this way.—We here again encountered the climate of the Ghôr and Dead Sea; the thermometer which at sunrise had stood at 52°, being now at 80° F.

This double pass of ez-Zuweirah, which we had now descended, was first visited in modern times by Seetzen in A. D. 1806, who ascended it on his way from Kerak around the south end of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem, though he does not name it.[1] In A. D. 1818, Irby and Mangles with their party passed on this route from Hebron to Kerak; and describe the pass and fort, which they call "el-Zowar."[2] Since that time until this year, I am not aware that it had been visited by any traveller. It must of course have been the road, by which Ibrahim Pasha and his troops passed from Hebron to Tŭfîlch and Kerak in A. D. 1834.

With our guides of the Jehâlîn we were better pleased than we had anticipated. From M. de Bertou, who had made the journey with them a few weeks before, we had heard only complaints of their unaccommodating spirit and extortions; so that, although our previous experience had already taught us to lay the fault chiefly at his own door, yet we had not expected to avoid petty vexations and a general want of fidelity. In all this we were favourably disappointed; although the strong prejudice which we

[1] Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xviii. pp. 437, 438.

[2] Travels, pp. 350, 351. Legh, under May 10th.

found among the tribe against that traveller, with whom it seems they had been throughout on ill terms, did not fail at first to operate also to our disadvantage. Finding that my companion was at home in their language and customs, and that we were disposed to treat them as men, and not as slaves, their jealousy and reserve soon wore off in a degree. Yet they were never so active and obliging, nor so communicative, as our good Tawarah; and Sheikh Hussân was not to be compared with Tuweileb or Beshârah, in point of good sense or general information. One of the men, Muhammed, was a clownish buffoon. Indeed, they seemed both physically and mentally to be a heavier-moulded race than the Tawarah. Their camels were much superior to those of the peninsula.

Our attendants of the Haweitât proved to be well acquainted with the country south of Wady Mûsa; they were at first reserved; but the kindness and conversation of my companion soon dissipated their jealousy, and in some degree won their confidence. One old man, who seemed to be their leader, was fond of talking, and exhibited more shrewdness of mind than any of our Arab companions.

Tuesday, May 29th. We set off without breakfasting, ten minutes before 5 o'clock; and after returning from the side-valley en-Nejd, followed down Wady ez-Zuweirah running S. E. still narrow, rugged, and shut in by perpendicular cliffs of marl, in horizontal layers of unequal hardness. The path lies most of the way along the bed of the Wady; yet at one place the latter makes a circuit towards the south, while the road ascends and crosses the rocky intermediate point. Here was the last descent towards the shore; and just as we reached it at 5¼ o'clock, the sun rose over the eastern mountains. As we looked down through the narrow opening of the valley,

the calm glassy waters of the lake became liquid gold; and the verdant shrubs upon the shore, tinged with sunny hues, gave for the moment an impression of beauty to a scene in itself stern and desolate as death. Ten minutes later we issued from the mouth of the Wady upon the plain along the shore, here of considerable breadth, full of shrubs with Seyâl and Tŭrfa trees, which we also found along the bottom of the valley higher up.[1] Just at the right comes in Wady el-Muhauwat from the S. W. along the base of the cliffs, having found its way down through the mountains from the higher tract above; it is here broad and full of the like bushes and trees; and separates the N. end of Usdum from the regular cliffs of the coast.[2]

As we now took leave of ez-Zuweirah, it may be proper to remark, that neither this name, nor the site, has any relation to the ancient Zoar; although a partial resemblance in the name, might at first be supposed. The Hebrew Zoar contains the letter 'Ain, which never falls away from the middle of a word; and accordingly Abulfeda and others write that name repeatedly Zoghar, and speak of it as existing in their day.[3] The city of Zoar too lay in sight of Sodom, in or adjacent to the plain, so as to be exposed to the same destruction which overtook the other cities; and so late as the time of Jerome it had a Roman garrison and many inhabitants.[4] But the present ez-Zuweirah, taking even the lower, (for the upper is wholly out of the question,) lies more than half an hour from any part of the sea or plain; is entirely shut in by moun-

[1] Irby and Mangles mention here also the Dôm or Nŭbk; p. 351.

[2] From the mouth of Wady ez-Zuweirah, the S. W. extremity of the peninsula, as here seen, bore N. 30° E. Jebel Jil'âd near es-Salt N. 24° E. Wady el-Kuneiyeh across the sea S. 80° E.

[3] Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 8, 9. 11, 12, &c. Ibn el-Wardi, ibid. p. 178. See above, Vol. I. p. 376. note [2].

[4] Gen. xix. 19–21. Hieron. Onom. art. *Bala*, "habitatoribus quoque propriis frequentatur."

tains, so as to be nowhere visible from the plain; and exhibits no trace of any dwellings, except the small modern Saracenic fort. Nor is there elsewhere in the Wady, or at its mouth, the slightest vestige of any former site. Further, there is decisive historical testimony, that the ancient Zoar lay on the east of the Dead Sea, in the territories of Moab. I am therefore disposed, with Irby and Mangles, to assign its position to the mouth of the Wady Kerak, where the latter opens upon the isthmus of the long peninsula. In that spot these travellers found the traces of an extensive ancient site.[1]

Our course now became about S. by E. and led us across the broad plain, somewhat inclining towards the sea, formed by the Wady el-Muhauwat, and thickly covered with bushes and trees as described above. By looking up this Wady we could perceive that Usdum is only a narrow ridge, like a huge windrow; while the tract lying between it and the western cliffs, from which we had descended, is filled out with conical hills and short ridges of chalky limestone, like those of the higher tract we had traversed yesterday. We reached the northern extremity of Usdum at 5^h 50′; this lies at some distance from the shore of the sea, and the space is covered with shrubs; but the flat shore soon trends towards it, and becomes narrower and wholly desert. All our present Arab guides gave to the mountain the name of Khashm Usdum; the former word signifying "cartilage of the nose."[2] The road continues along the base of the mountain, here running towards the S. S. E. It was in this vicinity that Sheikh Hussân gave us the information which I

[1] Travels, p. 448. See the historical notices and ancient testimonies respecting Zoar, in Note XXXIV. end of the Volume.

[2] See more on the name and character of this mountain, p. 206. note [1].

have elsewhere related, respecting the appearance of bitumen in the lake, and as to the ford from this part of the western shore to the southern side of the peninsula, by which he himself had once passed.[1]

At 6h 10′ a heap of stones lay between us and the shore, called Um Zôghal.[2] Beyond this, the ridge of Usdum begins to exhibit more distinctly its peculiar formation; *the whole body of the mountain being a solid mass of rock-salt.* The ridge is in general very uneven and rugged, varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height. It is indeed covered with layers of chalky limestone or marl, so as to present chiefly the appearance of common earth or rock; yet the mass of salt very often breaks out, and appears on the sides in precipices forty or fifty feet high and several hundred feet in length, pure crystallized fossil salt. We could at first hardly believe our eyes; until we had several times approached the precipices, and broken off pieces to satisfy ourselves, both by the touch and taste. The salt, where thus exposed, is everywhere more or less furrowed by the rains. As we advanced, large lumps and masses broken off from above, lay like rocks along the shore, or were fallen down as *debris.* The very stones beneath our feet were pure salt. This continued to be the character of the mountain, more or less distinctly marked, throughout its whole length; a distance of two and a half hours or five geographical miles. The Arabs affirmed, that the western side of the ridge exhibits similar appearances. The lumps of salt are not transparent, but present a dark appearance; precisely similar to that of the large quantities of mineral salt, which we afterwards saw at Varna and in the towns along the

[1] See pp. 228. seq. 234. seq.

[2] Apparently the Tell el-Msogal of Seetzen; Zach's Mon. Corr. xvii. p. 140. Comp. xviii. p. 437.

lower Danube, the produce of the salt mines of those regions.

The existence here of this immense mass of fossil salt, which, according to the latest geological views, is a frequent accompaniment of volcanic action, accounts sufficiently for the excessive saltness of the Dead Sea. At this time, the waters of the lake did not indeed wash the base of the mountain, though they appear to do so on some occasions; but the rains of winter, and the streamlets which we still found running to the sea, would naturally carry into it, in the course of ages, a sufficiency of salt to produce most of the phenomena.[1]

The position of this mountain, at the south end of the sea, enables us also to ascertain the place of the "Valley of Salt" mentioned in Scripture; where the Hebrews under David, and again under Amaziah, gained decisive victories over Edom. This valley could well have been no other than the Ghôr south of the Dead Sea, adjacent to the mountain of salt; it separates indeed the ancient territories of Judah and Edom.[2] Somewhere in the neighbourhood lay also probably the "City of Salt," enumerated along with En-gedi as in the desert of Judah.[3]

This very remarkable mountain appears not to be directly mentioned, either in Scripture, nor by Josephus or any other ancient writer. Yet Galen may

[1] According to an analysis by Prof. Rose of Berlin, the salt of this mountain contains no peculiar ingredients, and especially no bromium. It would seem, therefore, that the waters of the sea must somewhere come in contact with other mineral masses. See above, pp. 224, 225.

[2] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chr. xviii. 12. 2 Kings, xiv. 7. The first two passages evidently refer to the same event; but that in Samuel reads "Syrians" (אֲרָם), while that in Chronicles reads "Edomites" (אֱדֹם). The latter reading is doubtless the correct one; while the former is easily accounted for, by the similarity of the Hebrew letters ד and ר. The crusaders knew the Ghôr in this part as *Vallis Illustris;* Will. Tyr. xvi. 6.

[3] Josh. xv. 61, 62.

not improbably allude to it, when in speaking of the salt gathered around the Dead Sea, he remarks, that it is called "Sodom-Salt," from the mountains named Sodom adjacent to the lake.[1] In this ancient appellation, as has been already remarked, lies probably the origin of the present name, Usdum.[2] So singular a feature did not escape the attention of the crusaders, in their occasional expeditions through this region; and the earliest direct notice of the mountain seems to be that of Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin I. around the south end of the sea in A. D. 1100. He describes the mountain accurately; and holds it to be the source of the saltness of the sea.[3] His account has probably been since regarded as a fable; for the mountain, like the whole tract around, was again forgotten, and remained unexplored for many centuries. Seetzen in A. D. 1806 was the first to raise the veil of darkness from the region; he mentions the mountain as being nearly three hours in length, and containing many layers of crystallized rock-salt.[4] Irby and Mangles with their party followed in A. D. 1818; and also speak of the mountain and its strata of salt.[5] From that time to the present year, I am not aware that the region had been visited by any traveller.[6]

[1] Προσαγορεύουσι δ' αὐτοὺς [τοὺς ἅλεις] Σοδομηνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν περιοχόντων τὴν λίμνην ὀρῶν, ἃ καλεῖται Σόδομα. Galen, de Simpl. Medic. Facult. iv. 19. Reland, Palæst. p. 243.

[2] See above, p. 206.

[3] Fulcher Carnot. 23. in Gesta Dei, p. 405. "Juxta quem lacum, vel Mare illud Mortuum, extat mons unus similiter salsus, non tamen totus sed localiter, constans ut petra, durissimus, et glaciei simillimus; unde sal, quod *salis gemma* vocatur, multotiens vidistis, quod de monte illo comminuitur." Comp. Gesta Dei, p. 581.

[4] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. pp. 436, 437.

[5] Travels, p. 352. So too Legh: "Along the foot of the high mountain-ridge, whose sides were sometimes formed of pure rock-salt, fragments of which had rolled down, or were seen hanging in other places as stalactites from the perpendicular sections of the rock." May 11th. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, p. 625.

[6] Nau in 1674 relates, that at Damascus he met Daniel, abbot of St. Saba, who had once made the tour of the whole Dead Sea. Daniel reported, that on the west

As we thus travelled along the strand, I took the opportunity of bathing again in the Dead Sea, which detained us for twenty minutes. The bottom was here of sand, and the water so shallow, that although I waded out some twenty rods, it reached little more than half-way to the knee. It left behind the same oily feeling as formerly; but no deposit of salt upon the skin.

We came at 7½ o'clock to a cavern in the mountain of which our Arabs had often spoken. It is on a level with the ground, beneath a precipice of salt. The mouth is of an irregular form, ten or twelve feet high, and about the same in breadth. Here we stopped forty minutes for breakfast, and in order to examine the interior of the cavern. This soon becomes merely a small irregular gallery or fissure in the rock, with a water-course at the bottom, in which water was in some places still trickling. We followed this gallery with lights, and with some difficulty, for three or four hundred feet into the heart of the mountain, to a point where it branches off into two smaller fissures; and then returned. For this whole distance, the sides and roof and floor of the cavern are solid salt; dirty indeed, and the floor covered with dust and earth; but along the water-course it was easy to remark the pure crystallized rock, as worn away by the torrent, which at times evidently rushes violently through the cavern.

side of the lake, he found a tree with apples of Sodom like lemons (doubtless the 'Ösher); that the S. end of the sea is not pointed, but round; that at this end a stream flows into it from the S. E. called *Saphia;* that here too and further north are vast plains and salt mountains; that the sea towards the S. end is cut in two, so that it can be forded in summer, and the water is only mid-leg deep, at least on the east side; and that here is another small round, or rather oval lake, bounded by the plains and salt mountains just mentioned. Now all this is founded more or less in truth; but when the abbot (or Nau) goes on to say, that along the eastern side of the lake there are rich plains with villages and churches and some Christians, it is plain that he or his reporter is speaking at random. Indeed, the whole account is too indefinite; ever to have gained credit. See Nau's Voyage, p. 580.

As we approached the cave, it had been reported by the scouts, of whom we had always one or more ahead, that a troop of riders was seen coming along the southern end of the sea. As we came out from the interior, the report had become more distinct. All was now alarm and bustle; the guns were primed, and preparation made to meet an enemy. The distance did not allow the scouts at first to distinguish the number of men, nor the animals on which they were riding; but it was concluded, that if they were horsemen, they were certainly a Ghŭzu or marauding party of their enemies. It was determined, at any rate, not to abandon our strong position in the mouth of the cavern; and Sheikh Hussân himself went forward to reconnoitre and hold a parley. But he soon ascertained, that the dreaded troop of marauders consisted of a flock of sheep, with two or three men on donkies. All alarm now vanished, and we set forward at 8h 10′, still proceeding along the strand.

As we advanced, the approaching party had turned the corner of the sea, and we met them on the western shore. They proved to be a Gaza merchant, who had been buying sheep and butter at Kerak, and was now returning home with his purchases, accompanied by two or three men from Kerak.[1] The tables were now turned. Our Arabs thus finding themselves to be the stronger party, were willing to make a show of their power, and requite upon the poor strangers a little of the alarm they had themselves at first felt. They therefore, while we were somewhat in advance, drew up in a line, and approached the strangers with menacing gestures; and even Komeh was unwise enough to put himself at their head and assume a

[1] Kerak was formerly celebrated for its butter, which was made and consumed in great quantities. Burckhardt relates, that in his day it was considered disgraceful to sell it. Travels, &c. p. 385.

similar mien. But it turned out, that what the rest had intended as a jest, our five Haweitât had meant in earnest. Their tribe, it seems, being at open war with the people of Kerak, they ran forward with all speed, and before we could believe our own eyes, they were actually robbing the other party! One seized a lamb, another a pistol, a third a cloak, and a fourth two small skins of Kerak butter. The injured party of course appealed to us for restitution; but we could only threaten the miscreants to dismiss them immediately without paying them a para for their services, unless they gave back the articles. The old man, who had taken the pistol, now appealed to us with all the eloquence of conscious integrity; he said, the men of Kerak were his enemies, and he was acting lawfully, and doing to them only what they would do to him in like circumstances. My companion, not professing to be a judge of Bedawîn law, replied, that while he was in our service he must be governed by our laws; when he was in the desert, he might act as a Bedawy. With much difficulty, and after great exertion on the part of our resolute Komeh, (who seemed desirous to make good his oversight,) they were constrained to restore, as we supposed, every thing. Yet it turned out afterwards, that they had contrived to retain a skin of butter. Thus instead of being robbed, we ourselves might be said to have turned robbers.

We reached the S. W. corner of the sea at 8½ o'clock; the shore being all the way strewed with blocks of salt, the debris of the mountain above. At the same point is also the S. E. end or angle of Usdum, as seen from 'Ain Jidy; here the ridge trends off S. W. extending in that direction for a considerable distance further. The breadth of the sea and Ghôr, at this point, is probably less than two thirds of its

width at 'Ain Jidy, perhaps five or six geographical miles.[1]

The south end of the sea is everywhere very shallow; and many little shoals and sand-banks run out into it from the shores. From the line of water southwards, a large tract of low naked flats, in some parts a mere salt marsh, extends up for several miles, over which the sea rises and covers it when full. Traces of the high-water line, marked with drift-wood, are found at a great distance further south. This naked tract of flats lies chiefly in the middle of the Ghôr and further west; indeed all the western part, quite to the base of Usdum, is wholly without vegetation. Through the midst of it, in various places, large sluggish drains were seen winding their way towards the sea.[2]

The eastern side of the Ghôr presented a different appearance. Here, not far south of the corner of the sea, comes in the Wady el-Kŭrâhy, which higher up in the mountains is called Wady el-Ahsy.[3] Further south is also Wady et-Tŭfîleh; and still beyond is another, called Wady Ghŭrŭndel. The two former, like Wady Kérak, have in them never-failing streams.

The tract watered by the Kŭrâhy, where it issues

[1] From this spot at the S. W. corner of the sea, I took the following bearings: Southern shore of the sea runs due E. Râs el-Mersed at 'Ain Jidy N. 8° E. Râs el-Feshkhah N. 13° E. Western extremity of the peninsula, as here seen, N. 16° E.

[2] Irby and Mangles, in travelling along the south end of the sea, passed six drains before coming to the stream of the Kŭrâhy; some wet, others dry. These had a strong marshy smell, similar to what is perceivable on muddy flats in salt-water harbours. Travels, p. 354.

[3] This is the Wady el-Ahsa of Burckhardt, south of Khanzîreh, separating the district of Kerak from Jebâl; Travels, pp. 400, 401. Seetzen writes it incorrectly Wady al-Hössn; Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xviii. p. 436. Irby and Mangles have in like manner at first el-Hussan, Travels, pp. 355. 373, 374.; but on their return they write only el-Ahsa, p. 444. Legh writes el-Hossan though in the mountains he speaks of the same Wady under the name Ellasar; May 10th and 19th. Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, pp. 624. 631. — We inquired often and very particularly, but could hear only the name el-Ahsy.

from the mountains, is called Ghôr es-Sâfieh; and is cultivated for wheat, barley, Dhurah, and tobacco, by the Ghawârineh. These people at Sâfieh, like the inhabitants of modern Jericho, are a feeble race, who alone can live here on account of the fevers which prevail. Our Arabs said of them, that they are not to be reckoned either as Bedu, nor as Hŭdr, nor as 'Abîd (slaves). They live in cabins of reeds or canes; and are much oppressed by the extortions of the Bedawîn of the mountains. They were said to number about fifty men. The Wady et-Tŭfîleh in like manner waters a tract at its mouth, called Feifeh; which is also cultivated by the Ghawârineh of Sâfieh.

The Fellâhîn do not here come down from the mountains, as at Jericho, to plough and sow in the valley. The tract on the peninsula at the mouth of Wady Kerak, called Ghôr el-Mezra'ah, with the village of Ghawârineh who till it, has already been described.[1] They were said to be fewer than those of Sâfieh. Many of them, having fled from the oppressions of the Arabs around Kerak, were now dwelling in the Ghôr of the 'Adwân opposite Jericho, around Nimrîn and Râmeh in Wady Hesbân.

The eastern side of the Ghôr, as thus described and seen from the spot where we now stood, is covered with shrubs and verdure like the plain of Jericho; forming a striking contrast with the middle and western side. Except the tracts above mentioned, the rest of the Ghôr is wholly unsusceptible of cultivation.[2]

But for us, at the moment, the view of the Ghôr which here opened to us towards the south, had a still higher interest. At the distance of nearly three hours, this view was now bounded by the line of whitish cliffs,

[1] See above, p. 232.

[2] Compare generally the account of Burckhardt, pp. 390, 391. Also that of Irby and Mangles, which is more full and definite, pp. 353—357.

which we had seen from Upper Zuweirah, running off obliquely quite across the broad valley, and apparently barring all further progress. From ez-Zuweirah, however, we had been able to distinguish, that above and beyond these cliffs, the wide plain of the great valley continued to run on towards the south as far as the eye could reach; and that the cliffs themselves were indeed nothing more than an *offset* or step, between the low Ghôr on the north and the higher level of the more southern valley.[1] Along the foot of the cliffs, beyond the naked flats, we could everywhere perceive a broad tract of verdure; which we afterwards found to be mostly cane-brake, growing on marshes formed by many brackish springs.—We now for the first time learned the exact point of division, between the portions of the great valley called el-Ghôr and el-'Arabah. It consists in this line of cliffs; all the valley on the north as far as to the Lake of Tiberius forming the Ghôr, while el-'Arabah on the south extends quite to 'Akabah. Such was the testimony of all our Arabs, both of the Jehâlîn and Hawcitât.[2]

Thus far we had followed the route of the few former travellers, who had passed between Hebron and Kerak around the south end of the Dead Sea.[3] But from this point we were about to enter a new region, and follow along a portion of the great valley (no very

[1] See above, p. 476.—Irby and Mangles saw and mention these cliffs, as they passed along the south end of the sea; Travels, p. 353.: "The plain opens considerably to the south, and is bounded at the distance of about eight miles, by a sandy cliff, from sixty to eighty feet in height, which runs directly across and closes the valley of el-Ghôr.—We were told that the plain on the top of this range of cliffs, continues the whole way to Mecca ['Akabah?] without any interruption of mountains." This is the only mention of these cliffs previous to our visit.

[2] I speak here advisedly; because M. de Bertou has chosen to give to the southern part of the great valley the name of Wady el-'Akabah. This name is not known among the Arabs; and he had no other authority than the same Jehâlîn.

[3] Seetzen, and also Irby and Mangles and their party.

extensive one indeed), into which until a few weeks before, the foot of no Frank traveller had ever penetrated. The former attractive hypothesis, which had been adopted after Burckhardt's discovery of this valley, viz. that the Jordan anciently flowed through its whole length quite to the Dead Sea, we knew to be no longer tenable.[1] The sagacious doubts of Letronne upon this point, founded chiefly on the direction of the side valleys from the adjacent mountains as laid down upon Laborde's Map, had been speedily followed by the discovery of the depressed level of the Dead Sea; a fact in itself necessarily fatal to the hypothesis in question.[2] All this was known to me before I left Europe.

We had further learned from Lord Prudhoe in Jerusalem, who had just before travelled from Suez, direct to Wady Mûsa and thence to Hebron, that in crossing the 'Arabah, his guides of the Jehâlîn had repeatedly assured him, that its waters in the rainy season all flowed towards the north. Such too was the subsequent testimony of Bertou; and our own Arabs, both Jehâlîn and Haweitât, had already confirmed the report. The main fact therefore of a descent of the valley towards the Dead Sea, was already established; but of the character of this descent we as yet knew nothing. There were besides various questions respecting the topography of the region, as connected with the approach of the Israelites to Pal-

[1] This hypothesis seems first to have been suggested by Col. Leake, in his Preface to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c. Lond. 1822, 4. Letronne erroneously ascribes it to Ritter; for although the latter speaks of the valley, he says nothing of the Jordan; Erdkunde, th. ii. pp. 217, 218. Berl. 1818. Letronne in Journal des Savans, Oct. 1835, p. 596. seq. Nouv. Annales des Voyages, 1839, tom. iii. p. 264.

[2] See Letronne's Paper in the Journal des Savans, Oct. 1835, pp. 596—602. Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, ibid. p. 257. seq.—The observations of Moore and Beke, and of Schubert, by which the depression of the Dead Sea was first detected, were made in March and April, 1837. See above, p. 222.

estine, which we were desirous to investigate; to say nothing of the wonders of Wady Mûsa, which ever since the first report of them by Burckhardt, had taken a strong hold of my imagination. It was therefore with a feeling of excited interest, that we now set our faces towards the south and bent our way along the Ghôr.

From this spot at the S. W. corner of the sea, our Arabs pointed out a Wady called el-Jeib, in the distant range of cliffs, along which they said our road would pass. We however could make out only a slight line of verdure; marking as we supposed a small Wady, by which we were to ascend to the higher level of the great valley further south. This point now bore about S. 15° W. somewhat east of the middle of the Ghôr; but as the intervening tract of marshy land was impassable for the camels, we were compelled to keep along the western side of the Ghôr, and thus make a large circuit.

Leaving the corner of the sea at 8½ o'clock, we proceeded along the base of Usdum on a course at first S. W. The ground all along was moist and slippery, sticking to our shoes as we walked; and the naked tract on our left was full of salt drains, sluggish and dead. The mountain continued all the way to exhibit the same formation; but the salt is here less exposed than along the sea. Lumps of nitre were scattered along the base; of which we picked up several, one as large as the fist. We reached the southern end of the ridge at 9h 25′. Here and still further south, we saw drift-wood lying in lines as thrown up by the sea; showing that the level of the lake must sometimes be not less than ten or fifteen feet higher than at present. In a few minutes we passed a purling rill of beautifully limpid water, coming down from near the base of the mountain; it proved to be salt as

the saltest brine, though without any bitter taste. Another similar rill occurred shortly after.

Where the ridge of Usdum thus terminates, the low cliffs and conical hills of marl, which we had seen behind it from the mouth of Wady ez-Zuweirah, come out again and skirt the western side of the Ghôr; the regular limestone mountains lying still an hour or two further back. This trending off of Usdum of course again increases the breadth of the Ghôr, which is contracted at the extremity of the sea; although exclusive of the marl cliffs, it is here not so wide as at 'Ain Jidy. We now kept along at the side of these hills on a general course nearly S.S.W. Ten minutes from the end of Usdum, a scattered vegetation again commences on this side of the Ghôr; of which there had been no trace along the whole extent of the mountain. The tract towards the middle still continued naked. Small Wadys now came in from among the low hills. At 9^h 40′ a path was pointed out, leading up the western mountains at some distance south of Zuweirah; it is called Nŭkb el-Em'az from the Wady of the same name further on. Two other roads still further south were said to come down into the Ghôr, called el-Buweib and es-Sulèisil; but they are merely Arab paths, not used by caravans. By them the Arabs Dhŭllâm and Sa'îdîyeh descend from the west, to winter in the Ghôr, and el-'Arabah.

A brackish fountain was on our right at 9^h 55′ called 'Ain el-Beida, with a few stunted palm-trees and many canes. The stream which flŏwed from it was too salt for the camels to drink. At 10¼ o'clock the bed of a torrent, Wady el-Em'az, crossed our path, coming down from the western mountain; and beyond it, water was springing up in several places, all included under the name el-Beida. Round about these

wet spots are cane-brakes. Indeed the tract watered by all these fountains, is covered with shrubs and bushes; but it exhibits nowhere arable soil, and was now in many places white with salt. The shrubs were chiefly the Retem, Tamarisk, Ghŭrkŭd, and the like. The Ghŭrkŭd was growing in abundance, as around other brackish fountains; its red berries were now just ripe, sweetish and yet slightly acidulous to the taste, very juicy and pleasant, and quite refreshing to the heated traveller.[1]

Opposite to this part, the naked portion of the Ghôr seemed to end; and was succeeded by a broad tract of shrubs along the foot of the southern line of cliffs. Two or three large drains, apparently coming from Wadys, extended further up; one of which was on our left and nearly parallel to our course.

We were now approaching the S.W. corner of the Ghôr, where the chalky hills on our right sweep round to meet the line of cliffs on the south, which separate the Ghôr and 'Arabah. These latter, at here seen, appear indeed merely as an extension of the former towards the S.E. As we advanced, the drain upon our left proved to be the continuation of a broad valley entering the Ghôr at its S.W. corner, named Wady el-Fikreh. It comes from the S.W. near a pass of the mountains called es-Sŭfâh; and its wide bed, strewed with stones and furrowed with channels, shows that it occasionally brings down large masses of water. In this Wady, some hours above and not far north of the pass es-Sŭfâh, there was said to be a fountain of the same name, with palm-trees.[2] Crossing the bed of the Wady, we came at 11 o'clock to the precipitous cliff on its eastern side, which here forms the commence-

[1] See a description of the Ghŭrkŭd, Vol. I. p. 96.

[2] We saw this Wady higher up on our return, June 2d.

ment of the line of cliffs running obliquely across the great valley.[1]

We now turned in a general direction S. S. E. along the foot of the cliffs. They are of chalky earth, or indurated marl, of the same general character as the sides of the valley ez-Zuweirah, and the conical hills back of Usdum and along the western side of the Ghôr. They vary in height, in different parts, from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet. The face of the cliffs, though very steep, is not perpendicular; and they are much furrowed by the rains; so that the upper part presents a jagged appearance. All along their base are fountains of brackish water, oozing out and forming a tract of marshy land, overgrown with canes intermingled with shrubs and trees. Tamarisks and the Nŭbk were frequent; and occasionally there was a stunted palm. With the exception of a few naked strips along brackish drains, the whole breadth of the Ghôr was here occupied with this species of verdure. Around these and all the other fountains we passed in the Ghôr, were many tracks of wild swine; they were said to abound in the region, though we saw none.

Our path lay along the very base of the cliffs, between them and the jungle, above the fountains, in order to avoid the marshy ground. One of the fountains, to which we came at $11\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, sends forth a fine gushing stream of limpid water, very nearly pure, or at least only slightly brackish. A broad tract of jungle lies below. It is called 'Ain el-'Arûs, "the Bride's Fountain," and gives its name to all the others. Here we halted for nearly two hours, for rest and in order to fill the water-skins for the day and night. We sought the shade of the bushes; but found the heat very oppressive; the thermometer standing at 92° F.

[1] From this point the eastern angle of the ridge Usdum, at the south-western corner of the sea bore N. 38° E.

Indeed we were now exposed to the full influence of the scorching climate of the Ghôr.[1]

Here we could see the Wady Ghŭrŭndel already mentioned, which comes down from the eastern mountains, and enters the Ghôr just at its S. E. corner. It takes its name, according to our Arabs, from a ruined place called Ghŭrŭndel near its head. This was doubtless the ancient Arindela, an episcopal city of the Third Palestine, mentioned along with Areopolis and Charak Moab. The names of its bishops appear in the signatures of councils; and it is found still marked as a bishop's see in the latest *Notitiæ* before the time of the crusades.[2] Both the site and the valley escaped the notice of Burckhardt, as he passed through the mountains. Irby and Mangles visited the site, but do not mention the valley. The ruins are situated on the slope of a hill near a spring of water, and are of considerable extent.[3]

While we rested at 'Ain el-'Arûs, our Haweitât took the opportunity of preparing a warm breakfast. They had brought along some flour, or rather meal, of wheat and barley, filled with chaff; of which they now kneaded a round flat cake of some thickness. This they threw into the ashes and coals of a fire they had kindled; and after due time, brought out a

[1] The following bearings are from the fountain 'Ain el-'Arûs: South-east angle of Usdum, N. 20° E. Peak of the mountains of Moab near Khanzîreh, N. 75° E. Wady et-Tûfîleh, mouth, S. 60° E. Wady Ghŭrŭndel, mouth, S. 35° E.

[2] Reland, Palæst. p. 581. Compare ibid. pp. 215. 217. 223. 226. 533. Le Quien, Oriens Christ. iii. p. 727.

[3] Irby and Mangles, p. 376.: "Towards the centre of the ruins are the remains of two parallel rows of columns, of which three are standing in one row and two in the other; their diameter is two feet; none have capitals. There are also near to this spot, fragments of columns of three feet diameter; the capitals appear to be bad Doric." — Burckhardt found only the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel, beyond Wady Mûsa; but was the first to suggest the identity of this name with Arindela; Travels, p. 441. The northern Ghŭrŭndel was inserted on the map accompanying his work, from the information of Irby and Mangles.

loaf of bread, as black on the outside as the coals themselves, and not much whiter within. After breaking it up small in a dish while still warm, they mixed with it some of the butter they had stolen, and thus made their meal. Such is the manner of life among these sons of the desert; though the butter was a luxury by no means common. On their journies, coarse black unleavened bread is the Bedawy's usual fare.[1]

At 1h 35′, we were again upon the way, keeping still along the base of the cliffs on a general course S. S. E. but with many curves. At 2h 10′ there was a sort of angle in the line of cliffs; where they trend in general more towards the south-east, but yet with a hollow sweep towards the south. Their tops continued serrated and jagged, from the beds of little torrents coming down from the 'Arabah above. We crossed at 2h 20′ a Wady of this kind, of some size, called el-Kuseib.

At length at 2h 50′, we reached the opening of the long-expected Wady el-Jeib, through which we were to ascend. To our surprise, it turned out to be, not the mere bed of a torrent descending from the higher plain of the 'Arabah, but a deep broad Wady issuing from the south upon the Ghôr, and coming down as far as the eye could reach between high precipitous cliffs, like those along which we had passed. It is indeed the vast drain of all the 'Arabah; which has thus worn for itself in the course of ages a huge chan-

[1] Burckhardt travelled from beyond Wady Mûsa across the western desert, with Haweitât apparently from the same tribe as ours. "The frugality of these Bedawîn," he says, "is without example; my companions, who walked at least five hours every day, supported themselves for four and twenty hours with a piece of dry black bread, of about a pound and a half weight, without any other kind of nourishment." Travels, p. 439.

nel, through the upper plain and the offset of cliffs, to the level of the Ghôr below.[1]

We found here the peculiarity, that the eastern bank of this great Wady el-Jeib terminates nearly an hour further south; from which point the offset, or line of cliffs, then runs north of east to the eastern mountains at the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, leaving before us a wide open tract belonging to the Ghôr. The water-courses from the Wady come down across this tract, and pass on through a space without shrubs and trees to the marshy flats nearer the sea.

We now turned up along the western bank on a course S. S. W. and at 3¼ o'clock, were opposite the angle of the eastern bank; whence the line of cliffs runs nearly E. by N. to the foot of the mountains, about an hour distant. Here we entered the Wady itself, in this part not far from half a mile broad, shut in between perpendicular walls of the same chalky earth or marl, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet high, which exclude all view of the country and of every object around. The banks indeed are so entirely perpendicular, that it would be next to impossible to ascend out of the valley on either side. The broad bed of the Wady is very level, and has to the eye but a slight ascent towards the south; yet it bears traces of an immense volume of water, rushing along with violence and covering the whole breadth of the valley. At its mouth and below, the bed is covered with Tamarisks (Tŭrfa), and another shrub resembling the Retem but larger, called el-Ghŭdhâh.[2]

[1] From the point where we now stood, viz. the western angle of the cliffs at the entrance of Wady el-Jeib, we took the following bearings: 'Ain el-'Arûs about N. 30° W. South-west end of Usdum N. 15° W. South-eastern angle of Usdum at the corner of the sea, N. 15° E. Peak in the mountains of Moab N. 65° E. Wady et-Tûfîleh, mouth, N. 85° E. Mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel and south-east corner of the Ghôr S. 40° E.

[2] "Nomen arboris. *Kam.* Ap-

These bushes soon become fewer, and gradually disappear.

We travelled on along this remarkable chasm; which was now heated both by the direct and reflected rays of the sun, to the temperature of 88° F. The direct rays were scorching; but we avoided them by keeping within the shadow of the high western bank. At 4h 40′ the course of the valley became south; and looking up it, we could distinguish the lone peak of Mount Hor in the distance, bearing also south. At 5 o'clock a branch Wady came in from the west, similar in its character to el-Jeib, though much smaller. The Arabs called it Wady Hasb; and said it had its head in the plain of the 'Arabah, at a place where there is a natural pool filled with sweet living water, surrounded by much verdure, and, as the Arabs said, with some traces of ruins. Beyond this point we began to find stones and blocks of porphyry scattered along the water-course of the Jeib, brought down by the torrents from the mountains further south. Till now the cliffs on each side had been so high and unbroken, that we had seen nothing whatever of the features of the country round about; but here those on our left became occasionally lower, and we could perceive the eastern mountains, and in them the large Wady el-Ghuweir described by Burckhardt.[1] At 6 o'clock we halted, still in the shade of the high western bank. Here Mount Hor bore S., and the high peak we had before noted in the mountains of Moab, N. 54° E.

The heat in the Wady was so great, and the prospect of the country so very limited, that we concluded to travel during a part of the night; stopping now to dine and rest, and intending to set off again at mid-

tissimi ad ignem et prunas ligni; in arenis præcipue provenit. *Gol.*" Freytag, Lex. Arab. iii. p. 281. seq.

[1] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, &c. pp. 409, 410.

night. The evening was warm and still; we therefore did not pitch our tent, but spread our carpets on the sand, and lay down, not indeed at first to sleep, but to enjoy the scene and the associations which thronged upon our minds. It was truly one of the most romantic desert scenes we had yet met with; and I hardly remember another in all our wanderings, of which I retain a more lively impression. Here was the deep broad valley in the midst of the 'Arabah, unknown to all the civilised world, shut in by high and singular cliffs; overagainst us were the mountains of Edom; in the distance rose Mount Hor in its lone majesty, the spot where the aged prophet-brothers took of each other their last farewell; while above our heads was the deep azure of an Oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm. Near at hand were the flashing fires of our party; the Arabs themselves in their wild attire, all nine at supper around one bowl; our Egyptian servants looking on; one after another rising and gliding through the glow of the fires; the Sheikh approaching and saluting us; the serving of coffee; and beyond all this circle, the patient camels lying at their ease and lazily chewing the cud.

The great feature of our journey to-day, was the Wady el-Jeib. The mountain of salt, however remarkable and important, had in part been known before. But this deep Wady was wholly new to us and unknown to the world; the great water-course of all the valley or plain of the 'Arabah; a Wady within a Wady.[1] Our Arabs of the Haweitât were acquainted

[1] M. de Bertou speaks of this deep water-course only as Wady el-'Arabah; and seems not to have heard or understood the name el-Jeib. Yet all our Arabs (who also had been his guides) gave it no other name than el-Jeib; and the same appears upon Laborde's map in the proper place, though with a wrong direction for the valley.

with it throughout its whole length; and assured us that it has its commencement far south of Wady Mûsâ; and that in the rainy season, the waters of the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel flow off northwards through the Jeib to the Dead Sea. Further north, they said, it receives the great Wady el-Jerâfeh from the western desert.

Another remarkable feature of the region is the line of cliffs crossing the whole Ghôr, and constituting merely the ascent to the higher plain of the 'Arabah. From the S. W. corner of the Ghôr to the mouth of Wady el-Jeib we travelled two hours; and from thence to the S. E. corner is an hour or more further. The cliffs thus form an irregular curve, sweeping across the Ghôr in something like a segment of a circle, the chord of which would be about six or seven geographical miles in length, extending obliquely nearly from N. W. to S. E.—This remarkable line of cliffs, in the absence of any better suggestion, I am inclined to regard as the "Ascent of Akrabbim;" to which the south-eastern border of Judah was to be drawn from the Dead Sea, "from the bay that looketh southward," and was thence to pass on to Zin and Kadesh-Barnea.[1]

Wednesday, May 30th. Ten minutes after midnight we were again upon our camels. The moon had set, and all was dark; the night-breeze cool and refreshing. All was still as the grave; nor did the noiseless tread of the camels in the sand break in at all upon the silence. As we advanced, the banks of the Wady became gradually lower; and at 2 o'clock the country apparently opened around. I watched with interest the dawning of the morning star; at length about 3 o'clock it burst at once over the eastern mountains, radiant with brightness. We now seemed to be

[1] Num. xxxiv. 3, 4. Josh. xv. 2, 3.

leaving the bed of Wady el-Jeib; and fearing to lose some important observation, we halted and waited for daybreak. Lying down upon the sand, we slept sweetly for an hour; and at 4h 20′ proceeded on our way.

The bed of the Jeib, where we thus left it, was still large; but the banks were of moderate height; the eastern indeed had nearly disappeared. The Wady here came down from the S. W. while our course was now nearly S. ½ W. Mount Hor bore at first due south, and then gradually S. ½ E. We were now upon the plain, or rather the rolling desert of the 'Arabah; the surface was in general loose gravel and stones, every where furrowed and torn with the beds of torrents. A more frightful desert it had hardly been our lot to behold. Now and then a lone shrub of the Ghŭdâh was almost the only trace of vegetation. Looking across the 'Arabah towards the west, the prospect was not more cheering, except the small spots of verdure around two fountains; one, el-Weibeh[1] at the foot of the western mountains; and the other, el-Hufeiry more in the plain further north. The mountains beyond presented a most uninviting and hideous aspect; precipices and naked conical peaks of chalky and gravelly formation, rising one above another without a sign of life or vegetation.

On our left, as we proceeded, a long low range of reddish rocks, called Hŭmra Fedân, ran parallel to the eastern mountains in front of the Wady el-Ghuweir. These rocks are at some distance from the mountains, and a large tract of the plain lies behind them. We could look over them, and see the break formed by the Ghuweir. The waters of this Wady issuing upon the plain behind the Hŭmra Fedân, do not run to the Jeib;

[1] This fountain is on the direct road between Wady Mûsa and Hebron. We visited it on our return, June 2d.

but were said to form another similar channel nearer to the mountain, called el Bŭtâhy, which enters the Ghôr near its S. E. corner.

As the sun rose over the eastern mountains, the two Arabs (Jehâlîn), who were walking by our side, repeated a few words of prayer, consisting of little more than the ordinary Muhammedan confession: "God is most Great, and Muhammed is his prophet!" They admitted that they did not usually pray, except when in company with some one who could lead them. In their tribe only some ten or fifteen, they said, could pray of themselves. Our Sheikh Hussân had never known a Bedawy who could read; he had only heard that there are some far in the east.

After crossing many small water-courses and gullies in the plain, we struck at 7 o'clock and followed up a large shallow Wady, coming down before us in the direction of our course, called Wady el-Buweirideh, from a fountain in it higher up. Several ridges of low hills, composed of sand or rather of gravel, run occasionally from E. to W. in the plain. At 7h 30′ there was a larger range of such hills extending quite across the 'Arabah; some of which are not less than one hundred feet in height. Wady el-Jeib, as we found later, passes down at the west end of this ridge; the valley in which we were now travelling finds its way through them near the eastern end; our course in it verging more south-easterly towards the mountains. Here a shrub was now and then to be seen, and a few large Seyâl-trees. The Wady conducted us at length to a region of several springs, at one of which we stopped at 8h 40′, for breakfast and rest. All these springs are called 'Ain el-Buweirideh; they are surrounded by cane-brakes; among which are mingled tamarisks, willows, a few stunted palms, an abundance of the Ghŭrkŭd, with other shrubs of the desert.

The fountain by which we halted was not large; yet a rivulet flowed out from the thicket and ran for some distance down the valley. The water was sweet; but like all desert fountains had a sickly hue, as if it could bless nothing with fertility. Finding here no convenient shade, we set up the top of our tent, to shield us from the intolerable heat of the sun. The south wind, which at early dawn was cool and pleasant, had already become a burning Sirocco; the thermometer, as we stopped, stood in the shade at 96° F. The violence and glow of the wind increased; so that at 12 o'clock the thermometer had risen to 102° F. It being difficult in such circumstances either to write or sleep, and our Arabs wishing to go on, we concluded to proceed; and found ourselves actually less uncomfortable in travelling, than we had been in lying still.

The usual road to Wady Mûsa from this quarter passes up from the 'Arabah through Wady er-Rŭbâ'y, and so around Mount Hor, entering Wady Mûsa from the S. W. But our wish and plan had ever been, if possible, to approach the place from the east, so as to enter by the celebrated chasm in the mountain on that side. On proposing this to our guides, they made no objections; but said it would be necessary to ascend the mountains by a pass further north, which they called Nemela. They said too this route would bring us more in contact with the Arabs of the mountains, and our arrival would be more generally known; but as their tribe was now on good terms with the latter, and we moreover had with us several of the Haweitât belonging to a kindred clan, there seemed to be no cause for apprehension in this circumstance. We indeed proposed to them, to take a still more northern route and carry us to Shôbek; but this they declined, saying the people of that place and of the country fur-

ther north were at war with the Jehâlîn, so that the latter could not venture into their territory. We therefore decided to ascend by the pass of Nemela.

Leaving 'Ain el-Buweirideh at 12h 50', we proceeded up the same Wady on a course S. S. E., having a line of sand-hills on our right. The wind continued to increase in violence and heat, and the atmosphere was now full of dust and sand; the glow of the air was like the mouth of a furnace. Except in the bed of the Wady, the surface was every where loose sand. At half-past two, after passing a high sand-hill on our left, we reached the foot of the gentle slope, which in this part skirts the base of the line of mountains. This is covered with debris, chiefly blocks of porphyry, among which the camels picked their way with difficulty. I at first supposed these to have been brought down from the Wady and the pass before us; but as the air cleared a little, we could see that the same gentle slope extends regularly along the base of the mountain, for a great distance north and south, covered in like manner with stones. The Sirocco was now at the height of its fury; the atmosphere was thick, so that the sun was no longer visible; nor could we see the mountains close before us.

We gradually ascended this slope S.E. by S., and at 3½ o'clock reached the first low hills, forming the outskirts of the mountain. These are of loose limestone, or rather a yellowish argillaceous rock, low cones and ridges lying in front of the steep mass of the mountain, which is of dark porphyry. Passing up through these by a ravine, of which the Wady we had ascended forms the continuation, we came at 4 o'clock to the masses of porphyry, with high pointed cliffs. Here the Wady turns S., and ascends between the porphyry and limestone formations. Half an hour afterwards, we began to get more among the porphyry

cliffs; a lofty one on the left was capped with sandstone. At 4^h 50′ a short turn of the ravine towards the left brought us into the body of the mountain; and at a quarter past 5 o'clock we reached the foot of the long, wild, romantic pass of Nemela.

The path led at first along ravines, and then up the face of steep rocks and promontories; the main ascent being along a projecting point of the mountain, between two vast chasms. The porphyry here runs up into slender ragged needles, some of them lofty and sharp. The sides of the ravines and cliffs are dotted to their tops with shrubs and herbs, many of them fragrant; so that the air was filled with odours. The appearance of the region indicated that there had been an abundance of rain. Indeed, the whole aspect of these mountains is much less rude and desert than those west of the 'Arabah. In the vallies were various trees and shrubs, the Seyâl, Butm, and the like, and also the Retem in great quantity, all very large. On the rocks above we found the juniper-tree, Arabic *'Ar'ar*[1]; its berries have the appearance and taste of the common juniper, except that there is more of the aroma of the pine. These trees were ten or fifteen feet in height; and hung upon the rocks even to the summits of the cliffs and needles.

This pass is longer than that of 'Ain Jidy; but not in itself difficult. After a slow and toilsome ascent of an hour and a quarter, we reached the top, and came out upon a small spot of table-land, or little basin; a tract of yellow sandstone capping the porphyry, and sprinkled with odoriferous herbs, affording fine pasturage for the camels. Here, at 6½ o'clock, we en-

[1] This is doubtless the Hebrew עֲרוֹעֵר *Aroer*, Jer. xlviii. 6.; where both the English version and Luther read incorrectly *heath*. The 'juniper' of the same translation is the Retem; see above, Vol. I. p. 299. Celsus, Hierobot.

camped for the night, after a very long day's journey, excessively fatigued, and glad to have escaped the scorching blasts of the 'Arabah. The tempest had abated, and the air became gradually clear; by sunset the thermometer had fallen to 76° F. and a pleasant breeze came from the N.W. From the plain of the 'Arabah we supposed we had not ascended less than two thousand feet; the height of the pass alone being about fifteen hundred feet.

Thursday, May 31st. Not having before us a long day's journey, we rested for a time this morning, in order to write up our journals. The air had become clear; and from a hillock on the very brow of the precipice, we enjoyed a magnificent view of the 'Arabah and of the western desert and mountains. All before us was indeed a perfect desert; but beyond el-'Arabah we recognised with delight our old acquaintances of that region, the great Wady el-Jerâfeh and the bluff el-Mŭkrâh.[1] We could distinctly see the Jerâfeh as it enters el-'Arabah from the S.W. and also for some distance up its course; a broad valley or plain, apparently a mile in width, the middle of its mouth bearing S. 80° W. In this part and further south, the ascent from the 'Arabah to the western desert seemed comparatively not great; the banks of the Jerâfeh, as seen from this point, did not appear very high. We had now learned enough of the region, to understand why the Jerâfeh and all the Wadys which drain the western desert, should run towards the north; a fact which at first had appeared very singular.[2]

Directly beyond the mouth of the Jerâfeh, and somewhat back from the brow of the 'Arabah, the bluff el-Mŭkrâh was seen, forming the S.E. angle of the

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 261. 264, 265. 294. &c. [2] See Vol. I. p. 266.

mountainous region further north, and bearing also about S. 80° W. In the north-western quarter all was a tract of desert mountains, lower than those on which we stood, and seeming to have only a gradual descent into the 'Arabah; though, as we afterwards found, this was a deception, the descent being by ledges or offsets, with comparatively level tracts between. A pass into these mountains, north of el-Mŭkrâh, was pointed out, called el-Mirzaba; but none of our guides had ever been in that region, and knew little more of it than ourselves.

Towards the south, the direction of a small fountain, 'Ain Melîhy, was pointed out, at the mouth of a short Wady south of the Jerâfeh. In the same quarter, we could distinctly perceive Wady el-Jeib winding along the middle of the 'Arabah from the south, and at length sweeping off N. W. as if to meet the Jerâfeh; and having received this Wady, it again winds N. E. and afterwards north-westerly, so as to pass el-Weibeh at the foot of the western mountains. Here our guides of the Haweitât again assured us, that the waters of the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel flow northwards through el-Jeib; and we had no reason to distrust the accuracy of their information; for the whole appearance of the 'Arabah and of the Jeib winding through it far south of the Jerâfeh, led very naturally to the same conclusion.

On our left, Mount Hor was seen standing out alone among the front cliffs of the eastern mountains. Its form is a cone irregularly truncated, having three ragged points or peaks; of which that on the north-east is the highest, and has upon it the Muhammedan Wely or tomb of Aaron. This is called among the Arabs Neby Hârûn; and gives name to the mountain. It now bore about S. 10° W.

We set off from the head of the pass of Nemela at

8½ o'clock; and leaving the little basin where we had encamped, descended for a time to cross a deep Wady, and then ascended gradually along other ravines. On our left at some distance, was a high fantastic cliff of sandstone based on porphyry; and before us in the east, a long high ridge of table-land. Our general course was now S. E. The shrubs, studding the mountains to their very top, continued green; and large trees of the juniper became quite common in the Wadys and on the rocks. All was here rugged and wild; the air clear and cool; and the whole scene romantic and exhilarating. For all the Wadys and the ridges between, we could learn no other name than Nemela; which our Arabs applied promiscuously to the whole district. As we continued gradually to ascend, the tops of the cliffs and ridges became sandstone, while the body of the mountain remained still of porphyry.

In crossing a broad low ridge, we came suddenly at 9h 25′ upon a deep chasm in the sandstone rock, which proved to be the head of a narrow Wady running off S. S. W. shut in by almost perpendicular walls. Looking down into it, we perceived its bed full of the Difleh or Oleander[1] in full bloom, forming with its myriads of large red blossoms a striking contrast to the desert rocks around. We saw this plant here for the first time. It is very abundant in these mountains; but we met with it nowhere else, until we reached the shores of the Lake of Tiberias and the coast of Tyre and Sidon.

Descending into the Wady, we followed it with difficulty, and found rain-water in two places standing in the rocks. This valley bore also in the mouths of our Arabs the name of Nemela. After nearly half an hour at (9h 50′) it went off more S. W. through a narrow

[1] *Nerium Oleander*, Sprengel, Hist. Rei Herbar. i. p. 252.

gorge; and, as I suppose, finds its way down to the foot of the pass by which we had ascended. We here turned up a side-valley S. E. still called Nemela; the oleanders and junipers continuing all the way. The country became more open; and as we got higher, traces of ancient terraces and former cultivation began to appear, though the soil was slight and poor. At 10¼ o'clock we were fully among the sandstone formation; the porphyry entirely disappeared; and the Wadys became of less rapid descent. Half an hour later, we came out upon the rocky ridge at the head of this Wady Nemela; and found ourselves upon a circular plateau or basin, once partially tilled, surrounded by low weather-worn cliffs of sandstone.

After crossing this tract, we entered from it at 11h 20′ a chasm in the eastern range of cliffs, called es-Sîk; though it has little resemblance to the Sîk of Wady Mûsa. The breadth is irregular, varying from fifty to some two hundred feet; the rocks upon the sides are perpendicular, and perhaps a hundred feet in height. Its course is about S. E. by S. The bed of a torrent comes down through it; and along with some slight traces of tillage, it was crowded with a luxuriant growth of oleanders, Retem, juniper, oak, and also of Zaknâm, a shrub similar in size and appearance to the oleander. Five minutes before reaching the further end, there was on the right a niche, or rather a large tablet, hewn high up in the rock, exhibiting a pedestal in relief, with two slender pyramids or obelisks upon it. There is no inscription; except a Greek scrawl in red paint, now illegible, apparently the work of some casual visitor in by-gone times. The tablet may not improbably have been intended as a sepulchral monument.[1]

[1] This tablet is mentioned by Lord Lindsay, who passed by this route after leaving Wady Mûsa.

We emerged from the Sîk at 11¾ o'clock into a new region, called Sutûh Beida, "White Plains," a broad uneven open tract or valley running S. by W., having on the right the naked sandstone ridge through which we had passed, and on the left a high sloping mountain-ridge without precipices, sprinkled with herbage to the top. On this declivity are traces of tillage, and also olive-trees, around the little village of Dibdiba, not far up the side; we were opposite to it at 12 o'clock. More towards the south, isolated groups of sandstone rocks and cliffs are scattered in the open tract; and beyond them is Wady Mûsa. The waters of the northern part of the plain flow off through the Sîk behind us; while those further south find their way to Wady Mûsa, which there crosses the tract from east to west. The soil of the plain seemed poor; and there was only a scanty tillage. A few people were reaping and gleaning a miserable crop of wheat sown among the shrubs; the stalks were hardly a foot high, few and far between. Near by was a threshing-floor; but the crop seemed hardly to merit so much trouble. A few Bedawîn were also pasturing their flocks. We halted at 12h 10′ and purchased a sheep; offering for it forty piastres, which at first was refused, but afterwards taken. We wished to provide a good supper for our Arabs this evening in Wady Mûsa, in order to part with our Haweitât on good terms on the morrow.

The poor people whom we here found were at the least possible remove from savage life. In one party, consisting mostly of females, there was a man entirely naked, except a rag around his loins; and most of the children had only a like covering for their nakedness. This man was armed with a gun and knife, and looked fierce and savage. In this quarter we saw two or three small tombs in the sandstone rocks.

From this spot we sent off our servants and luggage direct to Wady Mŭsa; their course was S. by W., crossing obliquely several narrow Wadys which run into Wady Mûsa at points further west; and then following down another, to enter near the eastern quarter. We in the mean time took a route more to the left, in order to approach from the east through the magnificent Sîk or chasm. Setting off at 12¾ o'clock, our course was about south, along the base of the mountain on our left, and so around its south-western end; thus passing above or across the heads of several Wadys running S. W. to Wady Mûsa. At 2 o'clock we saw the ruined structure in Wady Mûsa, bearing S. W. about three quarters of an hour distant; while at the same time the village of Eljy bore S. S. E., distant rather more than an hour. The body of the regular mountain on our left appeared to be limestone; a formation still higher and further back than the sandstone[1]; though the base in this part, and the Wadys on our right, were of the latter. This appears to be the mountain on which Irby and Mangles and their companions encamped for several days, before they could enter Wady Mûsa: from it they could see that place in the south, and the village of Dibdiba below them towards the west.[2]

We were now higher than Wady Mûsa, and were indeed traversing the top of the broad sandstone ridge, which extends from below this end of the mountain of Dibdiba southwards, forming the eastern barrier through which the ravine of the Sîk leads to the former place. We soon had upon our right a similar narrow chasm, sunk deep in the rocky surface over which we

[1] Burckhardt says that "the rocks above Eljy are calcareous, and the sandstone does not begin until the point where the first tombs are excavated" in the valley further west. Travels in Syria, &c. p. 432.

[2] Travels, pp. 386. 388.

were passing, and not more than twenty or thirty feet in breadth; this I suppose to be the ravine marked on the plan of Wady Mûsa, as entering at the N.E. corner. At 2h 20′ we came opposite a ruined fortress on the other side of this chasm, situated just on the brink, and looking down into the depths below. It is of considerable extent, with pointed arches and imperfect masonry, apparently of Saracenic construction. From our position near it, Mount Hor bore S. 72° W. and Eljy S. 35° E. The particular object of this castle we could not perceive; as it seems to guard no approach to Wady Mûsa, nor to any other place of importance. Perhaps it was an outpost of the former fortress of Shôbek towards the south. I am not aware that it has yet been noticed by travellers.[1]

Eljy was now before us, and appeared like a good-sized village on the western declivity of another long limestone mountain; it lies on a point or promontory between two Wadys which unite at the foot. According to Burckhardt, it "contains between two and three hundred houses, and is enclosed by a stone wall with three regular gates; a few large hewn stones dispersed over the present town, indicate the existence of an ancient city on the spot."[2] The slopes around are terraced and cultivated. In the northern Wady, about twenty minutes above the village, is a copious spring issuing from under the rock. This is 'Ain Mûsa. The brook which runs from it, receives further down a rivulet from the southern Wady and also some other springs; and flowing down the valley westward, forms the stream of Wady Mûsa.—From 'Ain Mûsa, accord-

[1] Unless perhaps it be the Beit el-Karm, mentioned by Irby and Mangles, as seen from their camp above Dibdiba; but in what direction they do not say. Travels, p. 425.

[2] The same traveller saw here also "some large pieces of saline marble." Travels, pp. 420, 421.—Irby and Mangles estimate the houses at "not more than forty or fifty;" p. 404. Burckhardt seems to me to be nearer the truth; though we did not enter the village.

ing to Burckhardt, a broad valley winds upwards in a southern direction for two hours and a quarter; at the extremity of which, on high ground, are the ruins of an ancient city, now called Bŭtâhy.[1]

We came to the valley with the brook at 2¾ o'clock, at some distance below Eljy, and just at the point where it becomes narrower by entering among sandstone rocks, connected with the broad ridge which we had just traversed. Above this point the Wady is wide and fertile, and was now covered with grain. Just before descending into it, we had in a group of low whitish rocks, on our right, the first important tomb in this quarter, mentioned also by Irby and Mangles.[2] It consists of a square court cut in the rock, with its eastern front built up in masonry; on the inner wall of the rock is a façade and a door leading to a chamber with niches, behind which is a smaller room. On each side of the court are low porticos with Doric columns. In a small group of rocks near by, I noticed steps leading to the top; and mounting them, I found a tomb sunk in the rock, with apparently no entrance except from above.

Descending into the valley, we followed it westwards along the fine little brook, skirted with an abundance of oleanders now in full blossom. The valley becomes shut in by sandstone cliffs, at first forty or fifty feet high, leaving between them a space of about fifty yards for the breadth of the ravine. Here is the commencement of this wonderful necropolis. The tombs begin immediately on the right; on the left there are none for some distance further down. After passing the façades of several sepulchres, which anywhere else would be objects of great curiosity, my attention was arrested by three tombs on the right, which at once transported me back to the valley of Jehosha-

[1] Travels, pp. 420. 433, 434. [2] Page 405.

phat. They are isolated masses of rock, about fifteen or twenty feet square, which have been cut away from the adjacent cliffs of reddish sandstone, leaving a passage of several feet between. In one of them, at the bottom, is a small sepulchral chamber with a low door. Another is ornamented with columns too much defaced to distinguish the order; but has apparently no entrance unless from above, like the tomb above described. These monuments differ from those of Absalom and Zechariah chiefly in the upper part or roof, which is here flat; and in the fact, that the sides are drawn in slightly from the perpendicular, in the Egyptian style, so that the top is somewhat narrower than the base. These three tombs are mentioned only by Burckhardt; who also speaks of two others somewhat similar, on the road leading from Wady Mûsa to Mount Hor.[1]

A little further down upon the left, in the face of the cliffs, is a tomb with a front of six Ionic columns. Directly over this is another sepulchre, the front of which, above the door, bears as an ornament four slender pyramids sculptured in the same rock, producing a singular effect. This appears to be the only instance of the kind among all this vast variety of tombs. The tablet we had seen in the Sîk of Nemela bears a resemblance to it[2]; and pyramids, we are told, surmounted in like manner the sepulchres of Helena at Jerusalem, and of the Maccabees at Modin.[3] Here then appears to be another link, connecting the later sepulchral architecture of Palestine with that of the adjacent Arabia Petræa.

The valley contracts more and more, and the cliffs become higher, presenting on each side a street of

[1] Pages 422. 429.
[2] See above, p. 510.
[3] See above, p. 328. Also Vol. I, pp. 536, 537.

tombs. The rocks are of red sandstone. After fifteen minutes (at 3 o'clock) we came to a spot where the ravine opens out into a small area, apparently wholly shut in by rocky walls about eighty feet high, except on the side by which we entered. Here an Arab boy was watching his flock of sheep. The brook bends a little to the right, and approaching the opposite wall of rock, disappears in a narrow cleft, hardly perceptible at first to the eye of a casual observer; being concealed in part by a projection of the cliffs. Here is the opening of the terrific chasm, which anciently formed the only avenue to the city on this side. This is the Sîk of Wady Mûsa.

A few steps beyond the entrance, a noble arch is thrown across high up from one precipice to the other, with niches sculptured in the rock beneath each end, ornamented with pilasters and probably intended for statues. It was constructed doubtless as an ornament over the entrance of this singular gallery; it may, or may not, have been an arch of triumph. Just below this spot we measured the width of the Sîk, twelve feet. This is the narrowest part; though it hardly becomes in any place more than three, or at the most four times this width. The rocks are all of reddish sandstone, perpendicular on both sides; and in some places they overhang the passage, so as almost to shut out the light of the sky. In other parts they have apparently been cut away by hand. Indeed, the whole vast mass of rock seems as if originally rent asunder by some great convulsion of nature, leaving behind this long, narrow, winding, magnificent chasm.

The height of the rocks at first is eighty or a hundred feet; the bottom has a rapid descent, and the sides become higher towards the west, varying from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, or perhaps two hundred and fifty feet. I doubt whether any part of

these or the adjacent cliffs rises to the height of three hundred feet. We gave particular attention to this point, and repeated our observations the next day; because the elevation of the sides of the Sîk and of the surrounding cliffs, appears to have been greatly exaggerated in the reports of travellers.[1]

The limpid brook flowed at this time along the whole distance, watering a thicket of oleanders in full bloom, and so abundant as almost to block up the passage. Wild figs also and tamarisks grow out of the rocks here and there; and the vines of creeping plants hung in festoons along the walls. The great body of the water, especially in the rainy season, was perhaps anciently carried off by some different way; at other times it was distributed in aqueducts, the remains of which are still to be seen. A channel for the water, cut in the rock, runs upon the left near the level of the ground; and a conduit of earthen pipes four or five inches in diameter, let into the rock and cemented, is carried along high up on the right hand precipice. Both of these are now in ruins.

The bottom of the passage was anciently paved with squared stones, which still remain in various places. Along the sides are seen, here and there, niches, and also tablets hewn smooth in the rock, where once perhaps stood busts or statues, or the words of an inscription. The Sîk winds much; running at first west, then south-west, then north-west, and so continuing to vary between S. W. and N. W. until near the end, where its course is again west. At some of these turns, similar chasms come in from the sides; showing that the whole mass of rock is rent to

[1] Mr. Legh gives the height from 200 to 500 feet; May 26th. Irby and Mangles, from 400 to 700 feet; p. 414. Mr. Stephens from 500 to 1000 feet; vol. ii. p. 70. Burckhardt alone seems to have kept his right mind, and estimates the rocks at the beginning of the Sîk at about 80 feet in height; pp. 422, 423.

the bottom by like clefts in all directions. It is the same broad sandstone ridge, the top of which we had traversed in approaching Eljy.

The character of this wonderful spot, and the impression which it makes, are utterly indescribable; and I know of nothing which can present even a faint idea of them. I had visited the strange sandstone lanes and streets of Adersbach, and wandered with delight through the romantic dells of the Saxon Switzerland; both of which scenes might be supposed to afford the nearest parallel; yet they exhibit few points of comparison. All here is on a grander scale of savage, yet magnificent sublimity. We lingered along this superb approach, proceeding slowly and stopping often, forgetful of every thing else, and taking for the moment no note of time. The length is a large mile; we were forty minutes in passing through in this desultory manner. As we drew near the western end, the sun-light began to break in upon the rugged crags before us. Here the Sîk terminates, opening nearly at right angles into a similar though broader Wady or chasm, coming down from the south and passing off north-west.

All at once the beautiful façade of the Khŭzneh, in the western precipice, opposite the mouth of the Sîk, burst upon our view, in all the delicacy of its first chiselling, and in all the freshness and beauty of its soft colouring. I had seen various engravings of it, and read all the descriptions; but this was one of the rare instances, where the truth of the reality surpassed the ideal anticipation. It is indeed most exquisitely beautiful; and nothing I had seen of architectural effect in Rome, or Thebes, or even Athens, comes up to it in the first impression. It does not bear criticism as to its architecture; though this at least is symmetrical. The broken pediment and other ornaments are

not all in a pure style; and if seen in a different land, or without the accompaniments by which it is surrounded, it would perhaps excite little admiration. But here, its position as a portion of the lofty mass of coloured rock overagainst the imposing avenue; its wonderful state of preservation; the glow and teint of the stone; and the wild scenery around; all are unique, and combine into a power of association and impression, which takes complete possession of the mind. One column of the portico alone is broken away; yet such is the symmetrical effect of the whole, that this deficiency does not at first strike the eye.

I was perfectly fascinated with this splendid work of ancient art in this wild spot; and the idea of it was uppermost in my mind during the day and all the night. In the morning, I returned and beheld it again with increased admiration. There it stands, as it has stood for ages, in beauty and loneliness; the generations which admired and rejoiced over it of old, have passed away; the wild Arab, as he wanders by, regards it with stupid indifference or scorn; and none are left, but strangers from far distant lands, to do it reverence. Its rich roseate teints, as I bade it farewell, were lighted up and gilded by the mellow beams of the morning sun; and I turned away from it at length, with an impression, which will be effaced only at death.

The name el-Khŭzneh given by the Arabs to this edifice, signifies 'the treasure;' which they ascribe to Pharaoh, and suppose to be contained in the urn crowning the summit of its ornamented front, a hundred feet or more above the ground. Their only interest indeed in all these monuments, is to search for hidden treasures; and as they find nothing elsewhere, they imagine them to be deposited in this urn, which to them is inaccessible. It bears the marks of many

musket-balls, which they have fired at it, in the hope of breaking it in pieces, and thus obtaining the imagined treasure.

The interior of the structure by no means corresponds to its imposing exterior. From the vestibule, the door leads into a plain lofty room excavated from the rock, the sides smooth, but without ornament. Behind this is another room of less size; and small lateral chambers are found on each side, opening from the large room and from the vestibule. Was this a temple, or merely a dwelling for the dead? There is nothing in the monument itself to determine this question; but if any of the wonderful structures of this place may be considered as temples, I should regard this as one.—Here, as the central point of interest in Wady Mûsa, we inscribed our names upon the inner wall, in company with those of the few Europeans and the single American who had preceded us; as we had done before in the tombs of Thebes, and on the summit of the great pyramid.

The brook now flows along the somewhat broader Wady towards the N. W. The cliffs continue on both sides lofty and perpendicular. They are filled with innumerable tombs; in which the chambers are usually small; while the façades exhibit great variety, and are sometimes large and magnificent. Burckhardt justly remarks, that there are probably "no two sepulchres in Wady Mûsa perfectly alike; on the contrary they vary greatly in size, shape and embellishments. In some places three sepulchres are excavated one over the other; and the side of the mountain is so perpendicular, that it seems impossible to approach the uppermost."[1] The most common form of the façades, in this part, is perhaps a truncated pyramid, with a pilaster on each side, and an ornamented por-

[1] Page 427.

tal in the middle. Some fronts are plain; others again are ornamented with columns and friezes and pediments; all sculptured in relief upon the face of the rock.

One ornament, apparently peculiar to the architecture of this place, struck us by its singularity. In the upper part of some of the façades, instead of a pediment, two flights of steps, from four to six, diverging from the centre, are carried up to each corner; and then a horizontal line or cornice runs between the upper steps. In this part of the valley is the tomb, described by Laborde as having on its architrave a Greek inscription. I sought for this next day; but under the circumstances in which we were then placed, was not able to find it.

The valley now makes a slight bend towards the north, and opens to a wider breadth; while the cliffs on each side are lower and less abrupt. Here, on the left, is the theatre, wholly hewn out of the live rock; the diameter of the bottom is one hundred and twenty feet[1]; with thirty-three rows of seats, rising one above another in the side of the cliff behind. Above the seats a row of small chambers is excavated in the circle of the rock, looking down upon the scene below. Burckhardt estimates it as capable of containing three thousand persons. This seems to me too low a number; for each row of seats would probably contain on an average more than one hundred persons. The theatre fronts towards the E. N. E. The cliffs on each side are full of tombs; while in front, along the face of the eastern cliffs, the eye of the spectator rests on a multitude of the largest and most splendid sepulchres. Strange contrast! where a taste for the frivolities of the day, was at the same time gratified by the

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 428.

magnificence of tombs; amusement in a cemetery; a theatre in the midst of sepulchres.

From the upper or southern front of the theatre, is obtained perhaps the most striking view in all the valley; and this Laborde has given with a good general effect, though not with great exactness. The opposite or eastern cliff, as it here skirts the brook, is low; while above it, further back, is another higher precipice extending far to the north, in which are the most conspicuous tombs of the city. These with the theatre and the more distant cliffs, are comprised in Laborde's view. But the site of the city itself is not seen from this point; it lay more to the left, along the brook, after the latter turns west around the extremity of the left-hand cliff.

We now proceeded down the valley; and found our tent pitched on the right bank of the brook, between it and the end of the low eastern cliff. It stood directly before a large tomb broken away in front, which thus answered the double purpose of a shelter and kitchen for our servants and Arabs. Here the valley, as enclosed by the cliffs, terminates; and the brook, turning westwards, flows, when full, through the open tract of ground extending to the similar range of sandstone rocks, which at the distance of twenty minutes bounds the site of the ancient city on the west. At this time the water of the brook continued to run only to the end of the Sîk near the Khŭzneh; further down, its bed was dry.

Our object in coming to Wady Mûsa was not to make a minute examination of the place in detail; but rather to obtain a general impression of the whole, and to look more particularly at some of the principal monuments. We had never thought of remaining more than one night, and at most a part of the following day. We were now greatly fatigued; and our

minds much excited by the novelty and strangeness of the scene around us. Yet, however glad we might have been to rest for a time beneath our tent, we thought it better to improve the remainder of the day in visiting the other principal objects; and we were the more stimulated to this course because we had some foreboding of being interrupted.

We now followed down the left side of the bed of the brook, as it runs nearly westward through the open tract. It is everywhere skirted on both sides by a strip of level land; on the north and south of which, again, the ground rises into low irregular mounds and eminences; while back of these, a quarter of a mile from the brook in both directions, is a steeper and longer ascent, leading up to higher plains on the north and south. It is this lower tract, about half a mile square, which formed the actual circuit of the ancient city; being shut in on the east and west by high perpendicular walls of sandstone rock. "It is an area in the bosom of a mountain, swelling into mounds and intersected with gullies; but the whole ground is of such a nature as may be conveniently built upon, and has neither ascent nor descent inconveniently steep."[1]

Keeping near the bed of the brook, we soon came to the fallen columns of a large temple. Each column had been formed of several stones, and the joints now lay in their order along the ground. Nearly opposite this spot, a Wady joins the brook from the north, over which are the remains of a bridge. Further west, the banks of the brook itself have once been built up with strong walls, and the stream apparently covered over for some distance; thus connecting the level tracts upon the sides.

We now passed along the remains of the paved

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 424.

way, through the ruins of the arch of triumph, which stands near the brook, fronting towards the east. The architecture is florid and corrupt. It seems to have formed the approach to the palace or pile of building beyond, which the Arabs call Kŭsr Far'ôn, "Pharaoh's Castle." This mass of walls is the only structure of mason-work now standing in Wady Mûsa. It is of very inferior architecture and workmanship, and apparently of a late age. Joists of wood are in different parts let in between the courses of stone; intended, doubtless, to receive the fastenings for ornaments of wood or stucco. The walls are mostly entire; but the columns of the northern front, which were composed of separate pieces, are nearly gone. The distribution of the interior into several chambers and stories seems to show conclusively that it was not a temple; it would appear rather to have been a public edifice of a different character.

On the rising ground south of the Kŭsr and triumphal arch stands the lone column called by the Arabs Zub Far'ôn; on ascending to it we found it composed of several pieces, and connected with the foundations of a temple, of which the fragments of several other columns were strewed around.

These are the chief remains of particular structures which strike the eye of the wanderer upon the site occupied by the city itself; and they have been noticed and described by all travellers, as well as by the pencil of Laborde. But these writers have omitted to mention one circumstance, or at least all have not given to it that prominence which it deserves, viz. that all these are but single objects amidst a vast tract of similar ruins. Indeed, the whole area above described was once obviously occupied by a large city of houses. Along the banks of the stream, the violence of the water has apparently swept away the

traces of dwellings; but elsewhere, the whole body of the area, on both sides of the torrent, and especially on the north, is covered with the foundations and stones of an extensive town. The stones are hewn; and the houses erected with them, must have been solid and well-built. On looking at the extent of these ruins, it struck us as surprising, that they should hitherto have been passed over so slightly; although this may readily be accounted for, by the surpassing interest of the surrounding sepulchres. These foundations and ruins cover an area of not much less than two miles in circumference; affording room enough, in an oriental city, for the accommodation of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants.[1]

We were now near the western wall of cliffs, which are also of red sandstone and higher than those on the east; rising in some parts to an elevation of three or four hundred feet. This wall too is full of tombs, some of them high up in the rock; but in general less numerous and splendid than those in the eastern cliffs. One of the most conspicuous is the unfinished tomb of which a drawing is given by Laborde; showing that in sculpturing the façades of the sepulchres, the workmen, (as was natural,) after smoothing the face of the rock, began at the top and wrought downwards. We entered several of these tombs, which presented nothing worthy of particular notice. The great multitude of them are small and plain, mere excavations in the face of the rock.[2]

[1] Burckhardt is here the most explicit: "The ground is covered with heaps of hewn stones, foundations of buildings, fragments of columns, and vestiges of paved streets; all clearly indicating that a large city once existed here. On the left side of the river is a rising ground, extending westwards for nearly a quarter of an hour, entirely covered with similar remains. On the right bank, where the ground is more elevated, ruins of the same description are also seen." Travels, p. 427.

[2] Very many of those plain sepulchres differ little from the multitudes of similar ones around Jerusalem; except in their position and the nature of the rock.

In the channel of the brook, which was dry below the Khŭzneh quite across the open space, we now found, near the western cliff, water again springing up in several places, in small quantity indeed, but of excellent quality; much purer indeed than that in the brook above. It ran in a small stream along the bed of the Wady, which here enters the front of the western cliffs by a chasm similar to the eastern Sîk; but broader and less regular. We entered and proceeded for some distance down the ravine, which is full of oleanders and other shrubs and trees, so that we could scarcely pass. The walls within the mouth are full of tombs, all small and without ornament. The high rock upon the left, which is isolated by a very narrow chasm behind it, is conjectured by Laborde to have been the acropolis of the ancient city; but we received the impression at the time, that there was no special ground to justify this supposition.[1]

We followed the ravine considerably below this point; and endeavoured to find the lateral chasm, marked on Laborde's plan as leading up towards the right quite to the Deir. There are short chasms enough in that direction; but none extending to the Deir, which indeed seems to be inaccessible from this quarter; as we found by our own experience, and from the testimony of Arab shepherds on the spot.

Further towards the west the ravine has never been explored; and no one could tell in what direction the waters, when swollen, find their way through the cliffs. This only is certain, that the Wady does not, as Wady Mûsa, extend down to the 'Arabah; and the course so marked upon Laborde's map has as little

[1] We did not indeed ascend the rock; nor does Laborde appear to have done so. Irby and Mangles are silent as to it. — I have since learned from Mr. Roberts, the distinguished artist, who visited Wady Mûsa in 1839, that he remarked traces of buildings, or at least of mason-work, upon the summit of this cliff.

actual existence, as the Wady Mûsa by which Schubert supposed himself to have ascended from the 'Arabah towards Mount Hor.[1]

It was now sunset; and we returned to our tent, fatigued, and our eyes for the present 'satisfied with seeing.' We had obtained, so far as we desired, a general idea of the valley and its wonders; and we left for the morrow a visit to the Deir, a closer examination of the tombs in the eastern cliffs back of our tent, and a renewal of the impressions received from the Khŭzneh and the region around the theatre. Our further plan was to ascend Mount Hor, and then take the usual road back to Hebron.

The pencil of Laborde has spread before the world the details of the strange remains, which give interest and celebrity to this valley; but his work presents no correct general idea of the whole. The best written descriptions are still those of the earliest visitors; first Burckhardt, and then Irby and Mangles. The account of the former is the most exact and simple; that of the latter is more full, but also more coloured and somewhat confused. Burckhardt was here but a part of a day, an object of jealous suspicion to his Arab guide; yet it struck me with astonishment, to remark upon the spot, the exactness and extent of his observations during that short interval.

A single glance had been sufficient to correct a false impression, which I had received from previous accounts, viz. that the site of the ancient city was shut in *on all sides* by perpendicular cliffs, and that the entrance by the Sik was the only feasible one from any quarter. This, as has been seen, is not the case. The

[1] Reise, ii. pp. 414. 418. The road from 'Akabah ascends through the Wady Abu Kusheibeh mentioned further on.

area of the city is bounded only on the east and west by walls of rock; that on the east being the broad sandstone ridge extending south below the southern end of the mountain of Dibdiba; while that on the west is the similar ridge, which further north runs parallel to the same mountain, and is penetrated by the Sîk of Nemela. The brook of 'Ain Mûsa, rising above Eljy, flows down its valley and breaks through the midst of the eastern ridge, thus forming the Sîk; then crossing the open area near the middle, it passes off in like manner through the western ridge. Towards the north and south the view is open. Towards the N. E. is seen the high southern end of the mountain of Dibdiba, resting on white sandstone at its base; and more to the left the plain Sutûh Beida, through which we had approached. From the eastern part of the area of the valley, the summit of Mount Hor is seen over the western line of cliffs, bearing about W. by S.

On each side of the brook, the ground rises towards the north and south, as already described; at first gradually by irregular hillocks and eminences strowed with the scattered remains of former houses; and then, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, more rapidly. Towards the north, this latter ascent is cut up by several Wadys, and leads up through groups of sandstone rocks to the plain Sutûh Beida. Two of these torrent-beds, coming from the end of the mountain of Dibdiba, unite in the N. E. part of the area, having between them a promontory of red sandstone, in which are tombs. Further west are other small Wadys. Here, at the N. E. corner, the road from near Dibdiba comes in, by which our servants entered; and here, or somewhere in this quarter, must be the tomb described by Irby and Mangles, as having an inscription in the

unknown Sinaitic character[1]; and also that with a Latin inscription, discovered by Laborde.

Towards the south, the ascent from the area of the city is steeper, and somewhat greater, perhaps a hundred feet. It leads up to a high plain of table-land, extending westward around the end of the western cliff (which here terminates) to Mount Hor or Jebel Neby Hârûn. This plain bears the name of Sutûh Hârûn, "Aaron's Plains," corresponding to the Sutûh Beida, "White Plains," on the north of Wady Mûsa. At the S. W. corner of the area of the city, a road passes out, ascending a long narrow Wady, lined with tombs, to this terrace. It then leads along the southern foot of Mount Hor, and dividing further on, one path descends to the 'Arabah towards the left through Wâdy Abu Kusheibeh[2], and so to 'Akabah; while the other goes more towards the right, and descends through Wady er-Rŭbâ'y on the way to Hebron. At the foot of this latter pass, according to our Arabs, there is a small spring of good water called et-Taiyibeh.

In looking at the wonders of this ancient city, one is at a loss, whether most to admire the wildness of the position and natural scenery, or the taste and skill with which it was fashioned into a secure retreat, and adorned with splendid structures, chiefly for the dead. The most striking feature of the place consists, not in the fact that there are occasional excavations and sculptures like those above described; but in the innumerable multitude of such excavations, along the whole extent of perpendicular rocks adjacent to the main area, and in all the lateral vallies and chasms; the

[1] See in Note XVII., Vol. I. p. 555.

[2] This name is not quite certain. Laborde writes it strangely enough, "Pabouchèbe;" although the sound of *p* does not exist in the Arabic language.

entrances of very many of which are variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated, with every imaginable order and style of architecture. The cliffs upon the east and west present the largest and most continuous surfaces; and here the tombs are most numerous. But the spur from the eastern cliffs formed by the Wady below the Khŭzneh, as well as other smaller spurs and promontories and single groups of rocks, both in the north and south, are also occupied in like manner. All these sepulchres of course looked down upon the city of the living; but others, again, are found in retired dells and secret chasms, or sometimes among the heights on either side, to which flights of steps cut in the rock lead up in several places. Thus the Deir lies high up among the cliffs of the western ridge, more than half an hour distant from the area of the city.

The most conspicuous of all the monuments, next to the Khŭzneh and Deir, are those along the eastern cliffs north of the theatre. Here towards the north is the immense façade with three rows of columns one above another; then the Corinthian tomb depicted by Laborde; and further south, it would seem, the large tomb described by Irby and Mangles, with Doric porticos and ornaments, and arched substructions in front. The interior of this last, according to the same travellers, consists of one large and lofty chamber, which in later ages was converted into a Christian church; having three recesses for altars at the further end; while an inscription in red paint, near an angle, records the date of the consecration.[1]

The rock in which all these monuments are sculptured, is the soft reddish sandstone of this whole district; a formation which has been already described as resting upon lower masses of porphyry, and which

[1] Irby and Mangles' Travels, pp. 429—431. To my great regret I was not able to visit and examine this tomb.

appears to extend to a great distance both north and south. The forms of the cliffs are often exceedingly irregular and grotesque. The highest, and indeed the only high point, of all the sandstone tract, is Mount Hor. The softness of the stone afforded great facilities for excavating the sepulchres and sculpturing their ornamental parts; but the same cause has operated against their preservation, except where sheltered from exposure. The Khŭzneh itself has been thus wonderfully preserved, only by the overhanging vault of rock which shields it.

Not the least remarkable circumstance in the peculiarities of this singular spot, is the colour of the rocks. They present not a dead mass of dull monotonous red; but an endless variety of bright and living hues, from the deepest crimson to the softest pink, verging also sometimes to orange and yellow. These varying shades are often distinctly marked by waving lines, imparting to the surface of the rock a succession of brilliant and changing teints, like the hues of watered silk, and adding greatly to the imposing effect of the sculptured monuments. Indeed it would be impossible "to give to the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks, teinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form; whilst their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pediments, and ranges of corridors, adhering to their perpendicular surface."[1] This play of colours is strikingly exhibited, along the paths leading to the Deir, and to Mount Hor.

In the midst of the variety of architecture, which here astonishes the spectator, two styles are obviously predominant, the Egyptian and the Roman-Greek; or rather, it is the mixture and union of these two, which

[1] Irby and Mangles, p. 423.

here constitutes the prevailing style. The former is principally seen in the body or masses of the façades; where the truncated pyramidal forms, and the slightly tapering fronts and sides, remind one continually of the majestic portals and propyla of the Theban temples. The more classic orders of Greece and Rome are conspicuous in the columns and other ornaments; and prevail also throughout in some of the more important monuments. But even here all is florid and overloaded, indicating a later age and a degenerate taste; when a feeling of the beautiful still remained, but without the simplicity of nature. This amalgamation of styles may be accounted for, by the prevalence, first of the Roman influence and then of the Roman dominion, which penetrated hither both by way of Asia Minor and Syria, and also from Egypt. This took place, as we know, about the Christian era; and to that period and the subsequent centuries, are probably to be ascribed the architectural skill and monuments, on which strangers now gaze with surprise and wonder.

An interesting question, which occupied much of our attention on the spot, was, How far these excavations are to be regarded merely as sepulchres? and whether any of them were probably intended as abodes for the living? I had formerly received the impression, that very many of them were to be so considered; and indeed, that a great portion of the ancient city had been composed of such dwellings "in the clefts of the rocks."[1] But after attentive observation, we could perceive no traces of any such design. The smaller and unornamented excavations, are entirely similar to the numerous sepulchres around Jerusalem; and the one have no more the appearance of having been intended as dwellings than the other. Those with ornamental façades have in general a like character within;

[1] Jer. xlix. 16.

many of them have niches for dead bodies; and even such as have not this decisive mark, exhibit nevertheless no trace of having been constructed for habitations. At a later period, indeed, they may not improbably have been thus used; just as the tombs at Thebes and those in the village of Siloam, are now converted into dwellings.[1]

The elegance of their exterior decoration, affords no ground for supposing the most of these monuments to have been other than tombs. The abodes of the dead were regarded in Egypt, and also in Palestine, with profound veneration; and were constructed with even greater pomp and splendour than the habitations of the living. Witness the tomb of Helena at Jerusalem, and the still more magnificent ones at Thebes; to say nothing of the mighty pyramids, erected apparently each as the sepulchre of a single monarch.[2] — Nor is there any necessity for the supposition, that these excavations were intended in part as dwellings for the inhabitants of the place. The wide-spread ruins which are visible, attest, as we have seen, that a large and extensive city of houses built of stone once occupied this spot; and the sepulchres round about are comparatively less numerous than those which in like manner skirt the sites of ancient Thebes and Memphis. The city which stood here, was of itself built "in the clefts of the rocks;" without the necessity of our looking for single dwellings in such a situation.

Yet not all these structures, I think, were sepulchral;

[1] The interior of all these tombs is comparatively very small. The caverns in the country towards Damascus, which were never tombs, but always dwellings, are very capacious, affording shelter to both the inhabitants and their flocks. See Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. pp. 356. 418.

[2] So too Diodorus Siculus says, in speaking of the Egyptians, i. 51. *Διόπερ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευῶν ἧττον φροντίζουσι, περὶ δὲ τὰς ταφὰς ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι φιλοτιμίας.* Comp. Gesenius, Com. zu Jesa. xiv. 18—20. xxii. 16.

some of the larger and more splendid were more probably temples of the gods. The facility and beauty with which the ornamented façades of monuments could be sculptured in the rock, might easily suggest the idea of constructing fanes for the gods in like manner; and such excavated temples were not unknown in Egypt.[1] Hence the site of the beautiful Khŭzneh was selected, directly opposite to the grand entrance from the east; the character of its front is decidedly that of a temple. To the same class probably belong some of the larger and more conspicuous excavations in the eastern cliffs; especially the one described by Irby and Mangles, as having arched substructions built up in front, and afterwards used as a Christian church. The Deir too, as we shall see, has similar features, and appears also to have been transformed into a church. Nothing would be more natural, under the circumstances, than to convert heathen temples of this kind into Christian sanctuaries; but had they been originally sepulchres, such a transition would have been less natural and probable.

Such were the impressions with which we spent the evening beneath our tent in Wady Mûsa. Around us were the desolations of ages; the dwellings and edifices of the ancient city crumbled and strewed in the dust; the mausolea of the dead in all their pristine beauty and freshness, but long since rifled, and the ashes of their tenants scattered to the winds. Well might there be the stillness of death; for it was the grave itself, a city of the dead, by which we were surrounded.

Yet this impressive silence was not uninterrupted. Our Arabs had slaughtered the sheep we had bought,

[1] E. g. the temples of Ebsambal; Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 495. seq. Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 88. Irby and Mangles, pp. 29. 37. seq.

and made themselves a feast. They were in high glee; and the voice of singing, story-telling, and mirth, sounded strangely amid these sepulchres. Our Haweitât companions had given us to-day another specimen of their thievish propensities. As we entered the Sîk, they contrived to throw into confusion the flock of sheep which was there feeding, watched by an Arab boy; and separating a lamb, drove it into the Sîk along with the one which the Jehâlîn were leading. We were in advance at the time; and as the worthies came up, they pretended that the lamb had strayed away and was following us of its own accord. It was not till we appealed very decidedly to Sheikh Hussân, that he sent one of his men to take the animal back.

Friday, June 1st. On entering the high table-land of the mountains yesterday, we heard that many of the Ma'âz, an Arab tribe from the sandy region of the Hismeh [1], east of 'Akabah, having been driven out of their own country by the drought, had spread themselves here among these mountains, where the rains had been more abundant. Our Arabs of the Jehâlîn felt some alarm on learning the presence of these strangers; for although they stood towards them in no relations either of alliance or hostility, yet the character of all these lawless hordes of the desert is such, that when away from home, where no responsibility would fall on their own tribe, they would not hesitate to rob a passing traveller or caravan. A large encampment of them, it was said, lay near the way out from Wady Mûsa by Mount Hor to the 'Arabah.

On awaking this morning, our first information was, that the Sheikh of the Bedûn, a clan of the Haweitât who pasture in and around Wady Mûsa, had arrived in the night with several armed men, in order to claim from

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 256.

us a Ghŭfr, that is, a tax, tribute, present, or whatever else it may be called, for the privilege of visiting the place. On looking out, we saw him sleeping by his dromedary near the tent. Supposing the matter would be arranged without difficulty, we left the Sheikh to finish his nap; while we went out before breakfast to improve our time and visit the Deir, the only remaining distant point which we now wished to examine.

We took as a guide a shepherd of the valley, who happened to be present; and passing again along the brook through the open area to the western cliffs, we turned north along their front for some minutes, and then entered a narrow rent coming down from the W. N.W. at the north-west corner of the area. This passage resembles the Sîk in narrowness, and in the perpendicular walls of rock on the sides; but instead of being nearly level, it runs up very rapidly into the heart of the mountain. The ravine is exceedingly irregular and rugged; and in its natural state must have been utterly impassable in many places. At such points a path five or six feet in breadth, with steps, has been hewn in and along the walls of rock; this continued for a great part of the way, and still remains in tolerable preservation. After many windings and intricacies, which no stranger would readily find out without a guide, we reached the Deir, situated high up among the topmost crags of the mountain, a good half hour's walk from the mouth of the ravine.

The Deir is hewn out in the perpendicular face of a cliff, one of the groups which here jut up out of the high table-land. It faces W. S. W., and Mount Hor towers in lone majesty overagainst it, bearing S. W. ½ S. This monument is of larger dimensions than the Khŭzneh; its façade covering a much broader surface, though it is probably not higher. The upper part exhibits a broken pediment, and has three compartments;

in each of which is a niche apparently intended for a statue. The architecture is florid and not in good taste; and the whole is overloaded with ornament. Yet the general effect, though less striking and beautiful than that of the Khŭzneh, is rich and highly imposing in this wild solitude. Before it is a large square area levelled off and obviously artificial; since it is in part built up with walls like a terrace. In the adjacent cliffs, in various parts, flights of steps are hewn, leading to the top; and a few plain tombs are seen round about. The high rock overagainst this monument, is described by Laborde as having on its top a level platform, with a line of columns, reached in like manner by an artificial ascent, and commanding a wide prospect. We did not visit it.

"As in the Khŭzneh, so in the Deir, the interior by no means corresponds to the splendour of the exterior. There is here but one excavated chamber, a large square room perfectly plain, with walls smooth and unbroken; except on the inner part, where is a broad arched niche a little above the floor, with two or three steps leading to it on each side, resembling very much the niche or alcove for the altar in a Greek church. The arch of this alcove was apparently once ornamented by a border of some sort, fastened into a groove cut around it, and supporting perhaps a curtain. Over the niche, the traces of a cross are still discernible.[1]

The whole exterior aspect of the Deir is decidedly that of a heathen temple. With this view also accord the broad esplanade in front, and the road leading up to the place, hewn out of the rock with immense labour. Indeed, it would be difficult to account for such a road to a mere private tomb; and this of itself seems to mark it as a public structure. In a later age it became

[1] This cross was noticed by Mr. Roberts.

apparently a Christian church, and the niche may perhaps have been then first excavated.

We now returned to our tent and breakfasted. After the general survey which we had thus taken, I wished to go once more to the Khŭzneh, and then return by the upper range of tombs along the eastern cliff above our tent. We fixed upon 9 o'clock as the hour for setting off. Meantime Sheikh Hussân came in, and said the Sheikh of Wady Mûsa was there, desiring from us a Ghŭfr. We told him through Hussân, that we were travelling with the Firmân of Muhammed 'Aly, who had abolished all such exactions throughout his dominions; and we therefore felt under no obligation to comply with this demand. Our reply was perhaps more decided than it would otherwise have been, in consequence of the report of our servants, that during our absence the Sheikh and his attendants had conducted themselves arrogantly, ordering coffee and demanding of them a breakfast. To this last, the servants had without much ceremony demurred.

Leaving my companion and Sheikh Hussân to arrange the matter, and taking with me two of our Arabs, I now repaired to the amphitheatre and the Khŭzneh, observing every thing leisurely by the way, and looking particularly for the tomb with the Greek inscription, though without finding it. While examining the Khŭzneh, I heard several guns fired at our tent; but as this is not unusual among the Arabs, it did not further excite my attention. I had taken my last admiring look of this beautiful structure from a point opposite, near the mouth of the Sîk; and was just about to return, when I saw seven ragged wild-looking Arabs with guns coming up the valley. They entered the Khŭzneh, to look at it, as I supposed; but soon came out; and seeing me with my two attendants

at some distance, advanced towards us in a quiet manner, until within a few steps, when they broke out into the most violent gestures and exclamations, ordering us to return forthwith to the tent. As I knew not what it all meant, and could not ask them, I kept along down the valley, still searching for the Greek tomb and followed by the seven ragamuffins.

At the amphitheatre I met Mr. Smith, who informed me, that the two Sheikhs had broken on the point of the tribute. After my departure the Sheikh of the Bedûn had through Hussân repeated his demand for the Ghŭfr; in which he was now backed by the advice and solicitation of our own Arabs. He asserted that he had authority from the Pasha to collect such a toll, in return for his being held responsible to the government for the safety of travellers; and further, that all former travellers had paid his demand, and he hoped we would do so as well as they. To these barefaced falsehoods the reply was, that if he had authority from the Pasha, let him produce it and he should have all that it allowed; that if he had formerly shown favours to travellers and they had paid him for it, let him also first show us some kindness and civility, and he would not find us slow to make him a present in return. All this intercourse was had in like manner through Sheikh Hussân.

On receiving this last answer, the old man rose in a great passion, saying that if we had orders from Muhammed 'Aly he would obey them; but that our Arabs had no right to take us away, and they should go. He accordingly ordered them to depart; and talked of sending for other camels to Eljy. A great quarrel and tumult now arose between our Arabs and the eighteen or twenty armed men of the other party; swords were drawn and guns fired; and one would have thought that blood would have been immediately

shed. My friend left them in the midst of the tumult, and went first to the tombs in the eastern precipice and thence to the theatre, where I now met him. The adverse Sheikh, it appeared, had also declared, that if we would not pay, we should see nothing of Wady Mûsa; and had sent his men to find us and conduct us back.

We now together looked at various tombs in the vicinity of the theatre; our new "protectors" endeavouring to prevent us, and once even taking hold of our arms. We civilly shook them off, taking care not to strike nor to give any occasion for personal violence; which they too seemed quite as equally anxious to avoid. My companion endeavoured to proceed higher up the valley, but was stopped by force. He now held a long talk with them, while I sat by; using both argument and expostulation, and depicting the danger of thus exposing themselves to the vengeance of the Pasha. They of course could make no reply; but his words also made no impression; and he might as well have spoken to the wind. We thought it better to return to the tent and there await the result.

Here the Sheikh of Wady Mûsa now presented himself in due form; and to my no little astonishment, turned out to be the identical old Mukeibil Abu Zeitûn, "the Father of Olives," who had caused all the trouble to Messrs. Bankes, Legh, and Irby and Mangles in 1818; pushing his obstinacy at that time so far, as almost to kindle a war among the Arab tribes, in order to prevent the approach of the party to Wady Mûsa.[1] I had supposed him long dead; as no traveller since that time has spoken of him or appears to have seen him. But he now revived before us in all the obstinacy and

[1] Irby and Mangles, Travels, pp. 383—400. Legh, under May 23—26th. Mr. Kinneir, in A. D. 1839, writes his name Magabel. See his recent work: Cairo, Petra, &c. p. 131., &c.

tenacity of purpose, which had marked his former character; and we knew henceforth whom we had to deal with. He was at present an old man of nearly eighty years; and had put on a new Arab cloak, and a new glaring yellow Kefîyeh, bound around his head with an unusual quantity of new woollen yarn,—in short his gala-dress,—to do us honour. His demeanour was calm; and he now went over his arguments to us in a mild tone, and we ours to him in return.

He enumerated one and another who (he said) had paid him the Ghŭfr, or, as he called it, made him a present; and he presumed we were more noble and generous than any who had gone before, and would give liberally. When told that as bearing the Pasha's Firmân, we were free from all such exactions, and that moreover he was held responsible for our safety while within his limits; his reply was, that he knew all this, and on account of this very responsibility he claimed a present; if the government would relieve him from this obligation, he would ask nothing of visitors. We told him, we had been travelling through the provinces of Gaza and Hebron, where the Sheikhs of the villages, of their own accord, had always given us a guard around our tent, and had never thought of claiming or of hinting a wish for pay; and that his best way would have been in like manner to have done us some favour, before he claimed any return. But nothing made any impression upon the stubborn old Bedawy; there he sat, tall, gaunt, with thin and time-worn visage and gray beard, not violent in gesture or manner, but cold, determined, and tenacious of his supposed hold upon us as a bloodhound.

His reiterated demand was for one thousand piastres, equal to fifty Spanish dollars, from ourselves; and for five hundred piastres in addition from our Arabs. On this last he seemed to lay less stress, as they were

neighbours and might come again; but as to us, he evidently regarded us as a windfall already in his power, which he was bent upon turning to the utmost advantage.

He had made the same demand of Bertou when here a few weeks before. Lord Prudhoe, about the same time, he had not caught; as he came from the west, remained only for a night, and was off again before the old man had time to pay his respects. Such indeed appears to have been the case with all those travellers, who of late years have taken this place in their way from 'Akabah to Hebron; their visits have been short; and entering by way of Mount Hor, they have been able to leave again before information of their arrival could reach the Sheikh. This advantage we had lost, by ascending the mountains further north, where our visit became known at once to the Arabs around Dibdiba.— Bertou, as he himself told us, had got off by giving the Sheikh all the money he had with him, less than one hundred piastres, with a quantity of powder, soap, tobacco, and the like.

The old man appears not to have been satisfied with this result; and had now, on the first intelligence of our arrival, come down upon us by night with some twenty armed men, who already had increased to thirty; determined to have the matter this time in his own hands, and not to let the opportunity slip away so easily. Against this array, we could number in all only thirteen men, including our Haweîtât, on whom we could place no dependence whatever. Our Jehâlîn too, although their interest was the same as ours, proved to be men of no nerve; Sheikh Hussân, an easy good-natured man, had neither decision nor energy. We were thus really and truly in the power of Abu Zeitûn; and his men, the worst looking set of miscreants we had yet seen, seemed not unwilling to exercise

this power, and waited apparently only for a signal to plunder us outright. But the old Sheikh was more politic, and obviously kept them in check.

After long and loud talking, the upshot of the whole matter on the part of Abu Zeitûn was, that unless we paid his demand we should see nothing more, and should return the way we came. There was also again some talk of camels coming from Eljy to take us back; but this seemed not to be much insisted on, and was rather a feint.[1] We now told the old man plainly that in the shape of Ghŭfr we should give nothing. If he was in rebellion against the government, we only wanted to know it, that we might make our report accordingly; at any rate we should make a report of his conduct to the English and American Consuls in Cairo, who would lay the affair before the Pasha, and take measures that future travellers should not be thus exposed to exactions. After all, we were now in his power, and if he chose to rob or kill us outright, we were ready; but he must abide the consequences. Here the matter rested for some time.

It was already past 10 o'clock, and we began to be impatient at this delay. Rather than give up the ascent of Mount Hor, (although we had now seen it fully from below,) we thought it best to tender to

[1] This story of other camels rested on a strict interpretation of Bedawîn common law, which secures to every tribe the right and profit of carrying all travellers and freight within its own territories. Strictly speaking, perhaps neither the Jehâlîn nor 'Alawîn have a right, according to this law, to bring travellers to Wady Mûsa, any more than to the convent at Sinai; and the Tawarah cannot do it, because they would have to pass through the country of the 'Alawîn, and thus invade their rights. Yet these claims are relaxed in practice, especially among leagued tribes; so that the Tawarah cross the territories of the Haiwât and Tiyâhah without question, to take travellers to Gaza and Hebron. So too both the 'Alawîn and Jehâlîn carry travellers to Wady Mûsa; but they endeavour to avoid the notice of the neighbouring Arabs, and make their visits as short as possible; feeling that they are doing that for which they may perhaps be called in question.

the old man through Sheikh Hussân, at first, what the chief Sheikh of the Jehâlîn had told us would be enough, viz. forty piastres. It was returned; and also afterwards eighty, which we offered. I would have gone up to one hundred piastres; but the tenacious Sheikh was now so certain of his prey, that he would hear of nothing short of the full thousand. We therefore concluded, that it would be better on the whole, as we could not carry the matter through by force, to take him at his word, and return the way we came. The followers of Abu Zeitûn had gradually increased to nearly forty armed men, including some of the 'Ammârîn, and a brother of Sheikh Husein the 'Alawy. Keeping our own counsel, we ordered the camels to be loaded, which was done without hindrance from any one; and we mounted.

Not wishing, however, to give up the point except from actual compulsion, we now attempted to set off on the way to Mount Hor, Sheikh Hussân leading the forward camel; but the hostile party at a signal from Abu Zeitûn instantly closed around, and swords were drawn and brandished; which, however, among these Arabs, as we now had learned, means nothing more than to make a flourish. The heads of our camels were seized and turned in the opposite direction, with orders to go by the way we came. Not a step, my companion replied, except by force; and dismounting he stood up before them and told them: We now knew them to be robbers, and were ready for them; let them rob and kill us if they chose, but not a para more of money should they get, than we had offered them. They replied, that not for a para less than a thousand piastres should we go to Mount Hor. Our resolute Komeh next seized the halter of the head-camel and tried to go on as before; but with no better success. He then in great wrath, threw down his gun and pis-

tol and pipe on the ground before them, (the pipe was shivered in pieces,) declaring them to be thieves and robbers, and calling on them to take possession of his arms and all that he had. — All this however was of no avail; and we accordingly, about 11 o'clock, turned the heads of our camels the other way, and proceeded on the path which issues from the N.E. corner of the area, leading close along under the tombs in the eastern cliffs.

Our departure in this manner seemed, after all, to be wholly unexpected to the adverse party. The old Sheikh had reckoned upon us so surely, that this movement took him by surprise and threatened to thwart his plans. He detained our Arabs long in consultation; and when Sheikh Hussân at length came up, he brought an offer that we might return and stay as long as we pleased on paying five hundred piastres. To this of course we paid no regard; being determined not to renew the negotiation. At this time our five Haweitât, whom we were desirous to retain at least for the present, thinking it a favourable moment to profit by our necessities, demanded their wages, and refused to accompany us any further, except at an extravagant price. We paid them off, and let them go. There now remained with us only our four Jehâlîn, in these mountains teeming with such ruffians. But we put our trust in God, and went forward; not knowing but that at any moment we might be overtaken and plundered.

After we had proceeded for nearly an hour, a man from Abu Zeitûn overtook us, inviting us to return; the Sheikh did not wish us to depart thus; our goodwill was worth more to him than money; and we might come back and finish our observations without paying any thing. We sent word to the effect, that we had seen all we desired in the valley; that he had

driven us away, and we should not return; but should make our report to Cairo. After another hour came a second messenger, begging us at least to wait until the Sheikh himself could come up and "get our good-will;" which means, being interpreted, to part with words of peace, but get a bakhshîsh if possible. We were now on the plain of Sutûh Beida, nearly opposite Dibdiba; and turning aside under the shade of the western precipice, we waited accordingly.

The old man came at length on his dromedary, and most of his company with him. Dismounting, he seated himself near us, repeated coldly the assurance, that our good-will was dearer to him than money; said we might return if we chose, and whatever we might please to give him would be acceptable; or, if we chose to go on, we might go in peace. We told him, he was now too late, and we should go on; and left him coldly, without his present.—I proposed, indeed, to my companion, that we should so far put his good-will to the test, as to let him give us a guide to conduct us to Mount Hor by some other route, not leading through Wady Mûsa. But to this my friend was averse; thinking it better when once out of the old man's clutches, not to place ourselves again in his power. We therefore reluctantly gave up Mount Hor, and proceeded on our way, after having been thus delayed for about an hour.

The head Sheikh of the Jehâlîn afterwards assured us, that such an exaction had never been attempted, nor such a claim set up by Abu Zeitûn, before the present year; but this has probably been owing, as already suggested, to the shortness of the visits made by travellers, whose arrival did not become known to the Sheikh. The peasants, it was said, had sometimes come around, and asked for bakhshîsh; and a few piastres had occasionally been given them. At any

rate, we were probably the first, on whom the old miscreant had once laid his grasp, who ever escaped from it without yielding to his demand; and we received many compliments from the Sheikhs of the Jehâlîn and others at Hebron for the boldness and address with which we had extricated ourselves from his power. We owed our escape, no doubt, to the awe in which he stood of the strong arm of Muhammed 'Aly; a circumstance of which we did not discover the full extent until after we had left him. Hussân remained behind; and him he charged, that the Jehâlîn should bring no more Christians to Wady Mûsa, without an express paper with the seal of the government; such a paper he would obey. This means, of course, nothing more than a Tezkirah from the governor of Gaza, under whose jurisdiction this region belongs; or probably one from Jerusalem or Hebron would answer just as well.

We had committed the oversight of leaving our Firmân among our other papers at Hebron; not dreaming that it could be necessary to us in these mountains. But I am since persuaded, that had we had the Firmân to flourish in the old man's face, and more especially the Tezkirah of Sheikh Sa'îd, which had been offered to us in Gaza[1], we should have carried our point without much difficulty. As it was, this could be done only by submitting to his demand, or by force. To the former we were not disposed, either for our own sakes or for the sake of those travellers who should come after us; and the latter was all on the adverse side. We suppose it was the same awe of Muhammed 'Aly, which alone prevented them from plundering us outright; helping themselves to that which we refused them.[2]

[1] See p. 374. above.

[2] We afterwards presented a written report of this whole affair to Mr. Gliddon, American Consul

Thus ended our visit to Wady Mûsa, after we had seen and accomplished all which lay within our original plan, except ascending Mount Hor. Although we might have gladly spent several days in searching out and studying the wonders of the place, yet our plans and the advance of the season, called us elsewhere; and there was nothing for which I could have wished to return to the valley itself, except to look at the few inscriptions and seek for others. I had, indeed, a strong desire to ascend Mount Hor, for the sake of the wide prospect, and in order to take its bearings from other known points; but chiefly perhaps because it is one of the most definitely marked spots on which the great Hebrew lawgiver actually stood, — where took place the closing scene between the prophet-brothers, when the elder yielded up the ghost in the presence of the younger and of his own son, "and died there in the top of the mount."[1] The Wely Neby Hârûn upon the summit, is in nothing different from other Arab tombs of saints, which are so common upon the mountains and hills of Palestine. There is an inscription in Arabic and another in Hebrew, the work of casual visitors, and of no importance whatever. These had been copied by Lord Prudhoe during his recent visit; and we had already seen and read them in Jerusalem.[2]

at Cairo, whom we met at Alexandria. That gentleman, no doubt, will do all in his power to prevent the future recurrence of such practices; but in this remote corner they cannot be at once suppressed. Mr. Roberts, the English artist, and his party, who went to Wady Mûsa in 1839, were met by the Sheikh before they reached the spot; but got off with paying three hundred piastres instead of one thousand. Kinnear's Cairo, Petra, &c. p. 137. — In 1840, a large party of sixteen individuals, English, Americans, and Germans, making up a caravan of some fifty camels, visited Wady Mûsa together; and paid to the Arabs of the place (as I am informed by one of the party), not less than seventy-five piastres for each, or twelve hundred piastres in all, for permission to examine the ruins. All such payments, of course, serve to increase the difficulties of subsequent travellers.

[1] Num. xx. 22—29.

[2] The first Frank travellers to ascend Mount Hor and visit the Wely Neby Hârûn, were Irby and Mangles and their party in 1818. It has been several times described

We had set off from Wady Mûsa at 11 o'clock; the way passing along beneath the eastern cliff and up the side of one of the Wadys which enter from the N.N.E. Then crossing one or two similar Wadys, we reached the plain Sutûh Beida, and came to the place where we had yesterday bought the sheep and sent forward our baggage. Here it was that we waited for Abu Zeitûn; and here we left him at 2 o'clock. Our way was now the same we had come the preceding day. A long and tedious ride brought us at 5 o'clock to the top of the pass of Nemela; where we stopped for a moment to enjoy the wide prospect and verify our former observations. The air was now serene and clearer than before, and the view finer. The junction of the Jerâfeh with el-Jeib in the 'Arabah, and the cliff el-Mŭkrâh beyond, were perfectly distinct; as was also the winding course of the Jeib further south. We descended the pass in forty-five minutes; and following down the vallies below, reached the lower edge of the porphyry formation, where the Wady turns down through the lower limestone cliffs. Here at 6¾ o'clock we halted for rest and refreshment.

As there would be moonlight until an hour after midnight, our Arabs were desirous to push forward during that interval across the plain. They represented, and with justice, that it would be prudent to get away as soon as possible from the vicinity of these mountains thus teeming with ruffians; since although we had nothing to fear from Abu Zeitûn himself, it was yet very possible that some of his tribe, not satisfied with our having thus slipped from their grasp, might still pursue and plunder us by night; or that

within the last five years; but the account of Irby and Mangles remains as yet the most definite and exact. The reader will find it in Note XXXV. end of the Volume.

some of the Ma'âz, hearing of our departure in this manner with only four men, might also think it a good occasion to follow and rob us, and throw the responsibility upon the Bedûn. We assented therefore to the proposal of our guides; and that the more readily, because we wished, before Sunday, to escape from the burning desert of the 'Arabah.

Accordingly at ten minutes past 9 o'clock we again mounted; and aided by the bright moonlight, descended the stony slope which skirts the western base of the mountains. All was still; no one was allowed to talk or smoke; even the tread of the camels seemed more noiseless. A man on foot led the way; but he sometimes missed the path among the rocks, which the more sagacious camels readily recovered. Our object was to strike obliquely across the 'Arabah to the fountain el-Weibeh. Here was no path; the usual route from the pass er-Rŭbâ'y to Hebron leads by el-Weibeh; but that from Nemela crosses to the fountain el-Khŭrâr further north. Our guides took the present course, partly in accordance with our wish to visit el-Weibeh; and partly as a blind in case we should be pursued. Our general course was now about N.W. by W. After an hour we left the stones, and struck out upon the gravelly desert plain, intersected by sandy Wadys with shrubs.

We were in doubt at the time whether we did not pass to the northward of 'Ain el-Buweirideh; but a bearing which we took next morning, served to show the contrary. After crossing several deep gullies running in a westerly direction, we struck at 12½ o'clock a large and deep Wady called es-Sikâkîn, and descending into its bed, followed it for some time. It runs N.W. obviously to join Wady el-Jeib; and breaks through a range of gravel hills, one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height, extending from E. to W. across the

'Arabah. Having passed these hills, we left the Wady and kept along their northern base until 1½ o'clock. The moon had now gone down; we therefore stopped, and spreading our canvass and carpets on the sand, lay down to rest, and slept for three hours peacefully and sweetly.

MOUNTAINS OF EDOM.

We had thus left behind us the mountains of Edom, which we had seen in part; and we should have been glad, had time and circumstances permitted us to see more. The structure of the chain, where we saw it, has already been described; at the base low hills of limestone or argillaceous rock; then the lofty masses of porphyry constituting the body of the mountain; above these, sandstone broken up into irregular ridges and grotesque groups of cliffs; and again further back and higher than all, long elevated ridges of limestone without precipices. East of all these, stretches off indefinitely the high plateau of the great eastern desert. We estimated the height of the porphyry cliffs at about 2000 feet above the 'Arabah; the elevation of Wady Mûsa above the same is perhaps 2000 or 2200 feet; while the limestone ridges further back probably do not fall short of 3000 feet. The whole breadth of the mountainous tract between the 'Arabah and the eastern desert above, does not exceed fifteen or twenty geographical miles.

The character of these mountains is quite different from those on the west of the 'Arabah. The latter, which seemed to be not more than two thirds as high, are wholly desert and sterile; while these on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The Wadys

too are full of trees and shrubs and flowers; while the eastern and higher parts are extensively cultivated and yield good crops. The general appearance of the soil is not unlike that around Hebron; though the face of the country is very different. It is indeed the region of which Isaac said to his son Esau: "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above."[1]

This tract of mountains, south of the district of Kerak (the ancient country of Moab), and separated from the latter by the Wady el-Ahsy, is at the present day spoken of as divided into two districts; though we did not learn that this arises from any regulation of the government. The northern bears the name of Jebâl, "Mountains;" beginning at Wady el-Ahsy and terminating towards the south, according to Burckhardt, at Wady el-Ghuweir.[2] Yet the southern boundary would seem not to be very definitely assigned; for esh-Shôbek, although it lies south of that Wady, was sometimes spoken of to us, as belonging to Jebâl. The largest place in Jebâl is Tŭfîleh.

South of Wady el-Ghuweir follows the district esh-Shérah; extending, so far as we could learn, indefinitely towards 'Akabah on the south, and including properly Shôbek, Wady Mûsa, Ma'ân, el-Humeiyimeh, and other places.[3]

[1] Gen. xxvii. 39.; comp. vs. 27, 28.

[2] Travels, p. 410. — This name corresponds to the ancient Hebrew *Gebal* (גְּבַל) and the Roman *Gebalene*, which Eusebius and Jerome describe as a part of Idumea, and sometimes put for Idumea itself. Ps. lxxxiii. 8. Onomast. arts. *Idumea*, *Allus*, *Gethaim*, &c. Reland, Palæst. p. 82—84.

[3] The form esh-Sherah has no relation to the Hebrew Seir (שֵׂעִיר), the ancient name of this district. The Hebrew word means "hairy," and is written with 'Ain, which never falls away; while the Arabic name signifies "a tract, region." Compare Gesenius, Notes on Burckhardt, p. 1067. — Both Edrîsi and Abulfeda apply the name esh-Sherah to all the mountains south of Kerak as far as to Ailah; Edrîsi par Jaubert, i. pp. 337, 338. Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed Köhler, p. 13. Tab. Arab. ed. Hudson, p. 20.

The region el-Hismeh, the country of the Ma'âz mentioned above, was here also described as a sandy tract with mountains around it on the east of 'Akabah; but not itself a mountain nor a separate district, as reported by Burckhardt. Yet the Arabs would be very likely in pointing out the adjacent mountains to speak of them as Jebel Hismeh or Tûr Hismeh; although all our guides, both of the 'Amrân from 'Akabah and of the Haweitât from near Ma'ân, uniformly denied the existence of any such name as applied to a mountain.[1]

The chief tribe of Bedawîn in the district of Jebâl are the Hejâya. Besides these, there is also a branch of the Ka'âbineh, who dwell in the region of Wady el-Ahsy, and sow near a well called el-Malîh. They were now at enmity with the Jehâlin; although their relatives west of the Dead Sea are the allies of the latter tribe, and intermarry with them.

In the district esh-Sherah, the Bedawîn are all Haweitât, with a few allies. This is an extensive tribe, broken up into several subdivisions, and dwelling in various and distant parts of the country. Those found in these mountains are divided into the clans Abu Rashîd, el-Jâzy, el-Bedûn, and el-'Alawîn. The last properly occupy the region towards 'Akabah; the Bedûn, as we have seen, pasture around Wady Mûsa. The Sheikh Abu Jâzy of Laborde[2], appears to have been the head of the division el-Jâzy; we did not learn the limits where they pasture.

The proper country of the Heweitât Abu Rashîd, is around Shôbek; but they were said to be now in the region of Kerak. The spirited Sheikh Muhammed Abu Rashîd, to whose fidelity and perseverance Irby

[1] Burckhardt, pp. 433. 440. 444. Laborde, Voyage, p. 63. (218.) Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 256.

[2] The Ebn Jarzee of Irby and Mangles, p. 391.

and Mangles and their companions were indebted for their visit to Wady Mûsa, was the head of this division.[1] He is dead, and his clan were now governed by his sons. — Closely allied with these are the 'Ammârîn, who are not themselves Haweitât, but a respectable independent tribe; although they acknowledge the Sheikh of the Abu Rashîd as their head. They live in the northern part of esh-Sherah, and to them belongs 'Ain el-Buweirideh in the 'Arabah.

The Haweitât live not only among these mountains, and along the adjacent eastern desert, but also around Muweilih and in Egypt; and some are found near Gaza. The head Sheikh over them all is Mansûr Ibn Shedîd, who resides at Cairo, and has been already mentioned.[2] Even the Haweitât who dwell here and at Muweilih, are registered among the Arabs of Egypt. —The Bedawîn throughout these districts, and also further north, were said to be now in a state of subjection to the Egyptian government and pay an annual tribute. That of the Beni Sŭkhr, the preceding year, was one camel for every two tents.

In both Jebâl and esh-Sherah the Fellâhîn also are half Bedawîn; inhabiting the few villages, but dwelling likewise partly in tents, like the Ta'âmirah near Bethlehem. Such are in esh-Sherah, the Refâi'a, living in and around Dibdiba; the Liyâthineh in and around Eljy; the Rawâjifeh at a ruined place of the same name; and also the Hebâhibeh and Beni Na'îm dwelling wholly in tents. Besides these, Burckhardt mentions also the Sa'ûdîyeh and the Ja'îlât.[3] The Fellâhîn of the Sherah are in subjection to the government, pay tribute, and furnish supplies of grain. — In Jebâl the Fellâhîn are in like manner divided into several tribes; but we did not succeed in obtaining their

[1] Travels, p. 383. seq. Legh, May 23d. Burckhardt writes the name incorrectly, Ibn Rashid, p. 417. So too Mr. Legh.

[2] See the account of his being appealed to as a peace-maker, Vol. I. p. 207.

[3] Travels, pp. 419. 434.

names. Burckhardt mentions the Jawâbireh as living in Tŭfîleh, the Beni Hamîdeh in el-Busaireh, and the Melâhîn at Shôbek.[1] The Fellâhs of Jebâl were at this time still in rebellion against the government; and during the last year, Sheikh Sa'îd of Gaza, with the Jehâlîn and Tiyâhah, had spent two or three months in trying to subdue them. They easily got possession of the villages; but the inhabitants betook themselves to the fastnesses of the mountains, where they could not be approached. — It was for this reason that our Jehâlîn guides would not venture to take us to Shôbek.[2]

Such are the races who now hold in possession the ancient territory of Edom. This is not the occasion to dwell upon the course of events during the many intervening centuries; yet a few notices of the leading changes which have here taken place, will serve to throw light upon the history and character of that ancient city, whose remains now constitute the chief attraction for the traveller among these mountains.

In the times of Scripture history, the mountains east of the Dead Sea were comprised in the territory of Moab; the northern border of which, towards the Amorites, was ultimately the brook Arnon, now Wady el-Môjib.[3] The southern border of Moab appears to have been the brook Zered; at least this is described as the limit of the wanderings of the children of Israel in the desert, and the point where they passed over into the territory of Moab, a kindred people.[4] The features of the country seem to show, that this was probably the Wady el-Ahsy, which now separates the district of Kerak from Jebâl, and indeed forms a natural division between the country on the north and on

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c. pp. 405. 407. 416.

[2] See p. 504. above.

[3] Num. xxi. 13. 26. Judg. xi. 18.

[4] Deut. ii. 13, 14. 18. Num. xxi. 12.

the south. Taking its rise near the castle el-Ahsy on the route of the Syrian Haj, upon the high eastern desert[1], it breaks down through the whole chain of mountains to near the S. E. corner of the Dead Sea, forming for a part of the way a deep chasm. On the north, the mountains of Moab are high, and terminate here in a bluff near Khanzîreh, which has several times been mentioned, as one of our landmarks. Further south the mountains are much lower, until they again become high beyond Wady el-Ghuweir. — The Israelites doubtless passed Wady el-Ahsy (Zered) near its upper end, where it would present no difficulty.

On the south of Moab, Mount Seir, or the territory of Edom, extended to Elath on the Red Sea.[2] To this region Esau retired from the face of his brother Jacob; and his descendants are said to have succeeded the Horites in Mount Seir, "when they had destroyed them and dwelt in their stead."[3] The rivalry of the patriarchs Esau and Jacob, was transmitted to their posterity. When the Israelites, after many years of wandering, arrived a second time at Kadesh, they asked leave of the Edomites to pass through their country by the "King's highway," (probably Wady el-Ghuweir,) in order to reach Palestine from the east. Leave was refused; and the Israelites were thus compelled to return through the 'Arabah to Elath (Ailah, 'Akabah), and thence pass up through the mountains to the eastern desert, so as to make the circuit of the land of Edom.[4]

In later times Saul made war upon the Edomites; David subdued the whole country; and Solomon made Ezion-geber a naval station, whence he des-

[1] Burckhardt, pp. 400, 401.

[2] Deut. ii. 1—8. The Israelites were compelled to proceed quite to Elath, in order to pass around the land of Edom.

[3] Gen. xxxvi. 6—8. Deut. ii. 12. 22.

[4] Num. xx. 14—21.; xxi. 4. Deut. ii. 1—8.

patched fleets to Ophir.[1] After various struggles, this people succeeded in the time of king Joram in making themselves again independent of Judah;[2] for although Amaziah made war upon them and captured one of their chief cities, Sela (Rock, Petra), changing its name to Joktheel; and although Uzziah his successor "built Elath and restored it to Judah";[3] yet these appear to have been only temporary conquests. Under Ahaz, the Edomites made inroads upon Judea and carried away captives; and about the same time Rezin king of Syria "drove the Jews from Elath," of which the Edomites now took permanent possession.[4] All this time their metropolis appears to have been Bozrah.[5]

From the prophetical books of the Old Testament we also know, that while the kingdom of Judah was fast verging to ruin, that of Edom became prosperous; and joining apparently the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, aided in the overthrow of the Jewish state. In a like degree the national hatred of the Jews against Edom became still more inflamed; and the prophets uttered the strongest denunciations against that land.[6] During the Jewish exile, as it would appear, the Edomites pressed forward into the south of Palestine, of which they took possession as far as to Hebron; here, as we have already seen, they were subsequently attacked and subdued by the Maccabees, and compelled to adopt the laws and customs of the

[1] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Chr. xviii. 11—13. 1 Kings, xi. 15. 1 Kings, ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.

[2] 2 Kings, viii. 20—22. 2 Chr. xxi. 8—10.

[3] 2 Kings, xiv. 7. 2 Chr. xxv. 11, 12. 14. 2 Chr. xxvi. 2.

[4] 2 Chr. xxviii. 17. 2 Kings, xvi. 6. Keri. Here the Keri אֲרוֹמִים *Edomites* is to be read instead of *Syrians*. The change doubtless arose out of the close resemblance of the Hebrew ד and ר.

[5] Is. xxxiv. 6. lxiii. 1. Jer. xlix. 13. 22. Am. i. 12.

[6] Ps. cxxxvii. 7. Obad. 1. seq. Jer. xlix. 7. seq. Ezek. xxv. 12—14. xxxii. 29. xxxv. 3—15.

Jews.[1] Idumea, which name now included also the southern part of Judea, was henceforth governed by a succession of Jewish prefects. One of these, Antipater, an Idumean by birth, by the favour of Cæsar, was made procurator of all Judea; and his son, Herod the Great, became king over the Jews, including Idumea.[2] Just before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, bands of Idumeans threw themselves into the city, which they aided to fill with robbery and violence.[3] From this time onward the Edomites, as a people, vanish from the pages of history; and in the next century Ptolemy limits their territory to the region west of the Dead Sea.[4]

But while the Edomites had thus been extending their limits in the northwest, they had in turn been driven out from the southern portion of their own territory, and from their chief city itself, by the Nabatheans, an Arabian tribe, the descendants of Nabaioth the eldest son of Ishmael.[5] This nomadic people had spread themselves over the whole of desert Arabia, from the Euphrates to the borders of Palestine, and finally to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea.[6] At what period they thus supplanted the Edomites, in their ancient possessions, is unknown; but so early as the time of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, who died 301 B. C., that prince, after having seized upon Syria and Palestine, sent two expeditions against the Nabatheans in Petra; the first commanded by Athe-

[1] See above, p. 424.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 1. 3. ibid. 8. 5. xv. 7. 9. xvii. 11. 4. — Hence Roman writers often speak of the whole of Palestine under the name of Idumea; see Reland, Palæst. pp. 48, 49.

[3] Jos. B. J. iv. 4. 1. 5. vii. 8. 1.

[4] Ptolem. v. 16. Ἰδουμαία, ἥτις ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀπὸ δύσεως τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. Reland, Palæst. p. 462.

[5] Gen. xxv. 13. Isa. lx. 7.

[6] Joseph. Ant. i. 12. 4. Οὗτοι παῖδες Ἰσμαήλου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι, Ναβατηνὴ τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες, εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἳ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος κ. τ. λ. Hieron. Quæst. in Gen. xxv. 13. Diod. Sic. xix. 94. See more on the Nabatheans, in Reland, Pal. p. 90. seq.

næus, and the second by his own son, Demetrius.[1] At this time they were still essentially nomadic, and had apparently no king; but they had already begun to engage in commerce, and seem gradually to have become more fixed in their habits. In this way, during the following centuries, they grew up into the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, occupying very nearly the same territory which was comprised within the limits of ancient Edom. It probably took this appellation from the name of its metropolis Petra. A king of this country, Aretas, is mentioned as contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, just before the time of the Maccabees, about 166 B. C.[2]

From this time onward to the destruction of Jerusalem, the sovereigns of Arabia Petræa, who usually bore the name of Aretas or Obodas, came into frequent contact with the Jews and Romans both in war and peace. The country and people are often mentioned by Josephus.[3] Their sovereigns appear to have been in a measure dependent on the Roman emperors, though not directly subject to the Roman power. Obodas, six or eight years before the Christian era, was a man of indolent habits, and left the whole management of affairs to a favourite named Syllæus.[4] This latter demanded of Herod the Great the hand of his sister Salome; but his suit not being successful, he appears to have become inimical towards Herod, and

1 Diod. Sic. xix. 94—98.

2 2 Macc. v. 8.

3 Alexander Jannæus was defeated by an Obodas about 93 B. C. Antiq. xiii. 13. 5. B. J. i. 4. 4. Antiochus Dionysius of Syria was killed in a battle in Arabia, and Aretas (apparently the victor) became king in Damascus; Ant. xiii. 15. 1, 2. B. J. i. 4. 7, 8. In the year 63 B. C. Scaurus, a general of Pompey, overran Arabia as far as to Petra, and then made peace with Aretas; Ant. xiv. 5. 1. Dio Cass. xxxvii. 15. Two years later, about 61 B. C. Antipater induced Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannæus, to take refuge with Aretas in Petra; Ant. xiv. 1. 4. B. J. i. 6. 2. In the early part of Herod's reign, the kingdom of Arabia was held by Malchus; Ant. xv. 6. 2.

4 Jos. Ant. xvi. 7. 6. Strabo, xvi. 4. 23, 24.

accused him some years afterwards before Augustus at Rome of hostilities and murders in Arabia. Herod however was able to turn the scale in his own favour, and Syllæus was condemned to fine and punishment.[1] Meantime Obodas was dead, and had been succeeded by Æneas, who took the name of Aretas, and was at length confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus; although the latter had at first intended to bestow Arabia on Herod.[2]

It was during the reign of the same Obodas, three or four years before the Christian era, that the celebrated expedition was sent by Augustus from Egypt into Arabia under Ælius Gallus, the friend of Strabo, and then governor of Egypt. After various hindrances, Gallus arrived with his forces by water at Leuke Kome[3], the emporium of the Nabatheans. Here he was kindly received by order of king Obodas and his favourite Syllæus, as allies of the Romans; and remained a summer and winter to refresh his troops, who were suffering from disease. He afterwards marched into the interior, but without visiting Petra; and after great delay and difficulty, arising from the bad faith and treachery of Syllæus, he returned through Arabia Felix.[4]

The next Arabian king of whom we have any notice, is the Aretas mentioned by Paul as lord of Damascus, which he then governed by an ethnarch, about A. D. 38 or 39.[5] Josephus gives of him the fur-

[1] Jos. Ant. xvi. 7. 6. ib. 9. 2—4. ib. 10. 8, 9. B. J. i. 28. 6. ib. 29. 3.

[2] Jos. Ant. xvi. 9. 4. ib. 10. 9. xvii. 3. 2.

[3] Λευκὴ Κώμη, *Albus Pagus*, Strabo, xvi. 4. 24. Arrian. Periplus Maris Erythr. ed Hudson, p. 11. Probably at or near Muweilih, near the mouth of the Gulf of 'Akabah, on the eastern coast. This place was already known to the Romans in the fifth and sixth centuries as Mohaila; see Notit. Dignitat. ed Panciroli, p. 216. Reland, Palæst. p. 230. See in general Vincent's Commerce and Navig. of the Ancients, vol. ii. pp. 258, 259. 295. *Lond.* 1807, 4.

[4] Strabo, xvi. 4. 22—24. *Dio.* Cass. liii. 29.

[5] 2 Cor. xi. 32. Comp. Acts, ix. 24, 25.

ther account, that Herod Antipas having espoused his daughter, repudiated her in order to marry Herodias; a step for which he was reproved by John the Baptist.[1] Upon this, Aretas made war against Herod and totally destroyed his army; a judgment upon Herod, as many of the serious-minded Jews regarded it, for his murder of John. Vitellius, then proconsul of Syria, received orders to chastise Aretas; but while he was preparing for this expedition, and had sent forward some of his troops, news came of the death of Tiberius; upon which he recalled his troops, and placing them in winter quarters, left the province. It was probably at this period, under the weak reign of Caligula, that Aretas, taking advantage of this supineness, made an incursion and seized the city of Damascus, which he held for a time in the manner related by Paul. It could have been, however, only a temporary possession; and the fact is not mentioned by any other writer.[2]

The nominal independence of the kingdom of Arabia, continued for some thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Under the reign of Trajan, about A. D. 105, it was overrun and conquered by Cornelius Palma, then governor of Syria, and formally annexed to the Roman empire.[3]

The inhabitants of this region had early become extensively engaged in commerce, as the carriers of the rich products of the East between the Red Sea and the ports of the Phenicians. In the first expedition sent by Antigonus, the men of Petra were absent at a mart, and Athenæus found in Petra a large quan-

[1] Matt. xiv. 3, 4. Mark, vi. 17, 18. Luke, iii. 19.

[2] For a list of the sovereigns of Arabia Petræa, collected from Josephus, see Vincent's Commerce and Navig. of the Ancients, vol. ii. p. 272, seq.

[3] Dio. Cass. lxviii. 14. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον (A. U. C. 858) καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποίησατο. Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8. Eutropius, viii. 2. 9.

tity of frankincense and myrrh, and five hundred talents of silver.[1] Strabo relates, that the merchandise of India and Arabia was transported on camels from Leuke Kome to Petra, and thence to Rhinocolura (el-'Arîsh), and other places.[2] Under the Romans, this trade appears to have become still more prosperous. The country was rendered more accessible, and the passage of merchants and caravans facilitated, by military ways, and by the establishment of military posts to keep in check the predatory hordes of the neighbouring deserts. One great road, of which traces still remain, had its direction northwards from Ailah to Petra, and thence to Damascus; from Petra a branch went off on the west of the Dead Sea, to Jerusalem, Askelon, and other parts of the Mediterranean.[3] A line of military stations was established along this road, which served to protect it against incursions from the eastern desert; and some of these became the sites of towns.[4]

Early in the fourth century, the name of Palestine was occasionally extended so as to include this whole region[5]; and in the beginning of the fifth century, we find introduced a new division of Judea and the adjacent countries, into *Palæstina Prima, Secunda, et Tertia.* The first comprised Jerusalem and the whole of Judea

[1] Diod. Sic. xix. 95. See above, pp. 558, 559.

[2] Strabo, xvi. 4. 18. 23, 24.

[3] See the Peutinger Tables; and compare Rennell's Compar. Geogr. of Western Asia, i. p. 89. seq. Ritter, Gesch. des Petr. Arabiens, in Abhandl. der Berl. Acad. 1824. Hist. Phil. Kl. p. 204. Traces of this ancient road were found by Laborde south of Wady Mûsa; Voyage, p. 62. (213.) North of Wady Mûsa its remains are in many places visible; see Burckhardt, pp. 374. 419. Irby and Mangles, pp. 371. 377. 460. The latter travellers saw several mile-stones of the time of Trajan, and one of Marcus Aurelius; p. 461.

[4] Thus in the "Notitiæ Dignitatum," in the fifth or sixth century, we find "equites" stationed at Mohila, Aila, Hauana, Zodocatha, Arindela, Areopolis, &c. The Peutinger Tables have Hauara and Zadagatta on the great road between Aila and Petra. See Notitiæ Dignitat. ed. Panciroli, pp. 215, 216. 219, 220. Reland, Palæst. pp. 230, 231. Ritter, l. c.

[5] Onomast. arts. *Ailah*, *Arcem*, *Cades*, &c.

on the south, and as far north as to Samaria; the second included Scythopolis and the north of Palestine; while the third comprehended the countries on the east and south of the Dead Sea, formerly belonging to Arabia Petræa, and extended also across the 'Arabah to the west, so as to take in Beersheba and Elusa.[1] This appears to have been at the same time an ecclesiastical division; the three Palestines had each a metropolitan see, at first Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and Petra; and when at the council of Chalcedon Jerusalem was erected into a patriarchate, these three provinces were assigned as its territory.[2] Long before this time, therefore, the Christian religion had extended itself throughout the region; and it is indeed to the acts and records of councils in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and to the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* of the same or a later age, that we are indebted for our chief knowledge of this country during those periods, and for the preservation of the names of many episcopal cities from the oblivion, in which they must otherwise have been ingulfed.

How far Christianity had spread among the nomadic tribes of the eastern deserts, or whether like those aroun Sinai, they still retained the worship of the heavenly bodies, we have no means of ascertaining. But before the middle of the seventh century, the religion of the false prophet began to be propa-

[1] This division is first found in a law promulgated in A. D. 409. Leg. iii. Cod. Theodos. de Erog. Milit. Annon. "Limitanei milites et possessorum utilitate conspecta per primam, secundam, et tertiam Palestinam hujuscemodi norma processit." Reland, Palæst. p. 205. seq.— Palestina Tertia was sometimes also called *Salutaris;* Reland, ib. p. 206.

[2] See above, pp. 23, 24. This division of Palestine runs through all the ecclesiastical Notitiæ; Reland, Pal. pp. 214—226. The name Arabia was applied, at this period, to the country north of the third Palestine, including Medaba, Heshbon, Rabbath-Ammon or Philadelphia, Gerasa, Bostra, &c. Reland, ib. pp. 217. 219. 223. 226. Yet the usage was not constant; and some writers speak of the cities of the third Palestine as still belonging to Arabia; so Sozomen, Hist. Ecc. vii. 15. Reland, ib. p. 613.

gated by the sword; and soon united all the Arab hordes, however distinct in other respects, into one great community of religious zealots. In A. D. 630 the prophet himself pressed forwards against the Roman border as far as to Tebûk; and this was the signal for several of the Christian communities of Arabia Petræa, to purchase from the conqueror the enjoyment of their privileges by the payment of tribute. Among these was Ailah.[1] This example appears to have been generally followed; for four years later (A. D. 634), as the tide of conquest continued to roll on, the see of Bozrah in the north made peace in the same manner with Abu Bekr, after the battle of Yarmûk.[2] In A. D. 636, as we have seen, Jerusalem itself submitted to the Muhammedan sway.

With this conquest, the commercial importance and prosperity of the former Arabia Petræa fell into decay. Muhammedan empires arose and flourished in southern Arabia, Syria, and Egypt. Lying between all these, this country retained no independent existence; the course of trade became diverted into other channels; the great roads of former communication were abandoned; and the whole region was at length given up to the nomadic hordes of the adjacent deserts, whose descendants still hold it in possession.[3] From the Muhammedan conquest to the time of the crusades, not one ray of historical light falls upon this forgotten land![4]

[1] Abulfed Ann. Muslemit. ed. Adler, 1789, tom. i. p. 171. See above, Vol. I. pp. 251, 252. Abulfeda mentions Ailah and two other places now unknown. There exists a pretended *Diploma Securitatis Ailensibus*, professing to be a patent of Muhammed himself in favour of the Christians; see Gibbon, chap. l. note under A. D. 630.

[2] Abulfedæ Annal. ib. pp. 223. 243. 245. Ritter, Gesch. des. Petr. Arab. l. c. p. 219.

[3] Ritter, ibid. p. 209.

[4] Unless it be in the two Latin ecclesiastical Notitiæ, which refer apparently to the centuries before the crusades, and in which the name of Petra, the former metropolitan see, is no longer found; Reland, Pal. pp. 223. 226.

The invasion of the crusaders let in, for the moment, a few faint gleams upon the otherwise total darkness. During the twelfth century they penetrated at different times into the regions east and south of the Dead Sea, and held portions of them for a season in possession. At this time the whole land east of the Jordan was known to the crusaders as Arabia; the northern part around Bozrah they called Arabia Prima; the region around Kerak, Arabia Secunda; and that further south, Arabia Tertia or Syria Sobal.[1]

The first expedition took place under Baldwin I., in A. D. 1100.[2] Marching from Hebron around the south end of the Dead Sea and by Segor (Zoar), the forces of the crusaders came in five days through the mountains with great difficulty to Wady Mûsa, to which they already gave the name "Vallis Moysi."[3] It does not argue highly for their skill in biblical geography, that they took the adjacent mountain with the tomb of Aaron for Mount Sinai; and the brook which flows down the valley, for the water which came forth when Moses smote the rock.[4] From this valley, Albert of Aix relates, that they marched still one day further to a city called Susum; but as neither Fulcher of Chartres who was present, nor any other historian, mentions this further expedition, and the name of such

[1] See Jac. de Vitr. c. 96. Also for Arabia Prima, ibid. c. 47.; for Arabia Secunda, Will. Tyr. xi. 26. xv. 21.; for Arabia Tertia and Syria Sobal, Will. Tyr. xi. 26. xvi. 6. Jac. de Vitr. 28. See generally, Marin. Sanut. p. 244. Wilken, Gesch. der Kreuzz. ii. p. 616. iii. i. p. 210.

[2] See generally in the Gesta Dei: Alb. Aq. vii. 41, 42. Fulcher Carn. 23. p. 405. Guibert, vii. 36. p. 555. Anon. p. 518. Will. Tyr. x. 8. Wilken, ib. ii. p. 88, 89.

[3] Gesta Dei, p. 581. Will. Tyr. xvi. 6.

[4] Guibert and Fulcher, l. c. Guibert, however, gives his own opinion, that the mountain is Mount Hor. Fulcher prides himself that at this brook "equos adaquavi meos." The same error, however, goes back to the time of Eusebius and Jerome; see Onomast. art. *Or.* Being once adopted by the crusaders, it led them afterwards to take Ailah for Elim with the twelve fountains and seventy palm-trees (Will. Tyr. xi. 29.); and also compelled them to look for and find the ancient Petra further towards the north, at Kerak.

a city is elsewhere unknown, the testimony of this writer, who was not an eye-witness, seems to be of doubtful authority. Fulcher relates, that after three days spent at Wady Mûsa, they returned by way of Hebron to Jerusalem.

In the second expedition, which took place under the same king in A. D. 1115, Baldwin appears to have crossed the Jordan and marched through the whole length of Arabia Secunda. He was accompanied only by two hundred knights and four hundred footmen; and with this small force he built up in Arabia Tertia, in eighteen days, a former strong castle upon a steep isolated hill, in the midst of a region fertile in corn, oil, and wine. To this fortress, the first erected by the Latins east of the Jordan, he gave the name of Mons Regalis (Mount Royal). Arabian writers speak of it as Shôbek, which name it bears to the present day.[1] — In the very next year, A. D. 1116, king Baldwin revisited his fortress with two hundred followers; and advanced afterwards as far as to Ailah on the Red Sea; of which place he appears to have taken possession. He would have proceeded to the convent of Mount Sinai; but was dissuaded at the entreaty of the monks.[2]

For the space of twenty years, Shôbek continued to be the chief, if not the only fortress of the Latins in this quarter. The lands east of the Dead Sea around Kerak, had been granted as a fief to the knight Romanus of Puy; who was however again dispossessed

[1] Alb. Aq. xii. 21. Fulch. Carn. 42. p. 426. Gesta Dei, p. 611. Will. Tyr. xi. 26. Jac. de Vitr. 28. Wilken, ib. il. p. 402. — See, too, Bohaeddin, Vit. Salad. pp. 38. 54. Abulfed. Annal. Musl. ad A. H. 567. Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 88. Schultens, Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Sjaubachum.*

[2] Alb. Aq. xii. 21. Fulch. Carn. 43. p. 216. Gesta Dei, p. 611. Will. Tyr. xi. 29. Wilken, ib. p. 403. See also above, Vol. I. pp. 187. 252.—Albert of Aix seems to confound these two expeditions of Baldwin; and makes him visit the Red Sea with only a company of sixty knights.

of them, as well as his son Rudolph; in consequence of a supposed conspiracy against king Fulco about A. D. 1132.[1] They were now bestowed upon Paganus (Payen), a nobleman who had been the king's cup-bearer. Three or four years afterwards, he erected the strong fortress of Kerak, on the site of a former city which was held to be the ancient Petra.[2] This castle and that of Shôbek continued for many years greatly to harass the Saracens; their possessors plundered the rich caravans which passed on the neighbouring route between Damascus and Egypt or Arabia; and were able to cut off all military communication through the region. They were therefore exposed to repeated assaults from the Saracen armies, both on the side of Syria and that of Egypt.[3]

About A. D. 1144, in the first year of his reign, king Baldwin III., being yet a minor, made an expedition by way of Hebron to Wady Mûsa, in order to recover a certain castle bearing the name of "Vallis Moysi," which had been seized by the Saracens with the aid of the inhabitants of the region. On the approach of the king, the latter betook themselves into the castle, which was in a strong position. The Franks assailed it with stones and arrows for several days without success. They then began to destroy the numerous olive-trees, which constituted the chief produce of the region; to save which the inhabitants immediately surrendered the fortress. I know not what castle this can have been, unless perhaps the one we saw upon the ledge of rocks north-east of Wady Mûsa.[4]

[1] Will. Tyr. xiv. 15, 21. Wilken, ib. ii. pp. 608, 609. 616.

[2] Will. Tyr. xiv. 21. xxii. 28. Wilken, ib. p. 616.

[3] Bohaedd. Vit. Saladin, pp. 58, 59. One or both of these fortresses were fiercely assaulted in the years 1172, 1182, 1183, 1184, &c. See generally Wilken, ib. ii. p. 616. iii. ii. pp. 150. 206. 236. 246, &c.

[4] Will. Tyr. xvi. 6. Wilken, ib. iii. i. 208. See above, p. 513.

In A. D. 1182, Rainald of Chatillon, then lord of Kerak, made his unsuccessful expedition against Ailah; and in both the following years (1183, 1184) sustained the terrific assaults of Saladin against Kerak itself.[1] Yet that Sultan, the year after his recapture of Jerusalem, became also master (in 1188) both of Kerak and of Shôbek, each after a long siege.[2] Thus terminated the dominion of the Franks over this territory. The fortress of Kerak continued to be a stronghold of the Saracens; and fifty years later, its Emîr David was able to seize for a time upon Jerusalem.[3]

From that time onward until the present century, thick darkness again rests upon the land of Edom. Volney seems first to have had his attention drawn towards it, by the reports of the Arabs around Gaza, that on the south-east of the Dead Sea, within a space of three days' journey, there were upwards of thirty ruined towns absolutely deserted; in some of which were large edifices with columns.[4] In A. D. 1806, Seetzen penetrated from Damascus as far as to Kerak, and thence travelled around the south end of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem; but he did not enter Edom.[5] In March 1807 the same traveller went from Hebron on the road to Wady Mûsa as far as to the hill Madŭrah not far north of el-Weibeh; and while here, an Arab from esh-Sherah described to him Wady Mûsa and its remains, and gave him an extensive list of the various towns and ruins in that region.[6] But it was reserved

[1] See above, Vol. I. pp. 237. 252. Will. Tyr. xxii. 28—30. Bohaedd. pp. 58, 59. Abulf. Ann. Musl. ad A. H. 580. Wilken, ib. iii. ii. pp. 236. 246.

[2] Gauf. Vinisauf, i. 15. Bohaedd. pp. 88. 90. Abulf. Annal. ad A. H. 584. Wilken, ibid. iv. pp. 244, 245. 247.

[3] See above, Vol. I. p. 470.

[4] Volney, Voyage en Syr. c. 31. tom. ii. p. 317. Par. 1787.

[5] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 433. seq. Seetzen heard at Kerak the name *Bedra* as of a place a day's journey further south; ib. p. 434. But he admits, that this was told him only in reply to a direct inquiry on his part after Petra; and in the absence of all further testimony, no weight can be laid upon this information. See the remarks in Vol. I. p. 165.

[6] Ibid. xvii. pp. 133—139.

for Burckhardt, first to traverse the country in 1812 from Kerak to the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel, and to explore the wonders of Wady Mûsa. He was followed in the same direction in 1818, by Messrs. Bankes, Legh, Irby and Mangles. Ten years later, Laborde and Linant first penetrated in 1828 from 'Akabah to Wady Mûsa; returning by a more easterly route through the mountains.

A few words respecting the ancient towns whose sites have been found in this region, may not be out of place here, preparatory to a more particular notice of the metropolis Petra.

South of Wady el-Môjib, and six or eight miles N. of Kerak, are the now unimportant ruins called Rabba, about half an hour in circuit, exhibiting the remains of a temple and several Corinthian columns.[1] This unquestionably was the site of the Rabbath Moab of the early centuries, the Areopolis of the Greeks, an episcopal see of the Third Palestine; which after the destruction of Petra became the metropolitan city of that region. In still earlier times it was the Ar of Moab, mentioned in the Old Testament.[2]

In Kerak itself we have the ancient Kir Moab of the Old Testament; which already in the Chaldee version and the Greek of the Apocrypha, appears in the form Kerakka Moab and Characa.[3] Under this

[1] Seetzen, ibid. xviii. p. 433. Burckhardt, p. 377. Irby and Mangles, p. 456. seq. According to Burckhardt, the distance from Kerak is three hours or more. Irby and Mangles give it at about two hours.

[2] Isa. xv. 1. Num. xxi. 28. Hieron. Comm. in Jes. xv. 1. "Hujus metropolis civitas Ar, quæ hodie ex Hebræo et Græco sermone composita *Areopolis* nuncupatur," &c. Onomast. art. *Moab*: "Porro ipsa civitas (Areopolis), quasi proprium vocabulum possidet Rabbath Moab, id est, grandis Moab." So too Steph. Byzant. See Reland, Palæst. pp. 577. 957. Gesenius, Comm. zu Jesa, xv. 1. For its episcopal character, see the ecclesiastical Notitiæ, Reland, pp. 215. 217. compared with pp. 223. 226. Le Quien, Oriens Christ. iii. p. 734.

[3] Isa. xv. 1. Heb. קִיר מוֹאָב; Chald. קַרְכָּא דְמוֹאָב; both signifying *wall*, or *fortress*. 2 Macc. xii. 17. Χάρακα.

latter name, more or less corrupted, it is mentioned by Ptolemy and other writers both ecclesiastical and profane, down to the centuries before the crusades.[1] The crusaders found the name extant, and erected the fortress still known as Kerak. But their knowledge of ancient geography was here also at fault; and as in the west they found the site of Beersheba at Beit Jibrîn, so here they held Kerak to have been once the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa, and gave it therefore the name of Petra Deserti.[2] They established here in A. D. 1167, a Latin bishopric of Petra, which continued for some years; and the name and title remains in the Greek church until the present day.[3]

In Tŭfîleh we may probably recognise the ancient Tophel, once mentioned in the Old Testament in connexion with the 'Arabah. The radical letters and the signification are the same both in Hebrew and Arabic.[4]

The place el-Busaireh, two hours and three quarters south of Tŭfîleh, seems to bear in its name decisive tokens of antiquity. It is now a village of about fifty houses situated on a hill, on the top of which is a small castle.[5] The Arabic form Busaireh is a diminutive of Busrah, the present Arabic name of Bozrah in Hauran, the Bostra of the Greeks and Romans; which latter has been regarded as a city of the Edom-

[1] Ptol. iv. 17. Reland, Pal. pp. 463. 705. Gesenius, Comm. zu Jes. xv. 1.—For the ecclesiastical Notitiæ, see Reland, pp. 215. 217. Of the two later Latin Notitiæ, one has Karach and the other Kara; ib. pp. 223. 226. Burckhardt mistook this last, Kara, for a different name and a distinct place; which he then finds in el-Kerr, a site with ruins south of Wady el-Ahsy; Travels, p. 401.

[2] Will. Tyr. xi. 26. xv. 21. Jac. de Vitr. c. 96. Comp. above, p. 565. note [4]. This form of the name the crusaders took from the Vulgate, which in Isa. xvi. 1. reads "Petra deserti," instead of Sela.

[3] Will. Tyr. xx. 3. Jac. de Vitr. c. 56. Le Quien, Oriens Christ. iii. p. 1305. Burckhardt's Trav. p. 387. See above, p. 90.

[4] Deut. i. 1. The identity of Tophel and Tŭfîleh affords an easy explanation of this very difficult passage, to which I shall again recur. I am indebted for the suggestion to Prof. Hengstenberg of Berlin.

[5] Burckhardt's Travels, p. 407. Irby and Mangles, p. 443.

ites, though lying far beyond the limits of their territory.[1] But the name el-Busaireh affords reason to suppose, that another Bozrah lay here within the proper limits of Edom; and was for a time the capital of the country. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact, that in Scripture, Bozrah is so often coupled with the land of Edom itself; while the prophet Amos speaks of it expressly in connexion with the land of Teman or the South.[2] Further, both Eusebius and Jerome mention a Bozrah as existing in their day in the mountains of Idumea, distinct from the northern Bozrah.[3] In this way, as it seems to me, we are relieved from the incongruity, of supposing the chief city of the Edomites to have lain at the distance of several days' journey away from their territories.[4]

Proceeding further south, we find Ghŭrŭndel, the ancient Arindela, as already described.[5] — In Dhâna, a village visited by Burckhardt, on the declivity of a mountain north of Wady el-Ghuweir, we probably have the site of the ancient Thana or Thoana, assigned by Ptolemy to Arabia Petræa, and marked also apparently on the Peutinger Tables.[6] — Shôbek corresponds to no known ancient place; though we find in the Old Testament both Shobach and Shobek as the

[1] So Gesenius, Comm. zu Jes. xxxiv. 6. Lex. Hebr. art. בָּצְרָה. Rosenmüller, Bibl. Geogr. ii. ii. p. 23. seq. See Reland, Pal. p. 665. seq. Burckhardt, p. 226.

[2] Isa. xxxiv. 6. lxiii. 1. Jer. xlix. 13. 22. Am. i. 12. "But I will send a fire upon Teman, which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah."

[3] Onomast. art. *Bosor*. The conjecture of Burckhardt, that el-Busaireh is the ancient Psora, an episcopal see of the Third Palestine, rests on an error in one of the ecclesiastical Notitiæ, which reads "Mamo, Psora," in two words, where all the others read Mamopsora or Mamapson; Reland, p. 217., comp. pp. 215. 223. 226. See Burckhardt, p. 407.

[4] A Bozrah is once mentioned among the cities of Moab; Jer. xlviii. 24. This was not improbably the same; since the possession of particular cities often passed from one hand to another in the wars of adjacent tribes. See 2 Chr. xx. 23. Am. ii. 1. So too Sela, Isa. xvi. 1., comp. 2 K. xiv. 7. See Gesenius, l. c.

[5] See p. 496. above.

[6] Ptol. v. 17. Reland, p. 463. The Peutinger Tables have Thorma, probably a corruption. See Burckhardt, p. 410.

names of persons.[1] — Ma'ân, the well-known town on the route of the Syrian Haj, nearly east of Wady Mûsa, is with good reason assumed as the probable seat of the Maonites mentioned in the Scriptures.[2] Abulfeda describes Ma'ân (from Ibn Haukal) as inhabited by the Ommiades and their vassals.[3] — About six hours south of Ma'ân and Wady Mûsa, lies Ŭsdakah, a fine fountain, near which is a hill with extensive ruins of an ancient town, consisting of heaps of hewn stones. Both the name and situation correspond to the Zodocatha of the fifth century; which is also marked in the Peutinger Tables, under the form Zadagatta, at eighteen Roman miles south of Petra.[4]

One other town in this region, el-Humeiyimeh, is described by Abulfeda (quoting from Ibn Sa'îd) as the native place of the Abbassides. Its ruins still remain, and were visited by Laborde, on the plain east of the mountains, considerably south of the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel, and north of the head of Wady el-Ithm. The ruins are very considerable; but without any traces of architectural splendour. There was an aqueduct leading to it for a long distance from the north; and the place itself was full of cisterns, now broken and abandoned in the midst of a desert.[5]

[1] Shobach, שׁוֹבָךְ 2 Sam. x. 16. 18. Shobek, שׁוֹבָק Neh. x. 24. — Burckhardt suggests, that Shôbek may have been the castle Carcaria of Eusebius and Jerome, one day's journey from Petra. But this notice is too indefinite to bear out the supposition. Onomast. art. *Carcar*. Burckhardt, p. 416.

[2] Judg. x. 12. מָעוֹן *Maonites*. 1 Chr. iv. 41. and 2 Chr. xxvi. 7. מְעוּנִים *Mehunims*. They are spoken of in connexion with the Amalekites and Arabians. The form Ma'ân has no relation to the name Teman. See Seetzen in Zach. ib. xviii. p. 381. Burckhardt's Travels, p. 437. Gesenius, Lex. Heb. art. מָעוֹן, and Notes on Burckh. p. 1069. Rosenmüller's Bibl. Geogr. iii. p. 83.

[3] Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 14.

[4] Notit. Dignitat. ed. Panciroli, p. 216. Reland, Pal. p. 230. See Burckhardt's Travels, p. 435.

[5] Abulfedæ Tab. Syr. p. 14. Laborde writes the name Ameimé; Voyage en Arab. Petr. p. 62. (217.) — The Macbert el-Abid of Laborde is probably the Khŭrâbet (ruins) el-'Abîd of our lists; ibid. p. 63. (218.)

PETRA.

We come now to the celebrated capital of this region in ancient times, called from its remarkable position, The Rock; in Hebrew Sela, in Greek Petra.[1] In the Old Testament we find it recorded of king Amaziah, that "he slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt, ten thousand, and took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day."[2] The prophet Isaiah also exhorts Moab to "send the lamb to the ruler of the land from Sela to (through) the wilderness unto the mount of the daughter of Zion;" alluding apparently to the tribute in sheep formerly paid to Israel.[3] At this time, therefore, Sela would seem to have been in the possession of the Moabites; or at least they pastured their flocks as far south as to that region, much in the manner of the adjacent tribes at the present day.[4] — These are the only certain notices of this city found in Scripture; and the last of them cannot be later than about 700 B. C.[5]

About four centuries afterwards, as we have seen, the city was already known to the Greeks as Petra; it had passed into the hands of the Nabatheans, and had become a place of trade. The two expeditions sent against it by Antigonus before 301 B. C. have been already alluded to.[6] In the first, Athenæus took the city by surprise, while the men were absent at a neighbouring mart or fair; and carried off a large booty of silver and merchandise. But the Nabatheans quickly pursued him, to the number of eight thousand men;

1 Heb. סֶלַע Sela; Greek ἡ Πέτρα, Petra, and also in the plur. αἱ Πέτραι in the later ecclesiastical notices; Reland, pp. 215. 217. 533. Comp. the similar case of Πέλλα and Πέλλαι.

2 2 Kings, xiv. 7.

3 Isa. xvi. 1. and Gesenius, Comm. in loc. Comp. 2 Kings, iii. 4.

4 So the Ma'âz, see above, p. 535. Compare also p. 571. note 4.

5 Judg. ii. 36. and Isa. xlii. 11. though sometimes referred to the city of Petra, are too indefinite to be taken into the account.

6 Pages 558, 559.

and falling upon his camp by night, destroyed the greater part of his army.[1] Of the second expedition, under the command of Demetrius, the Nabatheans had previous intelligence; and prepared themselves for an attack, by driving their flocks into the deserts, and placing their wealth under the protection of a strong garrison in Petra; to which, according to Diodorus, there was but a single approach, and that made by hand.[2] In this way, they succeeded in baffling the whole design of Demetrius.

Strabo, speaking of the Nabatheans during the reign of Augustus, describes the capital as follows: — "The metropolis of the Nabatheans is Petra, so called; for it lies in a place in other respects plain and level, but shut in by rocks roundabout, precipitous indeed on the outside, but within having copious fountains for a supply of water and the irrigation of gardens. Beyond the enclosure, the region is mostly a desert, and especially towards Judea."[3] At this time the city had become the great place of transit for the products of the east, and was often resorted to by foreigners.[4] The philosopher Athenadorus, Strabo's friend, spent some time in Petra; and related with admiration, that he found many Romans and other strangers residing there; that these often had lawsuits with one another and with the inhabitants; while the latter lived in peace among themselves, under excellent laws.[5]

Similar, but more definite, is the testimony of Pliny in the first century: "The Nabatheans inhabit the city called Petra, in a valley less than two (Roman) miles

1 Diod. Sic. xix. 59.

2 Ibid. xix. 97. *οὔσης μιᾶς ἀναβάσεως χειροποιήτου.*

3 Strabo, xvi. 4. 21. *Μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐστὶν ἡ Πέτρα καλουμένη· κεῖται γὰρ ἐπὶ χωρίου τἆλλα ὁμαλοῦ καὶ ἐπιπέδου, κύκλῳ δὲ πέτρᾳ φρουρουμένου, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς κρημνοῦ ἀποτόμου, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους ἔχοντος εἴς τε ὑδρείαν καὶ κηπείαν. Ἔξω δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου χώρα ἔρημος ἡ πλείστη, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ πρὸς Ἰουδαίᾳ.*

4 See above, pp. 561, 562.

5 Strabo, ibid.

in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through it."[1] About the same period, Petra is often mentioned by Josephus as the capital of Arabia Petræa, in all his notices of that kingdom and its connection with Jewish affairs.[2] With that kingdom, it passed under the immediate sway of the Romans, during the reign of Trajan. His successor Adrian appears to have granted privileges to Petra, which led the inhabitants to give his name to the city upon coins. Several of these are still extant.[3] In the fourth century, Petra is several times mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome; and in the Greek ecclesiastical Notitiæ of the fifth and sixth centuries, it appears as the metropolitan see of the Third Palestine.[4] Of its bishops, Germanus was present at the council of Seleucia in A. D. 359; and Theodorus at that of Jerusalem in A. D. 536.[5]

But from that time onwards, Petra suddenly vanishes from the pages of history. In the two Latin Notitiæ, referring in part to the centuries after the Muhammedan conquest and before the crusades, the name of Petra is no longer found, and the metropolitan see had been transferred to Rabbah.[6] Whether Petra perished through the ruthless rage of the fanatic conquerors, or whether it had already been destroyed in some incursion of the hordes of the desert, is utterly

[1] Plin. H. N. vi. 28. seu 32. "Deinde Nabathæi oppidum incolunt Petram nomine in convalle, paulo minus II mill. passuum amplitudinis, circumdatum montibus inaccessis amne interfluente."

[2] See the references to Josephus above, p. 559. and note [3].

[3] Mionnet, Descr. de Médailles Antiques, tom. v. p. 587. Eckhel, Doctr. Nummor. Vet. ii. p. 503. No less than eight coins of Petra are described, viz. three in honour of Adrian; one of Marcus Aurelius and Verus; two of Septimius Severus; and two of Geta. Most of them bear on the reverse the inscription: Ἀδριάνη Πέτρα Μητρόπολις. For this custom on the coins of cities, see above, pp. 408, 409. note [3].

[4] Onomast. arts. *Petra*, *Idumæa*, *Theman*, &c. Reland, Pal. pp. 215. 217. See also in general the art. *Petra*, in Reland, p. 926. seq.

[5] Reland, Pal. pp. 933. 533. Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. p. 725.

[6] Reland, Pal. pp. 223. 226.

unknown. The silence of all Arabian writers as to the very existence of Petra, would seem to favour the latter supposition; for had the city still retained its importance, we could hardly expect that they should pass it over without some notice, in their accounts of the country and its conquest. As it is, this sudden and total disappearance of the very name and trace of a city so renowned, is one of the most singular circumstances of its history.[1]

The crusaders, as we have seen, found Petra at Kerak, just as they also found Beersheba at Beit Jibrîn; thus introducing a confusion as to Petra, which is not wholly removed even at the present day.[2] It was not until the reports collected by Seetzen respecting the wonderful remains in Wady Mûsa, had been verified by the personal discovery and examination of them by Burckhardt, that the latter traveller first ventured to assume their identity with the site of the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa.[3] This identity is now, I believe, admitted by most scholars, who have paid due attention to the subject; though still the voice

[1] No Arabian writer mentions Petra; and the only ones who speak of Wady Mûsa, so far as yet known, are Kazwîny in the thirteenth century, and Ibn Iyâs (Ben Ayas) in the fifteenth. Both these authors merely relate a Muhammedan legend, according to which Moses died and was buried in this valley. See Kaswîny's Geogr. Lexicon, *Athâr el-Belâd*, Cod. MS. Arab. Biblioth. Gothan. No. 234. fol. 80. Ibn Iyâs, in his geogr. work, *Nesheḳ el-Ezhâr*, Cod. Gothan. No. 302. fol. 226. These notices, from MSS. in the library of Gotha, I owe to the kindness of Prof. Roediger of Halle. — For the forms Arce, Areceme, Recem, &c. assigned by Josephus and others as the earliest name of Petra; as also for the er-Rakîm of Arabian writers, see Note XXXVI. at the end of the Volume. In like manner, the place called by Arabian writers el Hijr, (not el-Hajar "a stone,") has sometimes been mistaken for Petra; see the same note.

[2] See p. 570. above. Adrichomius, p. 129. Raumer's Palæst. p. 424. seq.

[3] Burckhardt, p. 431. The first published account of Burckhardt's visit to Wady Mûsa, seems to have been contained in a letter from him dated Cairo, Sept. 12. 1812, prefixed to his Travels in Nubia, Lond. 1819. But before this appeared, Ritter had already suggested the identity of Wady Mûsa and Petra on the strength of Seetzen's reports in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xvii. p. 139. See Ritter's Erdkunde, th. ii. p. 117. Berl. 1818.

of doubt is occasionally heard, and the site of the same, or at least of a second Petra, is sometimes held to have been at Kerak.[1] — The arguments for the identity in question are of a threefold nature, and all lie within a small compass.

First, the character of the site, as given by Strabo and Pliny in the passages above quoted, — an area in a valley surrounded by precipitous rocks, with a stream running through it, and a single approach "made by hand," as mentioned by Diodorus[2], — corresponds entirely to Wady Mûsa as already described. At the same time, this description is wholly inapplicable to Kerak, which is a fortress and city situated on the top of a high and steep hill.

Again, the ancient specifications as to the distance of Petra from both the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf, all point to Wady Mûsa. Passing over the merely casual and indefinite estimates of Strabo and Pliny[3], we find in Diodorus Siculus, that Demetrius, on his return from Petra, marched three hundred stadia, and encamped near the Dead Sea.[4] This distance is equal to about fifteen hours with camels; and if reckoned northwards from Wady Mûsa along the ancient road, extends to nearly opposite the south end of the sea. After all, this is doubtless also a mere estimate, and is if any thing too small; but at any rate, it could never apply to Kerak. — More exactly is the position of Petra laid down in the Peutinger Tables. The distance is there marked from Ailah along the

[1] Raumer's Paläst. p. 424. seq. An article in the North American Review for Jan. 1839, denies the identity of Petra and Wady Mûsa, and places the former at Kerak.

[2] See pp. 574, 575.

[3] Strabo places it at three or four days' march from Jericho; xvi. 4. 21. Pliny at 600 Roman miles from Gaza, and 130 from the Persian Gulf; H. N. vi. 28. or 32. Here, as Cellarius suggests, the two numbers have probably been transposed; Cellar. Notit. Orb. ii. p. 581.

[4] Diod. Sic. xix. 98. πλήσιον τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης.

ancient road to Petra, by the stations Ad Dianam, Præsidium, Hauara[1], and Zadagatta, at ninety-nine Roman miles in all, equivalent to about seventy-eight and two thirds geographical miles.[2] The actual direct distance between 'Akabah and Wady Mûsa, on a straight line, is about sixty-four geographical miles; and when we take into account the windings of the way and the steepness of the mountains, the comparison is here sufficiently exact.[3] On this route, too, the name and site of Zadagatta (Zodocatha) still exist at Ŭsdakah, about six hours south of Wady Mûsa.[4] Further, the same Tables, although somewhat confused on the north of Petra, yet give the distance between it and Rabbah as at least over seventy-two Roman miles; which corresponds well enough with Wady Mûsa, but is fatal to the idea of finding Petra in Kerak.

Lastly, Josephus, and also Eusebius and Jerome, testify expressly, that Mount Hor, where Aaron died, was in the vicinity of Petra.[5] And to this day the

[1] The Αὐάρα of Ptolemy, and the Havana of the Notitia Dignitatum. Ptol. v. 17. Reland, Pal. pp. 463. 230.

[2] The following is the specification of the Tables: From Haila, XVI. ad Dianam. XXI. Præsidio. XXIV. Hauara. XX. Zadagatta. XVIII. Petris. Summa XCIX. — The station "ad Dianam" is common to both the routes from Ailah, to Jerusalem and to Petra. It must therefore have lain in the great valley; and the distance of 16 Roman miles from 'Akabah would bring it about opposite the Wady and fountain el-Hendis. It is marked as a small temple of Diana. This point must have been considerably north of the mouth of Wady el-Ithm. The Roman road to Petra appears therefore to have ascended the mountain north of that Wady; and the station Præsidium is probably to be sought in those mountains. It would consequently seem, that el-Humeiyimeh did not lie upon the great Roman road; of which Laborde found traces further north upon the mountain.

[3] The geographical position of Petra is fixed on the accompanying map at 30° 25′ N. lat. and 35° 38′ 9″ E. long. from Greenwich. This latitude is the mean between that resulting from our routes and Laborde's. Moore and Beke give it at 39° 19′, which appears to be even less correct than their observations at Jerusalem and Hebron; see above, p. 432. note [2]. Vol. I. p. 381. note [2]. The longitude is that found by a comparison of our notes with those of Laborde. See at the end of Vol. III. First Appendix, B. p. 37.

[4] See above, p. 572.

[5] Josephus, Ant. iv. 4. 7. Euseb. et Hieron. Onomasticon: "*Or*, mons in quo mortuus est Aaron juxta civitatem Petram."

mountain which both tradition and the circumstances of the case mark as the same, still rears its lonely head above the vale of Wady Mûsa. In all the district of Kerak, there is no single mountain which could in itself be regarded as Mount Hor; and even if there were, its position in that region would be wholly incompatible with the recorded journeyings of the Israelites.

These considerations appear to me to demonstrate the identity of Petra with Wady Mûsa; and also to show as conclusively, that it could not have been situated at Kerak.[1]

But how or when the name of Petra was dropped, or in what age that of Wady Mûsa was adopted, we have no means of ascertaining. The crusaders found the latter in current use, and speak here only of the "Vallis Moysi."[2] They also speak of a building on the neighbouring mountain, consecrated to Aaron; but they appear to have discovered nowhere any trace of a Christian population.[3]

Then came other centuries of oblivion; and the name of Wady Mûsa was not again heard of, until the reports of Seetzen in A. D. 1807. During his excursion from Hebron to the hill Madŭrah, his Arab guide of the Haweitât described the place, exclaiming: "Ah, how I weep, when I behold the ruins of Wady Mûsa!"[4] The subsequent visits of Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Laborde, and others, have put the world in possession of most of the details; yet I apprehend that the historical and antiquarian interest of the place is by no

[1] For the question whether there was probably more than one Petra, see in Note XXXVI. at the end of the Volume.

[2] See above, pp. 565. 567.

[3] Guibert speaks of this building as a church; vii. 36. p. 555. Another writer calls it an "Oratorium;" Gesta Dei, p. 581. Fulcher incorrectly makes it a monastery dedicated to St. Aaron; c. 23. p. 405. Not improbably there may have been here originally a Christian chapel, as on Jebel Mûsa and Mount St. Catherine; but there is no historical trace of any monastery on the mountain. See Note XXXV.

[4] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xvii. p. 136. See above, p. 568.

means exhausted. The scholar who should go thither learned in the lore of Grecian and Egyptian arts and architecture, would be able, I doubt not, still to reap a rich harvest of new facts illustrative of the taste, the antiquities, and the general history of this remarkable people.

Saturday, June 2d. As morning dawned, we rose from our couch of sand in the middle of the 'Arabah; and at 4¾ o'clock were again upon our way towards the fountain el-Weibeh. Looking back, we could see the Wady through which we had descended from the pass of Nemela, bearing S. 55° E. and marking the course we had travelled during the darkness. We were now more than half-way across the 'Arabah; and continued to travel on nearly W. N. W. through a rolling gravelly desert, with rounded naked hills of considerable elevation. Our guides had usually in the 'Arabah kept one man ahead as a scout; and now, as we approached el-Weibeh, they took double precautions against any enemy; since this and other fountains in the valley, are the usual rendezvous of wandering parties.

We came out, at half past 6 o'clock, upon the high but not steep bank of Wady el-Jeib; which here sweeps round quite to the foot of the ascent on the west side of el-'Arabah. We descended into it from the gravelly hills, one hundred feet or more. It is here three quarters of an hour in breadth, and every where sprinkled with herbs and shrubs. Just on its western side, where the land slopes up very gradually into a tract of low limestone hills, lies 'Ain el-Weibeh, one of the most important watering-places in all the great valley. There are here indeed three fountains, issuing

from the chalky rock of which the slope is composed. Below them, on the border of the Jeib, is a jungle of coarse grass and canes, with a few palm-trees, presenting at a distance the appearance of fine verdure, but proving near at hand to be marshy and full of bogs. This slope continues towards the south, where it becomes wider, and is also sprinkled with herbs; being watered in winter by a Wady called el-Ghamr, with a small spring of bad water, an hour and a half or two hours south of el-Weibeh. As we approached this latter fountain, we could see the verdure around 'Ain el-Ghamr.[1]

As our scouts had reported that there were no visitors at el-Weibeh, we proceeded directly thither; and reaching it at 7^h 20′, halted more than two hours for breakfast and rest. The three fountains are some rods apart, running out in small streams from the foot of a low rise of ground, at the edge of the hills. The water is not abundant; and in the two northernmost sources has a sickly hue, like most desert fountains, with a taste of sulphuretted hydrogen. The temperature of the water was 75° F., that of the air being about the same. But the southernmost source consists of three small rills of limpid and good water, flowing out at the bottom of a small excavation in the rock. The soft chalky stone has crumbled away, forming a semicircular ledge about six feet high around the spring, and now a few feet distant from it. The intermediate space is at present occupied by earth; but the rock apparently once extended out, so that the water actually issued from its base.—We could find here no trace of the remains of former dwellings.

'Ain el-Weibeh is situated just on the exterior of a

[1] See Burckhardt, p. 446.

great bend of Wady el-Jeib, which here comes down from the S. by W., and sweeps round almost towards the E.N.E. In it, at some distance below el-Weibeh, we could see the verdure around another place of water, called el-Hufeiry; the water is found by digging holes in the ground, is scanty, and fails in summer.

From this point, (at el-Weibeh,) Mount Hor is seen to fine advantage, towering in lone majesty, and prominent above all the peaks which immediately skirt the 'Arabah; but itself lower than the high ridges further east. Indeed, as here seen, this peak, and the rocky groups around Wady Mûsa and next the 'Arabah, appear to belong to a chain further west and lower than the high main chain of esh-Sherah. The latter, beginning from Wady el-Ghuweir, and consisting of round summits and ridges without precipices, runs on continuously as far south as the eye can reach. The lower masses of porphyry are all along marked by a dark and almost black appearance.[1]

We were much struck while at el-Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of its position to the scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites, on their second arrival at Kadesh.[2] There was at Kadesh a fountain, called also En-Mishpat[3]; this was then either partially dried up, or exhausted by the multitude; so that "there was no water for the congregation." By a miracle, water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were "in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border;" and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab and approach Palestine from the

[1] The several points seen from the fountain el-Weibeh, bore as follows: Mount Hor S. 25° E. Wady from Pass of Nemela S. 60° E. Wady el-Ghuweir S. 80° E. el-Hufeiry N. 65° E.

[2] Num. c. xx.

[3] Gen. xiv. 7.

east. This Edom refused; and the Israelites accordingly marched to Mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the 'Arabah to the Red Sea.[1]

Here at el-Weibeh, all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day the most frequented watering place in all the 'Arabah. On the N. W. is the mountain, by which the Israelites had formerly assayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back.[2] Overagainst us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table-land above, was directly before us; while further in the south, Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object, at the distance of two good days' journey for such a host. The small fountain et-Taiyibeh, at the bottom of the pass er-Rŭbâ'y, may then have been, either the wells of Bene-Jaakan, or the Moseroth, of the Israelites.[3] The stations of Gudgodah and Jotbath further south, we may perhaps find at the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, and in the marshy tract with palm-trees further towards 'Akabah, mentioned by Laborde and Schubert; where in winter at least we might look for "a land of rivers of waters."[4]

In view of all these circumstances, we were disposed to regard el-Weibeh as the probable site of the ancient Kadesh; and felt that we were here treading on ground consecrated by many sacred associations. Some other circumstances corroborative of the same view, I shall have occasion to adduce further on.[5]

[1] Num. xx. 14—29.

[2] Num. xiv. 40—45. Deut. i. 41—46.

[3] Num. xxxiii. 30, 31. 37. Deut. x. 6. Eusebius and Jerome relate, that the place of the Beeroth Bene-Jaakan was still shown in their day, ten Roman miles from Petra, at the top of the mountain. Onomast. art. *Beroth Filior. Jac.*

[4] Deut. x. 7.; comp. Num. xxxiii. 32, 33. See Laborde's Map and Voyage, p. 53. (147.) Schubert's Reise, ii. p. 399.

[5] See further on: Approach of the Israelites to Palestine.

Yet the surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights; and all traces of the city and of its very name have disappeared. Indeed, there is nothing which shows Kadesh to have ever been a place of any size, or of any importance, except in connection with the journeyings of the Israelites.

As we were ascending the pass of Nemela, (May 30th,) we were overtaken by a single Arab, who had come the same day from 'Ain el-Weibeh. From him we learned, that during the preceding night, while we were travelling up Wady el-Jeib, a marauding party (Ghŭzu) had encamped at el-Weibeh, composed of four hundred men on dromedaries from the Tiyâḥah, Terâbîn, Dhŭllâm, and 'Azâzimeh, going against the Hawâzim and 'Anazeh of the Syrian desert. Had we not travelled during the night, we might very probably have fallen in with them. It is these marauding expeditions, which render the 'Arabah and the Ghôr dangerous for travellers. They pass, and repass frequently between the hostile tribes of the Arabs on the east and west; and there is always some risk of encountering them. In the present instance, such an encounter would have brought us into no danger; as those tribes are all allies of the Jehâlîn, under whose protection we made this journey.

From 'Ain el-Weibeh a travelled path enters immediately among the limestone hills, and proceeding about N. N. W. doubtless ascends the mountain to the region above. Our Jehâlîn seemed not to be acquainted with this road, being accustomed from el-Weibeh to skirt the 'Arabah along the foot of the hills, as far north as to Wady el-Khŭrâr, and then ascend by the pass of es-Sŭfâh. But as the buffoon Muhammed, who had recently been here with Lord Prudhoe's party, professed to have taken this direct road, and to have found it shorter, the guides concluded to follow it now.

We left the fountain at $9\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, and at once entered among the hills, here low and consisting of chalky stone and conglomerate, without a particle of vegetation. At 10^h 20′, we crossed a large Wady called el-Mirzaba, which gives name to a pass up the mountains on the left[1]; and at 11 o'clock we came to another very large one called el-Muhelleh, from a place of that name in the country of the 'Azâzimeh in the same mountains. These Wadys, like those which succeeded, find their way to Wady el-Jeib; and have in them many Seiyâl or Tŭlh-trees, some of which are very large.

It now appeared, that our Arabs were afraid of having taken a wrong road. The path was evidently much travelled; but where it led to, no one seemed to know. We therefore turned to the right, on a course about N.N.E. without any track, in order to regain the path known to our guides, descending gradually and obliquely among the hills towards the 'Arabah. In doing this we crossed several Wadys, of which our Arabs did not know the names. Indeed, they seemed to be quite lost, as if they were entire strangers to the region. We had found it at all times difficult to get information from them, owing partly to their ignorance, partly to carelessness, and somewhat to unwillingness. But they had become less reserved and more and more communicative, the longer we had been with them. All Arabs are usually ignorant of the localities two or three days distant from their own country; but the general intelligence of our present guides, was the most limited we had yet met with, and we never found more difficulty in eliciting information. Nor could we put trust in that

[1] See above, p. 508.

which they did communicate, without much cross-examination and other confirmatory evidence.

At length, at 1 o'clock, we came down near the mouth of a Wady not far from the 'Arabah, where was a small cane-brake indicating water. Here we fell into the road of which our guides were in search. The spot is called 'Ain el-Mureidhah; but the Arabs said the water was good for nothing, and consisted of little more than dampness of the earth. Following now the known path, we struck up again N.N.W. among the hills towards the mountains. We passed the Wady Abu Jerâdeh at 1^h 55′; and came at 2^h 40′ to the Kufâfîyeh, a large Wady, which conducted us more into the mountains. Leaving this we crossed over to Wady el-Khŭrâr, which we reached at 3^h 20′. Between all these Wadys are only desert limestone hills, becoming gradually higher and more broken towards the West.

At the mouth of Wady el-Khŭrâr, where it issues upon the 'Arabah, an hour or more east of the point where we struck it, is the fountain called 'Ain el-Khŭrâr, smaller than el-Weibeh, but having tolerable water, which continues through the year. As we passed along and over the hills, we could see the verdure around this fountain; and also that around the water of Hasb in the plain beyond, somewhat further north.[1] The waters of the Khŭrâr and all the Wadys we had passed, find their way to the Jeib, apparently south of Wady Hasb; or in part, perhaps, through that Wady.

Following up Wady el-Khŭrâr for about half an hour, we left it, and ascended by a steep, but not long pass, called the pass of Khŭrâr. This brought us out at 4 o'clock, not exactly upon table-land, but upon a higher tract of country, forming the first of the several

[1] See above, p. 499.

steps or offsets into which the ascent of the mountains in this part is divided. This is here perhaps four or five hundred feet higher than the tract we had left; and lay before us two and a half hours in breadth, quite to the base of the next ascent, in which is the main pass of es-Sŭfâh. The tract runs up nearly from E.N.E. to W. S. W. from the hills around Usdum and the south end of the Dead Sea, to an indefinite extent on our left; rising very considerably all the way, and drained in its whole length by the Wady el-Fikreh, which enters the Ghôr at the S. W. corner.[1] The bed of this Wady lies beyond the middle of the tract, nearer the base of the next ascent. The surface is here broken, and in some parts mountainous, like that of the lower region behind us. At the distance of an hour or two further south, a ridge begins on the front or S.E. part of this higher tract, and runs off parallel to the next chain; the head of Wady el-Fikreh being far up between them in the S.W.—We soon struck upon a small Wady, called diminutively Wudey Sîk; which after we had followed it for a while, ran off on the right towards the 'Arabah. After this, all the smaller Wadys ran towards the Fikreh; and the country just here was less broken than towards the left.

The mountain before us, forming the next step of the ascent, presented a formidable barrier,—a naked limestone ridge, not less than a thousand feet in height, and very steep. Three passes up this mountain were pointed out, viz. that of es-Sŭfâh directly before us; on the right, not far off, another, es-Sufey; and on the left at some distance the third, called el-Yemen, leading up through a deep rent known as Wady el-Yemen. This chasm cleaves the mountain to its base; and here the higher portion of the ridge may be said to

[1] See above, p. 494.

terminate; for although it continues to run on far to the S. W. yet it is there lower and less steep. The Wady el-Yemen brings down apparently, in the rainy season, large quantities of water from the regions above into the Fikreh. At the top of this pass, water is found in pits, which is good and never fails.

Fifteen minutes before we reached the Fikreh, a road fell into ours (at 5^h 50′) coming up directly from 'Ain el-Khŭrâr. The spot was marked by an unusual number of heaps of stones. Immediately afterwards, a path apparently much travelled, went off towards the left, leading to the pass el-Yemen. A branch of it was said to take a course still more to the left, so as to keep along up the Fikreh for some time, and then ascend the mountain further in the S. W. where it is lower and less difficult. This circuitous road is called el-Haudeh, and is usually taken with loaded animals; since it escapes the steep ascent. The roads which lead up all these passes, fall into each other again in the country above, as we shall see. Yet a track would seem to proceed directly from the ascent of the Haudeh to Gaza; and on this, so far as we could learn, perhaps in the next chain of mountains, is probably the pass called el-Ghârîb, of which we several times heard.[1]

The road which immediately enters the hills from el-Weibeh, and which we had at first taken, seems to ascend more in the south to this higher tract, on which we now were. Lord Lindsay appears to have followed it with Sheikh Husein of the 'Alawîn; and he relates, that at seven hours from el-Weibeh, a path went off on the left to Gaza, while he and his party kept on and ascended the pass es-Sŭfâh. This Gaza road probably joined the Haudeh as above described. An hour north of the fork of the same roads, the party

[1] See Vol. I. p. 306.

had on their left the isolated chalky hill or mountain of Madŭrah; under which, their guides said, God once crushed a village for its vices.[1]

This mountain, so remarkable in its appearance, we too had seen upon our left at the distance of about an hour, ever since we came out upon this higher tract, rising alone like a lofty citadel on the eastern bank of Wady el-Firkeh. Sheikh Hussân related of it, that a city once stood there; but God was provoked at the inhabitants and slew them, and destroyed their city with stones from heaven. He could not say, however, whether there were now any ruins on or near it.[2]— This question, as I have since found, had been already determined by Seetzen thirty-one years before. Being at Hebron in March, 1807, he was told of this mountain, and of the city Madŭrah which once stood upon it, but was now by the vengeance of God buried beneath it; there were also said to be around about it many human bodies turned to stone. Thinking to find here something which might illustrate the pillar of salt, Seetzen travelled hither with guides of the Haweitât from esh-Sherah; descending, it would seem, by the pass el-Yemen. He examined the mountain carefully; but no trace of ruins was to be found; and instead of petrified human bodies, there was nothing but a small plain covered with round, conical, cylindrical, and lens-shaped stones about the size of a man's head, composed of limestone mixed with sand. It was to make up for this disappointment, that his

[1] Lord Lindsay's Letters, &c. ii. p. 46.—Schubert also mentions Madŭrah, and appears to have ascended by the pass es-Sŭfâh; but by which route he travelled from el-Weibeh thither, I am not able to make out; Reise, ii. 441—443. Bertou followed our route, but ascended the pass el-Yemen; Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. Juin, 1839, p. 321—323.

[2] To this mountain Bertou gives the additional name of Kadessa, and supposes it to be the site of Kadesh, but without the slightest ground; Bullétin, &c. l. c. p. 322. See more in Note XXXVII. end of the Volume.

guide now told him of Wady Mûsa and the other ruined places of his own country. But although Mount Hor was here directly before the traveller, and in full sight; and he was likewise told of the Wely Neby Hârûn upon a high rocky summit; yet his eye appears nevertheless not to have rested distinctly upon that mountain.[1]

We came upon the Fikreh at five minutes past 6 o'clock; it is here a large shallow Wady, with marks of much water, and evidently takes its rise at a long distance on the left. The mountain before us, we could now see, was composed of naked strata of limestone, lying obliquely and very irregularly, sometimes indeed rising up in convex curves, as if forming the external covering of an arch. These strata are occasionally cut through by short but deep chasms. This ascent is obviously the continuation, in this direction, of the step or offset which we had formerly descended adjacent to the lower ez-Zuweirah; though it is here much higher and more difficult than there.[2] — We kept on directly towards the middle pass, es-Sŭfâh, which affords also the shortest route. Near the foot of the mountain we came at 6½ o'clock upon the ruins of a small fort or castle of hewn stones, with a few other foundations round about. It was obviously designed to guard the pass; like the similar one at ez-Zuweirah.[3]

We reached the bottom of the pass at 6h 40′, and began immediately to ascend. The way leads up for a short time gradually, along the edge of a precipitous ravine on the right; and then comes all at once upon

[1] Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xvii. p. 133—138.

[2] See p. 477. above. — The Arabs in speaking of this mountain would be very likely to give to the different parts of it the names of Jebel es-Sŭfâh, Jebel el-Yemen, &c. from the various passes. But the whole range, so far as we could learn, does not bear either of these as a general name; as seems to be supposed by Schubert and Bertou.

[3] From this spot Madŭrah bore S. 50° W. Mount Hor S. 15° E. Mountain of Moab near Khanzîreh N. 80° E.

the naked surface of the rock, the strata of which lie here at an oblique angle, as steep as a man can readily climb. The path, if so it can be called, continues for the rest of the ascent along this bare rock, in a very winding course. The camels made their way with difficulty, being at every moment liable to slip. The rock indeed is in general porous and rough; but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous for animals. In such places a path has been hewn in the rock in former days; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass. The whole mountain-side presents itself as a vast inclined plane of rock; in which, at intervals, narrow tracts of the strata run up at a steeper angle, and break out towards the upper part in low projections; while in other places, they seem to have been thrown up in fantastic shapes by some convulsion of nature.

We clambered up the pass on foot, taking a direct course over the surface of the rock, while the camels ascended more slowly by the winding route. A parallel and still more direct path for footmen, was taken by several of our Arabs; entering the chasm on our right from below, and then climbing up by a long narrow point or ledge of the rock, which extends far down into it. Further to the right, beyond the chasm, the pass of the Sufey winds up over the rock in a similar manner.

The name of this pass, es-Sŭfâh (a rock), is in form identical with the Hebrew Zephath, called also Hormah; which we know was the point where the Israelites attempted to ascend the mountain, so as to enter Palestine from Kadesh, but were driven back.[1] A city stood there in ancient times, one of the "uttermost

[1] Judg. i. 17. Num. xiv. 45.; xxi. 3. Deut. i. 44.

cities of Judah towards the coast of Edom southwards," which was afterwards assigned to the tribe of Simeon.[1] There is therefore every reason to suppose, that in the name of es-Sufah, we have a reminiscence of the ancient pass which must have existed here, and bore the name of the adjacent city Zephath. Of the name Hormah we could find no vestige.

We reached the top of the steep ascent at 7¾ o'clock; when the light of day was nearly gone, and the landscape behind us was dim. Below us, we could overlook the broad tract or step which we had just crossed, drained in its whole length by the Fikreh; beyond were the lower hills, the 'Arabah, and the mountains of Edom. In the N.E. the Dead Sea was of course visible. We continued to ascend more gradually, through an exceedingly rocky and desert region. We wished much to encamp somewhere near the brow of the pass, in order to obtain a fuller view by daylight; but there was here neither wood for fire, nor pasture for the camels. We were therefore compelled to proceed, lighted only by the moon in her first quarter. This we much regretted; for the region which we now traversed seemed one of the wildest and most broken we had yet seen. After a little while, pursuing the same general course, about N.N.W. over a more level tract, we could distinguish deep ravines on each side of us, with precipitous mountains beyond, seemingly rent to their base. The road for some distance lay along a narrow causeway of rock between two such ravines, hardly wide enough for a dozen men to walk abreast, with a deep precipice on each side. From this we at length found a descent towards the right into a broader Wady, and following it up, encamped near it at 9¼ o'clock, in a small plain surrounded by hills. Here were many Tulh-trees and shrubs.

[1] Josh. xii. 14.; xv. 30.; xix. 4.

The Arabs had no name for the spot, and knew of no ruins in the vicinity; but we thought we had seen, not long before, a couple of small towers on the right of the road.

We were excessively fatigued; having now been upon our camels since 11 o'clock of the preceding day, with only occasional stops of two or three hours. The camels too had eaten nothing for the last twenty-four hours, that is, since our stop of the evening before; yet they did not seem fatigued. Being now out of all danger, we rejoiced to encamp and give ourselves up to repose; and after the fatigues of the 'Arabah and the exciting scenes of Wady Mûsa, we looked forward with delight to a day of rest upon the morrow. While the tent was pitching, I threw myself upon my cloaks and fell immediately into a deep sleep: from which it was hard to be awaked to remove into the tent, and partake of our evening meal. But we slept soundly through the whole night; and felt afterwards no further remains of the fatigue.

Of the three passes, that of es-Sŭfâh is the most direct; but that of el-Yemen, though the way is longer, is more used, on account of the water at the top. We did not learn, that there is any great difference between them all, as to the length or difficulty of the ascent itself, which we estimated at about a thousand feet.[1] The roads leading up the two adjacent passes, es-Sŭfâh and es-Sufey, as we have seen, are similar. The third road enters the gorge of Wady el-Yemen; and following it up for a time, then climbs the wall of rock by a steep and difficult path. Seetzen describes this Wady as a frightfully wild, deep, and desert val-

[1] The whole elevation from Wady el-Fikreh to a point near our encampment, is given by Schubert's measurements at 1434 Paris feet, Reise, ii. p. 448.

ley, strewed with large rocks so thickly, that it is often difficult to find a way between them.[1]

The high region which we had now reached, is bounded, as we shall hereafter see, by another less elevated ridge in the N. W. and forms a second step or offset in the whole ascent to Palestine. It is indeed the continuation of the broad desert tract, which lies between the two passes of ez-Zuweirah, and runs up in this direction.[2]

As we had now taken leave of the 'Arabah and of the region of the Dead Sea, probably for ever, it may be proper to pause for a few moments, and bring together into one view what remains to be said upon these topics. I subjoin too, some remarks upon the Catastrophe of the Cities of the Plain, and on the Route of the Children of Israel in their approach to Palestine.

WADY EL-'ARABAH.

This great valley, lying here between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Akabah, constitutes a very remarkable feature in the configuration of the whole region. With a partial interruption, or rather contraction, between the Lakes of el-Hûleh and Tiberias, it may be said to extend from Bâniâs, at the foot of Jebel esh-Sheikh, to the Red Sea. The northern half is watered by the Jordan, which during its course expands into the two fresh-water lakes just mentioned; and is at length lost in the bitter waters of the Dead Sea; this latter occupying the middle-point of the great val-

[1] Zach's Monatl. Corr. xvii. pp. 134, 135. So Bertou in Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. Juin, 1839, p. 323.

[2] See this tract described, pp. 475. 477. above.

ley nearly equidistant from its two extremities. From the Lake of Tiberias to the line of cliffs some three hours south of the Dead Sea, the valley or great chasm bears among the Arabs the name el-Ghôr; above and south of the offset of those cliffs, and so to 'Akabah, it is known only as Wady el-'Arabah. Its breadth at Jericho and at 'Ain Jidy has already been specified[1]; where we had now crossed it, somewhat obliquely, from the pass of Nemela to 'Ain el-Weibeh, we had found the width to be not far from six hours with camels, or nearly the same as at Jericho; while at 'Akabah, as we have seen, it is contracted perhaps to less than half that distance.[2]

The remarkable depression of the Dead Sea in the middle of this long valley, nearly six hundred Paris feet below the Mediterranean according to Schubert, has already been adverted to.[3] To judge from the general configuration, and from the course and current of the Jordan, it follows almost of necessity, that the Lake of Tiberias, and most probably also the Hûleh, must also be similarly depressed; although the measurements are as yet so indefinite and inconsistent, that the actual degree of this depression can hardly be conjectured.[4]

On the south of the Dead Sea, the elevation of the water-shed, which according to our Arabs lies beyond the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel, has not yet been de-

1 See above, pp. 289. 217.
2 See Vol. I. p. 240.
3 Page 222. above.
4 Thus Schubert makes the depression of the Lake of Tiberias to be 535 Par. feet, only 65 feet less than that of the Dead Sea; while the bridge, Jisr Benât Ya'kôb, on the Jordan north of the former lake, he gives at 350 Par. feet above the Mediterranean,—a difference of 880 feet in a distance of two hours. Reise, iii. pp. 231. 259. Bertou, who makes the depression of the Dead Sea to be 419·8 metres, or over 1300 feet, gives that of the Lake of Tiberias at 230·3 metres, or about 700 feet, and that of the Hûleh at 6 metres or over 18 feet; Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr. Oct. 1839, pp. 161. 146. 145. These different results are utterly irreconcilable with each other; and, as it seems to me, equally so with the nature of the region.

termined. Schubert gives the depression of the bed of Wady el-Jeib, an hour and a half south of el-Weibeh, at ninety-one Paris feet below the level of the Red Sea; and that of Wady el-Fikreh, near the pass es-Sŭfâh, at five feet below the same.[1] These specifications seem to me to correspond tolerably with his report of the depression of the Dead Sea. But apart from all barometrical measurements, which as yet are so uncertain, the very conformation of this part of the great valley, thus presenting a much longer and greater descent towards the north than towards the south, seems of itself to indicate, that the Dead Sea must lie considerably lower than the Gulf of 'Akabah.

The Ghôr, between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, as we have seen, is in itself a desert; except so far as the Jordan and occasional fountains cover small portions of it with exuberant fertility.[2] On the south of the Dead Sea, where instead of the Jordan we find only during the rainy season the torrents of el-Jeib, the surface of the 'Arabah is almost uninterruptedly a still more frightful desert. In the Ghôr indeed, around the southern end of the sea, the living streams from the Wadys Kerak, el-Kŭrâhy, and el-Tŭfîleh, impart fertility to the adjacent soil; while on the south-west, and along the base of the transverse line of cliffs, the brackish fountains comprehended under the names el-Beida and el-'Arûs, nourish extensive tracts of marshy verdure.[3] But in el-'Arabah, although the fountains are numerous for a desert, yet they are

[1] Reise, ii. pp. 440. 443.—From 'Akabah to Wady Abu Kusheibeh leading up to Mount Hor, Schubert travelled along the east side of the 'Arabah, where the ground is higher than on the western side. Of course the measurements of 465, 954, and 2046 feet of elevation, do not mark the proper level of the 'Arabah; especially the latter one, which seems to have been taken in the eastern mountains. Ibid. pp. 401. 411. 440.; comp. p. 439.

[2] See above, pp. 268. 286. 290. seq.

[3] See generally above, pp. 488—490.; also pp. 493—496.

less copious, and seem to exert a less vivifying power than those of the northern Ghôr. On the east, the stream which fertilizes Wady Ghuweir, in which the Fellâhîn of Dhâneh plough and sow, appears not to reach the great plain of the 'Arabah, at least not to any great extent. Then follow towards the south, 'Ain el-Buweirideh already described; the small fountain et-Taiyibeh near the foot of the pass leading up to Mount Hor; and the waters within the mouth of the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel.[1] On the western side, we find first the water of Hasb in the plain of the 'Arabah; then 'Ain el-Khŭrâr at the mouth of the Wady of the same name; 'Ain el-Mureidhah; el-Hufeiry; el-Weibeh; 'Ain el-Ghamr; and then beyond the Jerâfeh also el-Melîhy and el-Ghŭdhyân.[2]

The main road, by which Ma'ân and the adjacent country has communication with Hebron and Gaza, descends to the 'Arabah near Mount Hor, and crossing to el-Weibeh ascends again to the south of Palestine by some one of the passes above described, — the Haudeh, el-Yemen, es-Sŭfâh, or es-Sufey. A route also from 'Akabah to Hebron and Gaza leads along the 'Arabah; one branch goes up through Wady el-Beyaneh to the western plain and so to Ruhaibeh; while another, apparently little travelled, remains in the 'Arabah, and falls into the Ma'ân road at el-Weibeh.[3]

[1] For Wady el-Ghuweir, see p. 502. above; for 'Ain el-Buweirideh, p. 503.; for 'Ain et-Taiyibeh, p. 529. For the springs near the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, see Burckhardt, p. 441. Laborde, Voyage, p. 53. (148.).

[2] See above for the Hasb, pp. 499. 586.; for el-Khŭrâr and 'Ain el-Mureidah, p. 586.; for el-Hufeiry, p. 582.; for el-Weibeh, p. 580—584.; for el-Ghamr, p. 581.; for el-Melihy, p. 508. For el-Ghŭdhyân, see Vol. I. pp. 251. 268. See also generally, Vol. I. p. 268.; and Burckhardt, p. 446. Schubert speaks of water found by digging holes in the bottom of the Jeib, an hour and a half south of el-Weibeh; where the water probably has some connexion with el-Ghamr. He also describes a fountain three or four hours north of el-Weibeh, in a valley which he calls Mirzaba; though the proper Wady of this name is only 35 minutes from el-Weibeh. The distance coincides well with that of 'Ain el-Mureidhah. Reise, ii. pp. 440—443.

[3] See above, Vol. I. p. 292.

An ancient route between Hebron and Ailah followed the same track; it is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and its traces still remain along the pass of es-Sŭfâh.[1]

Not the least remarkable circumstance in regard to this great valley between the two seas, is the singular fact, that until the present century its existence should have remained unknown to modern geographers. Among ancient writers, neither Strabo, nor Pliny, nor Ptolemy, nor Josephus, nor any other geographer or historian, makes the slightest allusion to it; although they often speak both of the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf, and describe the adjacent regions.[2] The historians of the middle ages preserve the same silence; although the crusaders must have been acquainted with the 'Arabah throughout its whole length. We read indeed of a valley in these parts, to which the crusaders gave the name of "Vallis Illustris;" but this appears to refer merely to the Ghôr just around the south end of the Dead Sea, the Valley of Salt of the Scriptures.[3]

Arabian writers not unfrequently speak of the Ghôr, applying this term solely to the valley of the Jordan.[4] In Abulfeda alone we find it mentioned,

[1] See p. 591. Onomast. art. *Hazazon-Thamar*, compared with art. *Arath*. Reland, Pal. pp. 410. 885.

[2] Ritter cites a passage from the Periplus of Agatharcides, as referring to this valley, or at least to the southern end of it near Ailah: "Beyond the Læanitic (Elanitic) Gulf, around which the Arabs dwell, is the country of the Bythemanei; a spacious plain, well watered and low, with various grasses as high as a man's head, and much fruit; full also of wild camels and deer, and multitudes of flocks and herds of cattle and mules;" Agatharcides, Peripl. Rubri Maris, ed Hudson, pp. 57, 58.; in Hudson's Geogr. Vet. Scriptores Minores, tom. i. There seems, however, nothing in this language, except the word *low* (βαθεῖα), that can well be applied to the 'Arabah; all the rest, if meant to refer to that valley, is exaggerated and fabulous. This circumstance, and also the expression *beyond* (μετά) the Gulf, seem rather to intimate, that the writer was speaking of some part of Arabia further east. See Ritter's Erdkunde, th. ii. p. 219. Berl. 1818.

[3] See above, p. 483.

[4] Edrîsi par Jaubert, p. 346. Bohaeddin, Vit. Salad. pp. 221,

that the valley extends southwards to the Red Sea. He describes it as follows[1]: "From the Dead Sea and Zoghar (Zoar) to Beisân and Tiberias, the tract is called el-Ghôr, as lying between two mountains. One part of the Ghôr is reckoned to the district of the Jordan, the other to Palestine. Ibn Haukal adds: The Ghôr begins at the Lake of Gennesareth, whence it extends to Beisân, and so to Zoghar and Jericho, even to the Dead Sea; and thence to Ailah." To this passage is subjoined, in a note, a Scholion, apparently of Abulfeda himself, from the Leyden manuscript, supposed to be an autograph[2]: "*el-Ghôr* is a deep valley shut in by mountains. This tract abounds in palm-trees, fountains, and streams; and snow sometimes falls in it. One part extends from the district of Jordan till you pass Beisân; then comes Palestine. And if one proceeds continuously in this valley, [southwards], it will bring him to Ailah." These passages, which we now know to be literally correct, were long overlooked. Büsching, near the close of the last century, simply refers to them.[3]

But if we turn to the Hebrew Scriptures, both the knowledge and the name of the 'Arabah, are found to go back to a high antiquity. The Hebrew word *'Arabah*, signifying in general "a desert plain, Steppe[4]," is applied with the article (*the* 'Arabah) directly as the proper name of the great valley in question in its whole length; and has come down to us at the present day in the same form in Arabic, el-'Arabah. We find the Hebrew 'Arabah distinctly connected with the Red Sea and Elath; the Dead Sea itself is called the Sea

222. Jakût, Lex. Geogr. quoted by Schultens, Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Algaurum*. Reland, Pal. p. 1041.

[1] Abulfedæ, Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, Lips. 1766, pp. 8, 9.

[2] Ibid. p. 9. n. 35. See the account of this manuscript in Köhler's Procœmium.

[3] Erdbeschreibung, th. xi. i. pp. 379. 505. Hamb. 1792.

[4] Isa. xxxiii. 9. Jer. l. 12. li. 43.

of the 'Arabah. It extended also towards the north to the Lake of Tiberias; and the *'Arboth* (plains) of Jericho and Moab were parts of it.[1] The 'Arabah of the Hebrews, therefore, like the Ghôr of Abulfeda, was the great valley in its whole extent; and in our present state of knowledge respecting it, the Scriptures thus receive an important illustration.[2]

Yet so utterly unsuspected was the general conformation of the region at the beginning of the present century, that Seetzen, a keen observer and well prepared as a traveller, appears not to have noticed or inquired further after this great valley; although, as he descended from the mountains of Kerak in A. D. 1806, and again when he travelled in 1807 as far south as to the hill Madŭrah, it lay directly before him stretching off towards the south as far as the eye could reach. That he should have failed to remark it, is most singular; or if he noticed it, then his silence is equally unaccountable.[3] Burckhardt in 1812 was the first to visit and describe this valley as it exists; but his discovery seems to have been first published to the

[1] Heb. הָעֲרָבָה *ha'Arabah*, in connexion with the Red Sea and Elath, Deut. i. 1. ii. 8. As extending to the Lake of Tiberias, Josh. xii. 3. in the Heb. vs. 1. 2 Sam. iv. 7. 2 Kings, xxv. 4. "Sea of the 'Arabah, the Salt Sea," Josh. iii. 16. xii. 3. Deut. iv. 49. "Plains (עַרְבוֹת) of Jericho," Josh. v. 10. 2 Kings, xxv. 5. "Plains of Moab," *i. e.* opposite Jericho, probably pastured by Moab though not within its proper territory, Deut. xxxiv. 1. & Num. xxii. 1. Comp. Gesenius, Lex. Heb. art. עֲרָבָה.

[2] Besides this general illustration, the difficult passage in Deut. i. 1. admits in this way an easy explanation. The Israelites were in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho; and are there described as "in the 'Arabah over against the Red Sea," *i. e.* in the part opposite to the Red Sea, or towards the other end. This 'Arabah is then said to lie between Paran (Kadesh) on the one side, and Tophel (Tŭfilch) on the other. The remaining names mentioned, are all on the west, viz. Laban, the Libnah of Num. xxxiii. 20.; Hazeroth, *i. e.* 'Ain el-Hŭdherah; and Di-Zahab, probably Dahab. — I owe the suggestion of this explanation to the kind communication of Prof. Hengstenberg of Berlin.

[3] I speak here of course only with reference to his printed letters, in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xvii. pp. 133—140. xviii. pp. 433—443. His silence as to Mount Hor has already been noticed; p. 590. above.

world in 1819, and his more full description in 1822.[1] Before this time however, the sagacity of Ritter, from the account of Abulfeda alone, had already detected the true configuration of the region in question; and he had described it in language which, even now, there would be little occasion to alter.[2]

The journey of Laborde in 1828, gave occasion for the earliest and only good map of the 'Arabah, south of Wady Mûsa. The first to pass through its whole length from one sea to the other, was M. de Bertou, who preceded us by a few weeks. In looking through the published account of his journey, I have only to regret the appearance of some things, which I must regard as erroneous; and which, adopted as they seem to have been by Letronne, can only lead to confusion in the geography of this region.[3]

THE DEAD SEA AND CATASTROPHE OF THE PLAIN.

With the conformation of the valley of the 'Arabah as above described, the history and character of the Dead Sea stand in close connexion. It has usually been assumed, that this sea has existed only since the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as recorded in the Book of Genesis; and the favourite hypothesis of late years had been, that the Jordan before that time had flowed through the whole length of Wady el-'Arabah to the Gulf of 'Akabah, leaving the present bed of the Dead Sea a fertile plain. But this, as we had now learned, could not have been the case; at least not

[1] See the letter dated Sept. 12. 1812, prefixed to his Travels in Nubia, Lond. 1819. Also, Travels in Syria, &c. Lond. 1822, p. 441. seq.

[2] Erdkunde, th. ii. p. 218. Berl. 1818.

[3] These particulars are pointed out in Note XXXVII. end of the Volume. — See Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr. Juin, 1839, p. 274. seq. Oct. 1839, p. 113. seq. Letronne in Journal des Savans, Août, 1838. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, 1839, tom. iii. p. 296. seq.

within the times to which history reaches back. Instead of the Jordan pursuing its course southwards to the Gulf, we had found the waters of the 'Arabah itself, and also those of the high western desert far south of 'Akabah, all flowing northwards into the Dead Sea.[1] Every circumstance goes to show, that a lake must have existed in this place, into which the Jordan poured its waters, long before the catastrophe of Sodom. The great depression of the whole broad Jordan-valley and of the northern part of the 'Arabah, the direction of its lateral vallies, as well as the slope of the high western desert towards the north, all go to show that the configuration of this region, in its main features, is coëval with the present condition of the surface of the earth in general; and not the effect of any local catastrophe at a subsequent period.

It seems also to be a necessary conclusion, that the Dead Sea anciently covered a less extent of surface than at present. The cities which were destroyed, must have been situated on the south of the lake as it then existed; for Lot fled to Zoar, which was *near* to Sodom; and Zoar, as we have seen, lay almost at the southern end of the present sea, probably in the mouth of Wady Kerak as it opens upon the isthmus of the peninsula.[2] The fertile plain, therefore, which Lot chose for himself, where Sodom was situated, and which was well watered like the land of Egypt, lay also south of the lake, "as thou comest unto Zoar."[3] Even to the present day, more living streams flow into the Ghôr at the south end of the sea, from Wadys of the eastern mountains, than are to be found so near together in all Palestine; and the tract, although now

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 265. 294. Compare also above, p. 490. seq.

[2] Gen. xix. 20. "Behold now, this city is near to flee to." For the site of Zoar, see above, p. 480. and Note XXXIV.

[3] Gen. xiii. 10—12.

mostly desert, is still better watered, through these streams and by the many fountains, than any other district throughout the whole country.[1]

In the same plain were slime-pits; that is to say, wells of bitumen or asphaltum; the Hebrew word being the same, as that used in describing the building of the walls of Babylon, which we know were cemented with bitumen.[2] These pits or fountains appear to have been of considerable extent. The valley in which they were situated, is indeed called Siddim; but it is said to have been adjacent to the salt sea, and it contained Sodom and Gomorrah.[3] The streams that anciently watered the plain remain to attest the accuracy of the sacred historian; but the pits of asphaltum are no longer to be seen. Did they disappear in consequence of the catastrophe of the plain?

The remarkable configuration of the southern part of the Dead Sea, I have already described; — the long and singular peninsula connected with the eastern shore by a broad low neck; the bay extending up further south, in many parts very shallow; and the low flat shores beyond, over which the lake, when swollen by the rains of winter, sets up for several miles. Indeed the whole of this part of the sea, as I have said, as seen from the western mountains, resembles much the winding estuary of a large American river, when the tide is out, and the shoals left dry.[4] I have also related the sudden appearance of masses of asphaltum floating in the sea; which seems to occur at the present day only rarely, and immediately after earthquakes; and also, so far as the Arabs knew, only in the southern part of the sea.[5] The character of the

[1] See above, p. 488. seq.
[2] Heb. חֵמָר Gen. xiv. 10.; compared with xi. 3.
[3] Gen. xiv. 2, 3. 10—12.
[4] See above, pp. 205—208. 230.
[5] See p. 228. seq.

shores, the long mountain of fossil salt, and the various mineral productions, have also been described.[1]

In view of all these facts, viz. the necessary existence of a lake before the catastrophe of Sodom; the well-watered plain towards the south, in which were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and not far off the sources of bitumen; as also the peculiar character of this part of the Dead Sea, where alone asphaltum at the present day makes its appearance;—I say in view of all these facts, there is but a step to the obvious hypothesis, that the fertile plain is now in part occupied by the southern bay, or that portion of the sea lying south of the peninsula; and that by some convulsion or catastrophe of nature, connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities, either the surface of this plain was scooped out, or the bottom of the sea was heaved up, so as to cause the waters to overflow and cover permanently a larger tract than formerly. In either case, it would follow, that the sources of bitumen would in like manner be covered by the sea; and the slimy substance becoming hardened and fixed by contact with the waters, might be expected occasionally to rise and float upon the surface of this heavy flood. The ancients describe the masses of asphaltum as thus rising from the bottom of the sea, apparently in greater abundance than at the present day; although this circumstance perhaps may be accounted for, by supposing that the bitumen was not anciently, as now, eagerly gathered up and carried away.[2]

The country we know is subject to earthquakes; and exhibits also frequent traces of volcanic action. In the whole region around the Lake of Tiberias these traces are decided; and at a short distance N. W. of Safed, we afterwards came upon the crater of an ex-

[1] Page 218. seq. 482. seq.

[2] See pp. 229, 230.

tinguished volcano. It would have been no uncommon effect of either of these causes, to heave up the bottom of the ancient lake, and thus produce the phenomenon in question. But the historical account of the destruction of the cities, implies also the agency of fire: "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven;" and Abraham too "beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace."[1] Perhaps both causes were at work; for volcanic action and earthquakes go hand in hand; and the accompanying electric discharges usually cause lightnings to play and thunders to roll. In this way we have all the phenomena, which the most literal interpretation of the sacred records can demand.

Further, if we may suppose, that before this catastrophe, the bitumen had become accumulated around the sources, and had perhaps formed strata spreading for some distance upon the plain; that, possibly, these strata in some parts extended under the soil and might thus easily approach the vicinity of the cities;—if indeed we might suppose all this, then the kindling of such a mass of combustible materials, through volcanic action or by lightning from heaven, would cause a conflagration sufficient not only to ingulf the cities, but also to destroy the surface of the plain, so that "the smoke of the country would go up as the smoke of a furnace;" and the sea rushing in, would convert it to a tract of waters. The supposition of such an accumulation of bitumen may at first appear extravagant; but the hypothesis requires nothing more (and even less), than nature herself actually presents to our view, in the wonderful lake or tract of bitumen found on the island of Trinidad.[2] The subsequent barren-

[1] Gen. xix. 24. 28.

[2] See Transactions of the Royal Geological Society, London, 1811, vol. i. p. 63. seq. The account of

ness of the remaining portion of the plain, is readily accounted for by the presence of such masses of fossil salt, which perhaps were brought to light only at the same time.

The preceding views and suggestions are not the result of mere conjecture; but rest upon a basis of facts and analogies supplied by the researches of science. Nor do they depend simply upon my own unaided authority, which would be nothing in a matter of this kind. Through the kindness of the distinguished geologist Leopold von Buch, whose researches have been particularly directed to the phenomena of volcanos, I was permitted to lay before him an abstract of the facts which have been more fully detailed in this work; and the following letter in reply contains his commentary upon them.

Berlin, April 20. 1839.

SIR,

It is rather in reply to your kind confidence, than in the hope of presenting any observation of importance, that I address to you these lines.

The valley of the Jordan is a fissure (*crevasse*), which extends from Mount Lebanon to the Red Sea without interruption. Such, it seems to me, is the result of your researches, as well as of those of M. de Bertou and of M. Callier; who nevertheless find fault with Ritter for having said the same thing. These long fissures, especially frequent among limestone mountains, give the configuration to our continents. If they are very large and deep, they afford passage

this extraordinary lake of pitch illustrates so strikingly what may well have been the character of a portion of the ancient plain of Sodom, that I subjoin some extracts at the close of Note XXXVIII.

to the primitive mountains, which for that reason form *chains*, in the direction which the fissure prescribes. We might therefore expect a greater developement of the volcanic agents at the bottom of this fissure, than upon the heights.

According to the most recent researches, fossil salt is a product of volcanic or plutonic action along an opening of this nature. But fountains of asphaltum or bitumen are so likewise; as is proved by the numerous sources of bitumen from the foot of the Zagros in the environs of Bassorah as far as to Mosul and also at Bakou; as is proved further by the source of bitumen in the Gulf of Naples, or at Mellilli near to Syracuse; as is proved too by the sources of bitumen in the isle of Zante, and even by the bitumen of Seyssel, of which they make side-walks in Paris.

The asphaltum of the Dead Sea is probably nothing more than bitumen consolidated at the bottom of the lake; which, not being able to flow off, forms by consequence a layer at the bottom, as in the island of Trinidad. It is quite probable, that this accumulation may have taken place in remote times, as well as in our day; and if some volcanic action, an elevation of the soil, or shocks of earthquakes, have brought to light masses of asphaltum analogous to that which you describe, (a phenomenon of the highest importance, hitherto unknown,) we can very well conceive of the conflagration of entire cities, by the inflammation of materials so eminently combustible.

Could some mass of basalt be discovered in the southern part, or towards the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, one might believe that a basaltic dyke had been heaved up at the time of the celebrated catastrophe; just as this took place in 1820, near the isle of Banda, and at another time at the foot of the

volcano of Ternate.[1] The movements which accompany the breaking out of such a dyke, are of a character to produce all the phenomena which have changed this interesting region, without exercising any very marked influence upon the form and configuration of the mountains round about.

The fertility of the soil depends sometimes upon light accidents. It is not probable, that bitumen would be adapted to augment it. But it is very possible, that earthquakes may have brought out a larger mass of fossil salt; which being carried by the waters to the bottom of the valley, would suffice to take away its productive power. Lot would hardly have been so struck with the fossil salt, as to suppose his wife was changed into salt, had there been any knowledge of its existence between the layers of the mountain, before the remarkable catastrophe.

It is to be hoped, that the very active Geological Society of London may one day send out one of its members, to illuminate with the torch of Geology the facts which interest all the world. But it would be necessary to examine the whole geological constitution, both of Mount Lebanon and of all the valley of the Jordan, from Tiberias quite to 'Akabah.

I conceive, Sir, that all this can hardly content you. But I think it would be rash to build a theory upon facts, of which one has not himself at least observed the results.

(Signed) LEOPOLD VON BUCH.[2]

[1] Déscription des Iles Canaries, &c., par L. de Buch, Paris, 1836, pp. 412. 433.

[2] The original of this letter, as also my own previous letter to which it is a reply, are given in Note XXXVIII. end of the Volume.—For some of the main suggestions contained in the views above presented, I am indebted to my friend and companion, Mr. Smith, whose attention was turned to the subject at an earlier period than my own. It was in consequence of these suggestions, that I was first led to lay the subject before the writer of the above letter.

APPROACH OF THE ISRAELITES TO PALESTINE.

I have formerly endeavoured to trace the route of the Israelites to Sinai; and have pointed out also their probable course from Sinai northwards, passing by 'Ain el-Hŭdhera, corresponding to the ancient Hazeroth.[1] I have likewise already expressed my conviction, that whatever may have been the direction of their course after leaving that fountain, — whether to the shore of the eastern gulf and so along the 'Arabah, or whether they crossed the Tîh and came out upon the high western desert north of that mountain, — they still could not have passed on the west of Jebel 'Arâif, and the mountainous tract further north. Such a course would have brought them directly to Beersheba, and not to Kadesh in "the uttermost border of Edom."[2]

The mountainous tract north of Jebel 'Arâif and west of the 'Arabah, forming the country of the 'Ăzâzimeh, we had now seen on all sides. Beginning at the bluff el-Mŭkrâh and the fountain 'Ain esh-Shahibîyeh, it extends northwards nearly or quite to the point where we now were, a desert limestone region full of precipitous ridges, through which no travelled road has ever passed.[3] Our conviction was therefore strengthened, that even if the Israelites came out at first upon the great western plateau, they must necessarily have followed down the Jerâfeh to its junction with the 'Arabah opposite Mount Hor; and then, in any case, have approached the border of Palestine along the latter valley. Most probably, however, they

[1] See at the end of sect. ii. and the first part of sect. iii. For el-Hŭdhera see Vol. I. pp. 222—224.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 276.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 275. Not but that it may be and is sometimes traversed; for the 'Azazimeh live in it; but other Arabs avoid the tract and pass around it on their journies. M. Callier appears to have got among these mountains on his journey in this region; Journ. des Savans, Jan. 1836. Nouv. Annal. des Voyages, 1839, tom. iii. p. 272.

passed by way of the Red Sea and the 'Arabah; for the language of the sacred writer seems to imply, that their way led along Mount Seir.[1]

We are led also to the same conclusion by all the scriptural notices of the site of Kadesh, to which they first came. It was "in the uttermost border of Edom."[2] The southern quarter of Judah too is described as being "along by the coast of Edom;" and the line was drawn "from the shore of the salt sea, from the bay that looked southward; and it went out to the south side to the ascent of Akrabbim; and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side to Kadesh-barnea."[3] Further, from Kadesh the spies entered Palestine by ascending the mountain; and the murmuring Israelites attempting to do the same, were driven back by the Amalekites and Canaanites, and afterwards apparently by the king of Arad as far as to Hormah, then called Zephath.[4] There was also at Kadesh a fountain, mentioned long before the exodus of the Israelites; and the miraculous supply of water took place only at their second visit; which implies, that at their first approach, there was no special lack of this necessary article.[5] From Kadesh they turned back to Mount Hor, and thence proceeded to the Red Sea.

These circumstances all combine to fix the site of Kadesh at a fountain in the northern part of the great valley; and I have already pointed out the remarkable coincidence of the position of the fountain el-Weibeh, with all these particulars. There the Israelites would have Mount Hor in the S. S. E. towering directly before them; across the 'Arabah is the Wady el-Ghu-

[1] Deut. i. 2.
[2] Num. xx. 16.
[3] Josh. xv. 1, 2, 3.; comp. Num. xxxiv. 3, 4.
[4] Num. xiii. 17. xiv. 40—45. xxi. 1—3. Deut. i. 41—44. Comp. Judg. i. 17.
[5] Gen. xiv. 7. Num. xx. 1—11.

weir, affording an easy passage through the land of Edom; in the N.W. rises the mountain by which they attempted to ascend to Palestine, with the pass still called Sŭfâh (Zephath); while further north we find also Tell 'Arâd, marking the site of the ancient Arad. To all this comes then the vicinity of the southern bay of the Dead Sea; the line of cliffs or offset separating the Ghôr from the 'Arabah, answering to the ascent of Akrabbim[1]; and the desert of Zin with the place of the same name between Akrabbim and Kadesh, not improbably at the water of Hasb in the Arabah.[2] — In this way all becomes easy and natural; and the scriptural account is entirely accordant with the character of the country.

I have thus far assumed that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh; and this appears from a comparison of the various accounts. They broke up from Sinai on the twentieth day of the second month in the second year of their departure out of Egypt, corresponding to the early part of May[3]; they came into the desert of Paran, whence spies were sent up the mountain into Palestine, in "the time of the first ripe grapes;" and these returned after forty days to the camp at Kadesh.[4] As grapes begin to ripen on the mountains of Judah in July, the return of the spies is to be placed in August or September. The people now murmured at the report of the spies; and received the sentence from Jehovah, that their carcasses should fall in the wilderness, and their children wander in the desert forty years.[5] They were ordered to turn back into the desert "by the way of the Red Sea;" although it appears that they abode "many days" in Kadesh.[6]

[1] See above, p. 501.
[2] See pp. 499. 586. Compare Num. xx. 1.
[3] Num. x. 11.; comp. ix. 1.
[4] Num. xii. 16. xiii. 2. 17. 20. 25, 26.
[5] Num. xiv. 29. 32, 33.
[6] Num. xiv. 25. Deut. i. 40. 46.

The next notice of the Israelites is, that in the first month they came into the desert of Zin and abode again at Kadesh; here Miriam dies; Moses and Aaron bring water from the rock; a passage is demanded through the land of Edom, and refused; and they then journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor, where Aaron dies in the fortieth year of the departure from Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month, corresponding to a part of August and September.[1] Here, then, between August of the *second* year and August of the *fortieth* year, we have an interval of thirty-eight years of wandering in the desert. With this coincides another account. From Mount Hor they proceeded to Elath on the Red Sea, and so around the Land of Edom to the brook Zered on the border of Moab; and from the time of their departure from Kadesh (meaning of course their first departure), until they thus came to the brook Zered, there is said to have been an interval of thirty-eight years.[2]

In this way, the scriptural account of the journeyings of the Israelites becomes perfectly harmonious and intelligible. The eighteen stations mentioned only in the general list in the Book of Numbers, as preceding the arrival at Kadesh, are then apparently to be referred to this eight and thirty years of wandering, during which the people at last approached Ezion-geber, and afterwards returned northwards a second time to Kadesh, in the hope of passing directly through the land of Edom.[3] Their wanderings extended doubtless over the western desert; although the stations named are probably only those head-quarters where the tabernacle was pitched, and where Moses and the elders and priests encamped; while the main

[1] Num. xx. 1—29.; xxxiii. 37, 38.
[2] Num. xxi. 4. Deut. ii. 8. 13, 14.
[3] See the list of all these stations, Num. xxxiii. 18—36.

18.

body of the people was scattered in various directions.[1]

How in these wide deserts, this host of more than two millions of souls, having no traffic nor intercourse with the surrounding hordes, could find supplies of food and water sufficient for their support, without a constant miracle, I for one am unable to divine. Yet among them we read only of occasional longings and complaints; while the tribes that now roam over the same regions, although numbering scarcely as many thousands, are exposed to famine and privation of every kind; and, at the best, obtain only a meagre and precarious subsistence.[2]

Sunday, June 3d. After our fatigues of the preceding two days, we slept soundly until 6½ o'clock; and rose congratulating ourselves upon the rest of the Christian Sabbath. But this rest to-day was not to be of long duration. After breakfast, one of the Arabs, Muhammed, went with the camels to the water at the head of the pass Yemen, nearly an hour distant from our tent in the S. W. There, as he said, he met an Arab who had come up the pass during the night, and who reported, that yesterday towards evening he had seen a party of men with horses and dromedaries encamp at the water of Hasb in the 'Arabah, apparently coming this way on a marauding expedition. Our Arabs immediately concluded that they were of the Sŭlît or Hejâya, coming against the Tiyâhah in retaliation for the inroads of the latter. Should they ascend by the Sŭfâh, they would come directly upon us; or if by the Yemen, their scouts would doubtless

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 106. Comp. ib. p. 75.

[2] For a synoptical arrangement of the several lists of stations during the wanderings of the Israelites, exhibiting in one view the whole course of their journey, see Note XXXIX. end of the volume.

discover our tent; and as they were at war with the Jehâlîn also, we should of course be exposed to be plundered, if to nothing worse. We had, indeed, strong suspicions, that this was a story got up by Muhammed, the worthless buffoon, who alone had seen the stranger, in order to induce us to push forward. Yet it might after all be true; and we therefore thought it advisable, under the circumstances, to go on, and get out of the reach of any danger. This was, however, the only instance, in which we were compelled to violate our principle of not travelling upon the Christian Sabbath. — It was said, the party would not reach the top of the pass until the afternoon. A camel was now despatched with the water-skins to be filled at the water of Yemen. The Arabs seemed to be in no hurry whatever; and it was not until after long delays, that we at length set off. Nor do we know unto the present day whether the story of the hostile party was true or false.

We at length started at 10¾ o'clock; the course continuing about N. N. W. We soon came out upon an open and tolerably level tract, called et-Tŭrâibeh; which, although chiefly covered with loose sand, had every where many herbs, affording pasture for camels. It belongs to the Arabs called Sa'îdîyeh. Before us was another long mountain-ridge, running from E. N. E. to W. S. W., similar in its general appearance to that we had ascended last night; though not more than half as high. This tract, between the top of one ridge and the bottom of the other, constitutes the second step or offset of the whole ascent between the 'Arabah and Palestine; and is, as we have seen, the continuation in this direction of the broad region of desert hills between the two passes of ez-Zuweirah; the lower ridge being here much higher, and the upper one much lower than on that road. Further north, it is

drained by Wady el-Fâ'iya, a branch of the Muhauwat, which enters the Dead Sea at the north end of Usdum[1]; but just in this part, the waters are carried off southwards by one of the main heads of Wady el-Yemen, which runs along the base of the next ridge. On this plain, the roads from the three passes, Sufey, Sŭfâh, and Yemen, all unite; and a branch was also said to come in from the Haudeh.[2]

At 12h 25′ we crossed the branch of Wady el-Yemen, which commences not far to the right. Here we immediately began to ascend by a low gap in the ridge before us, called el-Muzeikah. The ascent is gradual and easy; at a quarter before one, we were at the top, and came out upon another higher tract of table-land, or rather a basin, shut in on the S. E. by hills, forming the top of the ridge. They are here comparatively low; but further towards the W. S. W. the ridge becomes higher, and spreads out into a mountainous tract, through which our Arabs knew no road. Yet we were led to suppose, that the pass el-Ghârib, of which we had several times heard, is probably connected with this range of mountains.[3]

We kept on N. N. W. across the basin, around which are gravel-hills, and which is bounded on the other side at the distance of about an hour by another low ridge or line of hills, parallel to that we had just

[1] See above, pp. 476. 480.

[2] In 1834, M. Callier travelled from Hebron to "Dariyé" (Dhoheriych); thence S. S. W. to Wady "Kalassa" (Khŭlasah, Kŭrn, see Vol. I. p. 298.), at the foot of the mountains, where he encamped on the third day. On the fourth day he followed up this Wady into the mountains, and then descended eastwards along another Wady called "Traybé" (Tŭrâibeh), which brought him near to the Ghôr. This would seem to have some reference to the tract we were now crossing, which is about in the latitude of Wady Khŭlasah; and the traveller probably approached the pass of Yemen. But from Hebron to this point, his route by Dhoherîyeh was singularly circuitous; occupying four days instead of the two, which it took us. See Journ. des Savans, Jan. 1836, p. 47. Nouv. Annal. de Voy. 1839, tom. iii. p. 274.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 306.; also p. 588. above.

ascended. On our right the surface had a gradual descent; and here was the beginning of a Wady running down N. E. to Wady el-Fâ'iya, and forming one of its heads. On the left we could perceive a shallow Wady called Abu Terâifeh, coming from the north and passing down through the hills of the ridge we had ascended, about half a mile further S. W. to Wady el-Yemen. Another road ascends along this Wady, which was taken by some of our Arabs. Just at the head of this latter pass, we could distinctly see the ruins of a town, called Kurnub, covering a low hill near the Wady; our guides said there was here living water in pits (Themâil); and on that account they had been very desirous to reach this spot the evening before. With our telescopes we could distinguish two or three ruined walls, apparently of hewn stones, which seemed to be the remains of churches or other public buildings.[1] This place is marked on Seetzen's map, and would seem most probably to have been the Thamara of Ptolemy and other writers, as well as the Thamar of the Old Testament.[2] The grounds on which this supposition rests, will be better understood in connection with the remarks respecting el-Milh further on.

In passing over this open tract or basin, we saw traces of grass, now dried up. At 1h 20′ we crossed obliquely the bed of Wady Abu Terâifeh. Here a path

[1] Lord Lindsay appears to have ascended by the more southern pass, directly to Kurnub; he describes it as the extensive ruins of an ancient walled town, about three hours from the top of the pass es-Sŭfâh, exhibiting fragments of columns, but no inscriptions; he saw a large vaulted subterranean chamber near a ruined building, and a strong dam in a ravine on the south of the town. Letters, &c. ii. p. 46. When Schubert passed this way, there was here an an Arab encampment; Reise, ii. p. 449.

[2] Ezek. xlvii. 19. xlviii. 28. Reland, Palæst. p. 1031. — The question suggests itself not unnaturally: Whether these ruins may not mark the site of Hormah, the ancient Zephath? But this place would more appropriately be sought further south, nearer to the pass Sŭfâh (Zephath); if not indeed quite at the foot of the pass, around the small fort. It could hardly be expected that any very distinct ruins should yet remain of a town last mentioned in 1 Sam. xxx. 30. See Reland, Pal. p. 721.

branched off to the right, leading directly to the country of the Jehâlîn; while that which we still followed is the Hebron and Gaza road. At 2 o'clock we came out upon the top of the swell or low ridge above mentioned, here called Kubbet el-Baul; and had before us a smaller basin forming the head of Wady 'Ar'ârah, which runs off to Wady 'es-Seba', and so to the Mediterranean. We now had a slight descent into this basin, and kept then along the broad Wady. Here was the first appearance of soil; and along this tract we found at 2^h 30′ traces of ancient walls, probably once dams or terraces connected with tillage. Indeed the vestiges of ancient cultivation began to be every where visible. Towards the western part, at 3^h 5′, we passed the foundations of a former village of unhewn stones, now called el-Kuseir (little castle), from a small structure near the foot of the hill, which may have been a tower. This tract belongs to the Dhŭllâm. We found in it a stray female camel with her foal, which our Arabs at first were inclined to drive off with them. They caught her and examined her marks; and finding that she belonged to the 'Azâzimeh, let her go. Each tribe has a peculiar mark for its camels; and those of one tribe are in no danger of being taken by any other in time of peace.

At a quarter past three o'clock, another path went off towards the right, leading directly to el-Milh; this is the direct Hebron road. We still kept the Gaza path, which passes to the left of el-Milh. The Wady soon sweeps off more towards the N. E. and afterwards N. W. We ascended the low ridge or swell on the left, and from the top at $3\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, had a wide view over the broad, open, undulating region, extending in the north-east to the neighbourhood of Tell 'Arâd, and on the west towards Beersheba, with the mountains of Judah in the north. Indeed it was the southern

part of the same wide tract, which we had formerly beheld from the mountain south of Carmel[1]; and that same mountain-ridge was now directly before us, terminating towards the left in a low bluff; and forming, as it were, another step in the whole ascent. The high encampment of the Jehâlîn was visible bearing about N. N. E. — Descending very gradually towards the north for an hour, we again struck Wady 'Ar'ârah at 4¾ o'clock, here running N. W. and then W. N. W. to join Wady es-Seba', of which it is one of the main branches.

Here in the broad Wady are many pits for water (Themâil), which are called 'Ar'ârah, and give name to the valley. The water is good; but most of the pits were now dry. In the valley and on the western hill are evident traces of an ancient village or town; consisting only of foundations of unhewn stones now much scattered, but yet sufficiently in place to mark them as foundations. Small fragments of pottery are also every where visible. In this instance, the name leaves little room to question, that this is the site of the ancient Aroer of the south of Judah; to which David sent presents after the recovery of the spoil of Ziklag.[2] —This water is frequented chiefly by the Dhŭllâm. On the west side of the bed of the Wady is a burying-place belonging to the Sa'îdîyeh; in which were several fresh graves. The dead are brought from a great distance to this cemetery.

We had come thus far upon the Gaza road in order to visit the site of Aroer. After a stop of ten minutes, we now struck across the country N. E. towards Milh, without a path, in order to regain the Hebron road. The land was undulating, with gentle swells and broad vallies. Here we fell in with another stray camel, which joined company with ours, although the Arabs

[1] See p. 466, 467.

[2] 1 Sam. xxx. 26. 28.

tried to drive it away. At six o'clock we encamped in a retired valley, hid from all view; and felt ourselves now out of the reach of all marauders, whether real or imaginary.

Monday, June 4th. We rose early, and found ourselves enveloped in a thick fog, the first we had yet *felt* in Palestine; once before, when at Beit Nettîf, we had *seen* the mists in the vallies below. The strange camel was still with us; while the dromedary of my companion had strayed away during the night, and was nowhere to be found. It was the property of Sheikh Hussân, who now went in search of it. As however we no longer needed to fill the water-skins, we were able to get on with four camels; and accordingly set off at 5 o'clock, leaving Hussân to overtake us. Our track was N. E. over a country still undulating; and after an hour we reached the wells el-Milh at 6 o'clock. Here we stopped for breakfast, and to wait for Hussân; but we saw no more of him to-day; and afterwards learned, that having sought long and in vain for his camel, he had despaired of overtaking us, and had gone directly to the encampment of his tribe.

At Milh are two wells, measuring about forty feet in depth, and walled up round with good mason-work; one of them is seven and a half, and the other, five feet in diameter. The water seemed not to be good, and the Arabs said it was acid; but we had no rope or bucket to draw any. The Arabs of the Tiyâhah water here; they come hither early in autumn; and after the rains commence, send their camels to the Ghôr es-Sâfieh for the winter, and go themselves to sow in the Sherî'ah south of Gaza.[1] — The broad shallow Wady close by which the walls are situated,

[1] In this connection it was told us, that the Kudeirât water at Beersheba; and that the Terâbîn live chiefly in the Fâri'a.

Wady el-Milh, comes from the N.E. and continues on W.S.W. to unite with the 'Ar'ârah, and so to Wady es-Seba'. It passes around the south-western extremity or bluff of the ridge before us (that S. of Kurmul), which was now not far distant in the same direction. Here and on our way great numbers of the bird called Kŭtâ by the Arabs, a large species of partridge, were flying about very low in all directions; our Egyptian servants, being used only to water-fowl, mistook them for ducks, and fired among them repeatedly, though without success. This species of bird has often been supposed to be the quails, that came up and covered the camp of the Israelites; but there seems to be no other ground for this opinion, than their present abundance in regions not very far remote from the route of that people.[1]

On the plain adjacent to the wells on the south, the stones of a ruined town, or extensive village, are scattered over a space of nearly half a mile square, all unhewn. Just by the wells is a round hill like a high tumulus, upon which the foundations of a wall are visible, running in the form of a square around the whole top. On this hill is now an Arab cemetery, where the Dhŭllâm bury.[2] From this spot we saw Tell el-Kuseifeh, a hill about an hour distant, having upon it what appeared to be a considerable ruin. Tell 'Arâd

[1] Ex. xvi. 13. Num. xi. 31, 32. Ps. cv. 40.—The Kŭtâ is the *Tetrao Alchata* of Linnæus, Syst. Nat. tom. i. p. ii. p. 745. No. 11. Hasselquist calls it "Tetrao Israelitarum," and describes it fully, Reise, pp. 331—333. But the Hebrew name of the bird of the Israelites is *Selav* (שְׂלָו) quail; and the present Arabic name for the quail is *Selwa*. The ancient versions also understood here the quail; Sept. ὀρτυγομήτρα, Vulg. *coturnix*. There would therefore seem to be no sufficient reason for laying aside this coincidence, and adopting another explanation on mere conjecture. See Gesenius's Anmerk. zu Burckhardt, p. 1067. Comp. Niebuhr's Beschr. von Arabien, p. 176. Rosenmüller's Bibl. Archæol. iv. 2. p. 346, seq.

[2] From the summit of this Tell at Milh, we took the following bearings: Encampment of the Jehâlîn about N. 38° E. Tell el-Kuseifeh N. 54° E. Tell 'Arâd N. 59° E.

lies somewhat more remote; and, as we have seen, probably marks the site of the ancient Arad.[1] The Arabs said indeed, that no ruins exist there; but they had said the same thing of 'Ar'ârah and Milh. Two other places, Rŭkhama and 'Aslûj, were mentioned as lying S.W. of Milh on the way to 'Abdeh.

These wells and ruins at el-Milh, I am disposed to regard as marking the site of the ancient Moladah of the Old Testament, the Malatha of the Greeks and Romans. There is at first sight an apparent resemblance in the names; but I am able to make out no etymological affinity; and if there be a connection, it can be only because the Arabic, in the popular pronunciation, has corrupted the last letter, so as to obtain a usual and significant form.[2] But the testimonies of ancient writers as to the position of Malatha are tolerably definite.

Moladah was situated in the extreme south of Judah towards Edom; it was afterwards assigned to Simeon; and was again inhabited after the exile.[3] Josephus also mentions Malatha as in his day a castle of Idumea.[4] Eusebius and Jerome speak of it several times, and

[1] See above, p. 473.

[2] The form *Milh* has no etymological affinity with Moladah (מוֹלָדָה), nor Malatha (Μάλαθα). There is no known instance of a change of ד, or ע, into the Arabic *Ha*. If possibly it be a corruption from the Greek (Milh for Μαλθ), we must regard it as an instance of the usual tendency of popular pronunciation, to reduce foreign proper names to a significant form; as in German, *Mailand* (i. e. May-land) for Milan; and as in English the plant Asparagus is mostly known among the common people only as *Sparrow-grass*. At any rate, *Milh* (salt) and its derivatives furnish among the Arabs many names for places; thus besides Milh, we have in several instances, Mâlih, Mâlihah, Muweilih, and Mawâlih. — But even to the supposition of such a corruption from the Greek, there is this objection. In all other cases, where the present Arabic name of a place owes its origin to a Greek name, that Greek name was wholly different from the original Hebrew one; as in Nâbulus and Sebŭstieh for the ancient Shechem and Samaria. But here the Greek form itself is a mere corruption of the Hebrew; and the Arabic would more naturally follow the latter.

[3] Josh. xv. 26.; comp. vs. 21. xix. 2. 1 Chr. iv. 28. Nehem. xi. 26. See generally Reland, Palæst. pp. 885, 886.

[4] Antiq. xviii. 6. 2.

place it four Roman miles from Arad, on the way from Hebron to Aila by Thamara; Arad itself being according to them twenty miles from Hebron.[1] Still later, Malatha is noticed as the station of a Roman cohort.[2] To all these circumstances, as it seems to me, the situation of el-Milh very exactly corresponds. We have here the vestiges of an extensive town with important wells, on the great route from Hebron to the Red Sea through the 'Arabah; and in the N. E. by E. we still find Tell 'Arâd, about an hour and a half from Milh, and some eight hours distant from Hebron on a different route.[3]

According to Eusebius and Jerome, Thamara was a town and fortress one day's journey from Malatha on the way from Hebron to Ailah, and in their day was held by a Roman garrison.[4] It is likewise mentioned in the same quarter by Ptolemy and in the Peutinger Tables[5]; and seems to have been the Thamar of the prophet Ezekiel, from which the southern border of the land was to be measured, on one side to Kadesh, and on the other to the western sea.[6] If we assume, as above, that Malatha was situated at el-

[1] Onomast. arts. *Arath* (Ἀραμά), *Hazazon-Thamar*. See note [4] below.

[2] Notitia Dignitatum ed. Panciroli, pp. 217, 219. Reland, Pal. p. 231.—The Notitia reads *Moleaha*, and another manuscript has *Moleathia*.

[3] To judge merely from the name, el-Milh might well be the "City of Salt," (עִיר הַמֶּלַח) mentioned Josh. xv. 62. That city, however lay, not in the south of Judah, but in the desert near the Dead Sea (comp. vs. 21. 61.); and I have already spoken of it as probably situated in or near the valley of Salt, at the south end of that lake. See above, p. 483.

[4] Onomast. art. *Hazazon-Thamar*. The text of both authors is here singularly corrupted in this proper name; Eusebius has: Λέγεται δέ τις Θαμαρὰ κώμη ἱεστῶσα μόλις (al. Μάλις) ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπεόντων ἀπὸ Χεβρὼν εἰς Αἰλάμ. Jerome: "Est et aliud castellum Thamara unius diei itinere a Memphis oppido separatum pergentibus Ailam de Chebron." But these corruptions fortunately aid in correcting each other; the Memphis of Jerome serves to show that there must have been here a proper name; while the μόλις or Μάλις of Eusebius shows no less clearly, that this name was Malatha. Comp. Le Clerc in loc. Reland, Palæst. p. 1031.

[5] Ptolem. iv. 16. Reland, Pal. p. 462.

[6] Ezek. xlvii. 10.; xlviii. 28.

Milh, then all the circumstances correspond, to fix the position of Thamara at Kurnub, the site with ruins six hours south of Milh towards the pass es-Sŭfâh. In that place we find the remains of a walled town, with water, on the great route from Hebron to 'Akabah by way of the 'Arabah, at the distance of an ordinary day's journey from el-Milh.[1]

From all these considerations, it appears probable, that the ancient eastern road from Hebron to Ailah and also that to Petra, followed the same general route as that of the present day; passing by Malatha and Thamara, and so down the mountain to Kadesh; just as now it touches el-Milh, Kurnub, and el-Weibeh, and thence branches off to 'Akabah and Wady Mûsa.[2]

After having waited for more than an hour and a half, and no Hussân appearing, we at length at 7h 40′ set forward. The guides were very desirous to take us to the encampment of their tribe for the night; while our wish was to go by Semû'a and reach Hebron to-day; both because it would save us time, and because we should thus escape the annoyance of the Bedawîn hospitality, manifested in the killing and eating of a sheep among themselves, for which we should then have to pay the full value in the shape of a present. Yet so bent were the Arabs upon their object, that at first they prevaricated, and said there was no way by Semû'a; though they could take us, they said, across the mountain west of their encampment, and so through Sûsieh and Yŭtta to Hebrón. At last, however, they recollected that there was also a road to Semû'a, and we took it. Our course lay about N. N. E.½E. having the mountain at our left, and approaching it gradually and very obliquely along a level plain. At 9½ o'clock we came to the foot of the

[1] See p. 616.

[2] See p. 587.

ascent; and had on our right not far off the site of a former place, called Mak-hûl, consisting of little more than a few caves in the side of the hill. Indeed, such caverns constitute the chief mark of several ancient sites in this region. The path goes up here along a gap or ravine, somewhat steep, but not long. We reached the top of the steep ascent at a quarter before ten; and stopped for a time to survey the country behind us; and take the bearings of several points.[1]

This ascent did not, as we had expected, bring us out upon a ridge, like that we had crossed in travelling south from Carmel and Ma'în; but only among higher hills. After fifteen minutes we went on again; and continued gradually ascending along the Wady, shut in by the mountainous tract on every side, which cut off all prospect around us. Here all at once a jackal started up near our path, and ran at full speed up a hill on our left; when about half way to the top, much to our amusement, he stopped and looked round very sheepishly, to see if we were yet in sight; and perceiving us, set off anew with still greater speed, without venturing to look again. At 10½ o'clock we were through the mountainous tract, and came out upon the hill country of Judah, resembling the region around Hebron in its hills and naked rocks; but apparently less fertile. We made here no descent from the chain of hills behind us; but had gained another step of the whole ascent between the Dead Sea and Hebron.

On examining the list of the cities of Judah and Simeon, as given in the Book of Joshua, it appears, that all the cities of the "mountains," so far as their position is known, were situated north of the point where we now were; while those of the uttermost south lay

[1] The bearings here taken were as follows: Tell Milh S. 26° W. Tell Kuseifeh S. 2° E. Tell 'Arâd S. 70° E. South end of the mountain of Moab S. 57° E.

either behind us or on our left, further in the south.[1] This leads to the probable conjecture, that this mountain-ridge, which commences not far from Carmel and runs W. S. W. to the latitude of Beersheba, formed the natural boundary, on this side, of the higher tract or "mountains" of Judah; while the lower region further south, extending quite around to Beersheba, constituted appropriately the uttermost border "toward the coast of Edom southward."

At this season of drought, the country looked naked and desolate; towards the north and west, the eye rested only on parched and rocky hills. Yet it was evidently a fine grazing region. Traces of ancient tillage were every where visible in the terraces built up along the hill-sides. Our course was now in general about N. 20° E. At 11h 20′ we came upon the first appearance of recent tillage; and near by were fields of millet, sown by the people of Semû'a. At 11h 40′ we had in a valley on our right, eight or ten minutes distant, the ruins of a village called el-Ghuwein[2]; and at the same time the site of 'Attîr was on our left, bearing about west at the distance of half an hour, marked by caves upon a hill.[3] Here we fell in with several small swarms of young locusts, the first we had seen during our journey. They were quite green, with wings just sprouting; they entirely resembled

[1] Josh. xv. 21—32. 48—60.

[2] This name el-Ghuwein suggests the Ain of the south of Judah, Josh. xv. 32. xix. 7. It is simply a diminutive form, corresponding to the Hebrew עֵין. Ain is indeed mentioned among the cities of the south; which, as I have above suggested, lay perhaps properly beyond the ridge we had just ascended. But in Josh. xxi. 16. Ain is enumerated as a city of the priests, along with Juttah, Jattir, Eshtemoa, and Debir, all of which lay north of this mountain; while none of the other cities of the south were given to the priests. Not improbably, therefore, Ain being situated near the natural border, may have been reckoned to the south, although not strictly belonging to it; just as the Gibeah (Jeb'ah) of Judah was reckoned to the mountains, although it actually lay at their foot, in Wady el-Musûrr. See above, p. 327.

[3] See above, p. 194.

grasshoppers, and hopped briskly away from our path. Our Arabs, when asked if they ate them, spurned at the idea; but said the Ma'âz do so, and also the Sherârât, a tribe in Wady Sirhân in the east.

From an elevated point of the road at 12¼ o'clock, several places were visible, which we had formerly seen from Ma'în.[1] Their names and sites were quite familiar to us; and we felt that we were approaching Hebron, which we looked upon almost as the end of our journey.

At half-past 12 o'clock, we passed a ruin on a hill at the left, called Râfât; and just by the wayside was a cistern of rain-water hewn in the rock, with a large circular hewn stone near by, intended probably as a curb-stone, but never finished. Ten minutes beyond, we came to another place of ruins bearing the same name, Râfât, on the southern slope of a low hill close by the path. These ruins are somewhat extensive, with remains of walls and arches. A square building of large hewn stones is still standing; the doorway has been walled up; but over it is a round arch of good workmanship, separate from the wall, and as it were leaning against it. The building has the appearance of having been once a church.

We reached Semû'a, the first inhabited place in approaching Hebron from this quarter, at 1 o'clock. It is a considerable village, situated on a low hill, with broad vallies round about, not susceptible of much tillage, but full of flocks and herds all in fine order. We halted among the olive-trees in the shallow southern valley; and were glad once more to obtain milk and fresh fruits for our noonday meal. After dinner we walked through and around the village. In several

[1] These places bore as follows: Semû'a N. 20° E. Mejd el-Bâ'a N. 4° E. Shuweikeh N. 51° W. Dhoherîyeh N. 57° W. Za'nûtah N. 85° W.

places there are remains of walls built of very large stones, bevelled, but left rough in the middle. We measured several of the stones, which were more than ten feet in length. These old foundations seem to mark this as the site of an extensive ancient town; probably, as I have already shown, the Eshtemoa of the Old Testament.[1]

The most conspicuous object at the present day, are the ruins of a castle; of which however only one square tower remains in any degree perfect. This and the other portions of the walls are built of well-wrought masonry, with loop-holes; but there are now no arches, except some small ones of modern construction. The work does not look ancient; and might perhaps be referred to the crusaders; were there any evidence that they had outposts and fortresses further south than Hebron. It is most probably of Saracenic or Turkish origin. — We had some difficulty in getting to the top of the tower, as all the doors leading to it were closed; and we could find no place by which to climb up on the outside. The men of whom we inquired seemed too lazy to take the trouble of showing us the way. At length, however, one man volunteered to take us up; and led the way, clambering up the outside of the wall, and passing over the flat roofs of several houses. He seemed well acquainted with the surrounding country, and proved an intelligent guide.

The prospect from the tower is somewhat extensive; and various places were in sight.[2] At Sûsieh, we were told, here as well as at Ma'în, is a large extent of ruins, with columns and other indications of an ancient city.[3] Our guide also said that at Ma'în and

[1] See above, p. 194. note 4.

[2] Bearings at Semû'a: Ma'în N. 87° E. Sûsieh N. 80° E. Beni Na'îm N. 41° E. Yûtta N. 30° E. Hebron, not visible, about N. 20° E. Mejd el Bâ'a N. 5° W. Shuweikeh N. 75° W. Dhoherîyeh N. 7° W.

[3] See pp. 194, 195.

Tawâneh, there are wells of living water belonging to the Jehâlîn; and other similar ones at Deirât and Abu Shebbân belonging to the Ka'âbineh; while both tribes water at Kurmul in common. This however does not accord with the account given us by the Jehâlîn themselves.[1]

As we came down from the tower, an old man sat at the foot, playing on the Kemenjeh, a little musical instrument somewhat like a viol, common also in Egypt, and described by Mr. Lane.[2] We left Semû'a at 2¼ o'clock, descending first gradually into a deep valley running S. W. apparently the great drain of the basin west of Carmel and Zîf[3]; and then ascending to the higher tract beyond. Here, after about three quarters of an hour, Yŭtta lay on the right before us, having the appearance of a large modern Muhammedan town, on a low eminence, with trees around. Our guide at Semû'a told us, that there were here old foundations and walls like those in the former place. We have already seen that this is the ancient Juttah of the Old Testament, a city of the priests, which has been lost sight of since the days of Jerome. There seems, therefore, little reason to question the correctness of Reland's suggestion, that this was probably the residence of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and the birthplace of John the Baptist.[4]

We were here of course considerably higher than the plain of Carmel. After 3 o'clock we began to get among bushes, the verdure of which we had long seen from a distance as we approached.

Descending into a cultivated valley at 3h 20′, we

[1] See p. 468. above. Comp. p. 201.

[2] Mann. and Cust. of the Mod. Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 63. seq.

[3] See above, p. 192.

[4] Josh. xv. 55. xxi. 16. See above, pp. 190. 195. Also Reland, Palæst. p. 870. Reland supposes this to be the πόλις Ἰούδα of Luke, i. 39.; being so written by a corruption, or from a softer pronunciation, instead of πόλις Ἰούτα.

turned off from the road, first west and then W. S. W. to Um el-'Amad, "Mother of Columns," a site of ruins thirty-five minutes distant. Here, on a low round hill, once stood apparently a town of no great size, with houses of hewn stone, the foundations of which still remain. The place takes its name from the ruins of a small church, which had originally four columns on each side of the middle aisle; of those on the south side, three with the architrave are still standing; and one on the north side. They are all of common limestone, of coarse architecture and of no order. Near by is an excavated tomb or magazine. — This spot is not far from the south side of the great Wady el-Khŭlîl.[1]

After a stop of ten minutes, we returned E. N. E. leaving the ruined village Beit 'Amreh on our left, to the Hebron road. This we reached at 4h 40′, at a point some twenty minutes north of where we had left it; thus losing in all about an hour. We soon came to the great Wady el-Khŭlîl, here running S. W. and quite deep; we reached the bottom at 5 o'clock. On a hill at the right, on the south bank, are the ruins of a village, the name of which we did not learn. Crossing the valley, we entered Wady Kirkis, which comes in from the north; on the left is a Tell with the ruins of a village called Kirkis, which we passed at 5¼ o'clock. Our way led up the Wady; which however soon turns more N. N. W. while our path ascended obliquely along the eastern slope to the top of the ridge; where we came out at 6 o'clock. Here, close on our right, were the foundations of another ruined village.

At this point begin the fields of grain and the cul-

[1] From Um el-'Amad we took bearings: Dhoherîyeh S. 74° W. Mejd el-Bâ'a S. 25° E. Beit 'Amreh N. 44° E. This last is the ruins of a large village on a hill near Wady el-Khŭlîl, perhaps twenty minutes distant from Um el-'Amad.

tivation on this side of Hebron. We now kept along on high ground, around the heads of two cultivated Wadys running off S. E. and at 6h 20′ reached the top of another ridge, from which we descended into a broad fertile Wady full of fields of wheat, running down into the valley in which Hebron is situated. We fell in with many people returning from their work, some of them with donkeys carrying home loads of sheaves. This showed that the wheat harvest was here just beginning. We came now upon the olive-groves and vineyards; and rounding the point of the hill between the two valleys, entered that in which Hebron stands. At length, at 7¼ o'clock, we encamped on our old spot on the green slope west of the city.

Our friend Elias was already on the look-out, and soon visited us; and we were glad to learn, in general, that all things remained as they were. The plague in Jerusalem, it was said, had not increased its ravages; although the city continued to be still shut up.

Tuesday, June 5th. Our first care now was, to decide upon our further course from Hebron; and as the journey from Wady Mûsa had occupied less time than we had anticipated, in consequence of our travelling uninterruptedly by night and day; and as much of the week was still before us; we concluded to go from Hebron to Ramleh, and thence to Yâfa or Jerusalem, as the case might be. In Hebron, however, no animals were to be had, except camels or asses; and we therefore despatched Komeh at once on a donkey to Jerusalem, to bring us beasts, money, and our letters; and return as soon as possible. We had occupation enough, and more than enough, for the day, in writing up our journals; which during our late rapid travelling had fallen greatly behind.

In the course of the forenoon, the Sheikhs of the Jehâlîn, Defa' Allah and our guide Hussân, came in

to receive their money and to take leave. They and the men of Hebron, of whom many visited us, expressed great indignation at the conduct of the Arabs of Wady Mûsa, and paid us many compliments for having extricated ourselves so successfully from their clutches. We distributed a *bakshîsh* to Sheikh Hussân and his men, which appeared to satisfy them fully; with the exception of the worthless Muhammed, whom we designedly passed over, and whose disappointment seemed to amuse the Sheikhs. We had also a hint from Elias, that besides all this, a present of ten or twelve dollars to the chief Sheikh would be very proper; but as the suggestion lay very near, that if the said Sheikh deserved such a present, a similar one would be much more proper in the case of Elias himself, we could not regard the hint as entirely disinterested, and took no further notice of it. Defa' Allah himself put in no such claim.

As to the price of the camels, we could not pay it until our money should arrive from Jerusalem the next day.. Meanwhile, there arose a trial of skill between Elias the Christian and Defa' Allah the Bedawy, in arranging to whom the money should be paid over. The Arabs wished to go home, leaving some one to receive the money; and Elias felt entitled to be that receiver, because he said they owed him several thousand piastres; while, for this very reason, the Sheikh did not wish the money to go into his hands. But the policy of Elias towards us was so very crooked, that it gave the Sheikh the advantage over him, however little he might otherwise deserve it. We doubted indeed for a time the story of the debt; though Elias afterwards showed us the written obligation. Our course was plain enough; we had made the bargain with Defa' Allah for his camels; and our duty was to pay the money only to him or to his order. Accordingly,

he brought to us a man with witnesses, who testified solemnly, that this person had advanced the money to the Sheikh; and now the Sheikh, in their presence, requested us to pay over the money to the same man, when it should arrive. Elias was very indignant on learning this transaction; declaring that we ought at any rate to pay the money into his hands; because the bargain was made through him, as the agent of the Franks in Hebron.

The man to whom we were to pay the money was the owner of camels, to whom allusion has formerly been made.[1] He had been a great traveller in his day, and now gave us particular information respecting 'Abdeh in the southern desert, as to which we had hitherto had some doubts. He was quite desirous of furnishing us with camels for our further journey to Damascus and Beirût. But of this offer we had no wish to avail ourselves.

We had now done with camels; and I cannot say otherwise, than that I rejoiced at the circumstance. Admirably adapted to the desert regions which are their home, they yet constitute one of the evils which travelling in the desert brings with it. Their long, slow, rolling, or rocking gait, although not at first very unpleasant, becomes exceedingly fatiguing; so that I have often been more exhausted in riding five and twenty miles upon a camel, than in travelling fifty on horseback. Yet without them, how could such journeys be performed at all?

But their home is the desert; and they were made, in the wisdom of the Creator, to be the carriers of the desert. The coarse and prickly shrubs of the wastes are to them the most delicious food; and even of these they eat but little. So few are the wants of their nature, that their power of going without food, as well

[1] See Note XXI. end of Vol. I.

as without water, is wonderful. They never appear to tire, but commonly march as freshly at evening as in the morning. The only instance I remember to the contrary, was yesterday after our long march in returning to Hebron; when my young camel, on arriving at the place of encampment, seemed weary, and lay down of its own accord in order to be relieved of its load. If they once begin to fail, they soon lie down and die. Thus two camels of our train died between Suez and 'Akabah, which a few hours before had been travelling with full loads. In all our recent journey to Wady Mûsa, the camels fed only upon shrubs, and never tasted grain of any kind; although once we had them loaded for thirty-six hours, during all which time they browsed only for one hour.

Their well-known habit of lying down upon the breast to receive their burdens, is not, as is often supposed, merely the result of training; it is an admirable adaptation of their nature to their destiny as carriers. This is their natural position of repose; as is shown too by the callosities upon the joints of the legs, and especially by that upon the breast, which serves as a pedestal beneath the huge body. Hardly less wonderful is the adaptation of their broad-cushioned foot to the arid sands and gravelly soil, which it is their lot chiefly to traverse.

The camel, in very many respects, is not unlike the sheep. They are a silly timid animal, gregarious, and when alarmed, like sheep they run and huddle all together. They are commonly represented as patient; but if so, it is the patience of stupidity. They are rather exceedingly impatient; and utter loud cries of indignation when receiving their loads, and not seldom on being made to kneel down. They are also obstinate, and frequently vicious; and the attempt to urge them forward, is often very much like trying to drive

sheep the way they do not choose to go. The cry of the camel resembles, in a degree, the hollow bleating of the sheep; sometimes it is like the lowing of neat cattle, or the hoarse squeal of the swine. But the Arabs heed not their cries; nor does the poor animal find much mercy at their hands. Heavy and galling loads and meagre fare are his appointed portion; and God has hardened him to them. The camels of the Fellâhîn appear to have an easier lot; they are mostly large, fat, and strong; while those of the Bedawîn in the deserts are comparatively thin and slender.

The singular power of the camel to go without water seems also to be of the same nature as that of the sheep, at least in its manifestation; though in a far greater degree. The dew, and the juice of grass and herbs, are sufficient for them in ordinary cases; though when the pasturage has become dry, the Arabs water their flocks every two days, and the camels every three. The longest trial to which we subjected our camels in respect to water, was, from Cairo to Suez, four days; yet some of them did not drink even then, although they had only the driest fodder.[1] But at all times the camel eats and drinks little, and secretes little; he is a cold-blooded, heavy, sullen animal, having little feeling and little susceptibility for pain. Thistles and briars and thorns he crops and chews with more avidity than the softest green fodder; nor does he seem to feel pain from blows or pricks, unless they are very violent.

There is nothing graceful or sprightly in any camel, old or young; all is mis-shapen, ungainly, and awkward. The young have nothing frisky or playful; but in all their movements are as staid and sober as their dams. In this respect, how unlike to the lamb!

[1] See Vol. I. p. 66.

As the carriers of the East, the "ships of the desert," another important quality of the camel is their sure-footedness. I was surprised to find them travelling with so much ease and safety, up and down the most rugged mountain-passes. They do not choose their way with the like sagacity as the mule, or even as the horse; but they tread much more surely and safely, and never either slip or stumble. In all our long journeys with them, I do not recollect a single instance; and yet no roads can be worse than the passes in going and returning between Hebron and Wady Mûsa.

The sounds by which the Arabs govern their camels, are very few and very guttural. The signal for kneeling is not unlike a gentle snore; and is made by throwing the breath strongly against the palate, but not through the nose. That for stopping, is a sort of guttural clucking, which I could never master.

In accordance with an invitation from Elias, we went to dine with him at 6 o'clock P. M. The room in which he received us was a small one, in the third or main story of the house; it was his usual sitting-room. We found three other guests already present, common Muhammedans of the place. The females of the family did not make their appearance. Dinner was soon served. A large napkin was spread upon the carpet of the room; on this was placed a coarse wooden stool, supporting a large tray of tinned copper. Bread in thin sheets was laid for each person on the napkin below. On the tray were three dishes of pillaw without meat; three dishes of mutton stewed with onions; three dishes of a kind of sausage, stuffed with rice and chopped meat; and a large bowl of lebben or soured milk. The company sat around as we best could, six persons in all. There were no plates; but each had a wooden spoon and his fingers.

We, as strangers, had silver forks, and one silver spoon between us. Our companions seemed more dexterous with their fingers than with the spoon; the latter was used to lade a little of the lebben upon the rice in the dish, and then to take up a spoonful of the rice thus moistened. This constituted the dinner; and so soon as each had done eating, he drew back from the table. A single cup of coffee followed, and we soon retired. As we passed down stairs, the younger females of the family were standing near the kitchen in the second story, and returned our salutations, welcoming us back.

The threshing-floors near our tent, which during our former visit were full of barley and lentiles[1], were now just beginning to be covered with sheaves of wheat. The crops were apparently very good; and there was a prospect of a prosperous and busy season, during both wheat-harvest and the vintage. Indeed, the country in general round about Hebron exhibited more of industrious cultivation and actual productiveness, than any other equally extensive portion of the mountains of Judah, which we visited.

Wednesday, June 6th. Forenoon. While we were at breakfast early this morning, Komeh returned from Jerusalem, bringing with him horses, money, and also many letters from Europe and America. The breakfast was at once forgotten over the letters; and we rejoiced to hear of the health and welfare of distant friends, both in the old world and the new. With a burst of grateful emotion we thanked God and took courage.

Komeh of course had not entered Jerusalem, but had had communication with Mr. Whiting at the gate. The horses too he had found outside; the owners, on the shutting up of the city, having sent them out to

[1] See p. 445.

remain in the fields around the walls. We were not particularly delighted thus to get again one of our former Mukârys; but were easily disposed to make the best of it. We learned, too, that Mr. Lanneau and our fellow-traveller were keeping a strict quarantine under a guard in their own house, in order to come out and join us in our tent on our return.

In the course of the morning, Elias came again with the man who was to receive the money for the camels. It was agreed between them, that we should pay the money into the hands of Elias; and he should immediately deliver it over to the man. This took place accordingly. The only reason for it seemed to be, that Elias might be able to say, the payment was made through him as the agent of the Franks. The man paid him back one hundred and fifty piastres in our presence; which we understood to be his commission on the bargain we had made with the Arabs; being equal to thirty piastres on each camel. It was probably partly in order to render this pill less unpalatable, to Defa' Allah, that Elias had yesterday given us the hint respecting an extra present to that Sheikh.[1]

We finished writing up our journals, and made our purchases of provisions for the journey as far as to Nâbulus; since we could now obtain nothing at Jerusalem. Just as we were preparing to set off, two English travellers came in from Beersheba. We had found their tent here yesterday, and learned that they had gone on this excursion. As travellers under such cir-

[1] I have since learned that things went on prosperously with our friend Elias for the next two years; and he obtained the height of his ambition, in being made the agent of the British consul at Jerusalem. But early in the last year (1840), he was seized and thrown into prison, on a charge of peculation. Feeling perhaps that he had few friends in Hebron, he made application to the American missionaries at Jerusalem, to intercede in his behalf, that his case might be transferred to the authorities of the Holy City. This they were able to effect, through the good will of the Mufti; and Elias was still lying there in prison at midsummer.

cumstances do not stand upon etiquette, we called at their tent, and found the Rev. Dr. Mill and Col. Hezata, who, in returning from India by way of Egypt, had thus taken the route through Palestine. Our present visit was a short one; but we afterwards had the pleasure of meeting them again at Jerusalem and Beirût; and also of making in company with them the voyage from Beirût to Alexandria and Smyrna.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Note XXIX. Page 368.

Summeil, St. Samuel. Our visit to Sŭmmeil enables me to correct an error of more than three centuries' standing. Tucher of Nürnberg in A.D. 1479, on his journey from Bethlehem by way of Dhikhrîn to Gaza (see text, p. 362.), passed by this place; and confounding the name Sŭmmeil with Samuel, calls it the Castle of St. Samuel. He says it then paid a rent of two thousand ducats yearly to a hospital in St. Abraham or Hebron; from which twelve hundred loaves of bread and other articles of food were daily distributed to the poor. See Reissb. p. 678. Tucher's work was first published in Germany in A.D. 1482.—The next year, in A.D. 1483, Breydenbach and Felix Fabri travelled from Hebron to Gaza, apparently by way of Beit Jibrîn; at least they lodged the first night at the village of Sukkarîyeh, not far distant. Fabri, in describing St. Abraham (Hebron), speaks of the same hospital as situated near the great mosk; and tells the same story of the twelve hundred loaves of bread, and the two thousand ducats rent from a castle of St. Samuel; which he supposed to be not far off, though he did not see it. The very same account of a distribution of bread from the great mosk, or an establishment connected with it, is given in Gumpenberg's Journal, A.D. 1449 (Reissb. p. 445.); and also in the Arabic History of Jerusalem and Hebron by Mejr ed-Dîn, A.D. 1495; Fundgr. des Or. ii. p. 377.

All this goes to confirm the statements of Tucher; and there is nothing improbable in the account, that the mosk or hospital at Hebron may have derived a part of its revenues from Sŭmmeil; just as the great mosk at Jerusalem still receives rents from the villages of Taiyibeh and Râm-Allah. This is also implied in the name Sŭmmeil el-Khŭlîl, which it still bears. But now comes Breydenbach, who made this journey with Fabri, in which they certainly did not take the route by Sŭmmeil, and relates that on their first day's

journey from Hebron, before they came to Sŭkkarîyeh, they passed by a Castle of St. Samuel, near which was a small town called St. Abraham's Castle; here was a hospital which distributed bread, &c. Reissb. p. 186. This implies, that there was a second Castle of St. Abraham distinct from Hebron, and a second castle of St. Samuel between Hebron and Sŭkkarîyeh. But Fabri, who was in the same party, says not a word of all this; and the whole is obviously a mere figment, arising out of a gross misapprehension of Tucher's language, which the writer copies in order to supply his own deficiencies. It furnishes one instance of the higher value of Fabri's testimony in general, as compared with that of Breydenbach. Yet Breydenbach's account has been copied and credited by Büsching and others; and in consequence, a Castle of St. Abraham and another of St. Samuel figure on Berghaus's Map, at some distance west of Hebron. See Büsching's Erdbeschr. th. xi. i. p. 449. Bachiene, th. ii. ii. p. 348.

Note XXX. Page 380.

The "Desert" near Gaza. In Acts, viii. 26. Philip is directed to go from Samaria "toward the south, unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert;" ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν· αὕτη ἐστιν ἔρημος. Here αὕτη may refer either to ὁδὸν (way) or to Gaza. The facts in the history of Gaza given in the text, render it improbable that the city is here meant; although there is a possibility, that Luke might have written just after the destruction of Gaza, about A.D. 65; and thus have been led from the novelty of the event to mention it. On this hypothesis, the words must belong to Luke, and not to the angel, as a mere parenthetic remark. If attributed to the angel, and understood in this sense, it is difficult to see what bearing they could have upon his instructions to Philip; since the latter was not to go to Gaza, but only upon the road leading to it; and this road was the same, whether Gaza was desolate or not.

More probable therefore is it, that the term "desert" is to be referred to the *road* on which Philip should find the eunuch; and was indeed meant as a description, to point out to him the particular road, where he should fall in with the latter. This was the more necessary, because there were several ways leading from Jerusalem to Gaza. The most frequented at the present day, although the longest, is the way by Ramleh. Anciently there appear to have been two more direct roads; one down the great

Wady es-Sŭrâr by Beth-shemesh, and then passing near Tell es-Sâfieh; the other, through Wady el-Musŭrr to Betogabra or Eleutheropolis, and thence to Gaza through a more southern tract. Both these roads exist at the present day; and the latter now actually passes through the desert; that is, through a tract of country without villages, inhabited only by nomadic Arabs. This is more particularly described in the subsequent pages of the text.

If we may suppose the case to have been the same, or nearly so, when the book of Acts was written, the explanation becomes easy; for the chief difficulty has ever been, to show how this region, in itself so fertile, could be called "desert." That the district was at that time in like manner deserted, is not improbable. In the days of the Maccabees, the Idumeans had taken possession of Judea as far north as to Hebron, Adora, and Marissa, cities lying on or near the mountains; where they were subdued and compelled to embrace Judaism; 1 Macc. v. 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 9. 1. xv. 7. 9. This serves to show, that the southern part of Judea was no longer occupied by the Jews themselves; nor is there any mention of cities or villages in the plain between Gaza and the mountains, later than the time of Nehemiah. It seems therefore probable, that even then the migratory hordes of the southern desert had spread themselves further to the north; and thus connected this tract, as at the present day, with their own "desert."

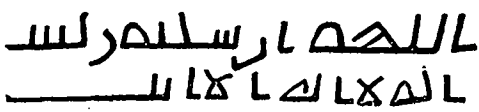
When Jerome says that in his time "the site of ancient Gaza presented only vestiges of foundations, and the city of that day stood in a different spot," this seems only an hypothesis of his own, in order to make out the fulfilment of prophecy; Zeph. ii. 4. Amos, i. 7. Eusebius has nothing of the kind; and it is inconsistent with all other historical accounts. See Onomast. art. *Gaza.*

When we were at Tell el-Hasy, and saw the water standing along the bottom of the adjacent Wady, we could not but remark the coincidence of several circumstances with the account of the eunuch's baptism. This water is on the most direct route from Beit Jibrîn to Gaza, on the most southern road from Jerusalem, and in the midst of the country now "desert," i. e. without villages or fixed habitations. The thought struck us, that this might not improbably be the place of water described. There is at present no other similar water on this road; and various circumstances — the way to Gaza, the chariot, and the subsequent finding of Philip at Azotus, — all go to show that the transaction took place in or near the plain.

NOTE XXXI. Page 396.

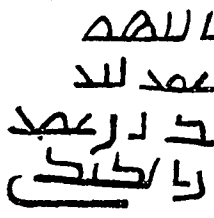
INSCRIPTIONS AT BEIT JIBRIN. The two following inscriptions, in old Cufic, were copied by Mr. Smith in the cavern with a small fountain, N.E. of the ruined church of Santa Hanneh, near Beit Jibrîn. Through the kindness of Professor Roediger of Halle, I am enabled to subjoin their probable form in modern Arabic, with a translation. It will be seen that they are the work of visitors, and afford no information respecting the caverns.

I.



اللهم ابن [ان] سليمن يشهد انه لا اله الا الله — O God! Ibn Suleimân testifies, that there is no god but God.

II.



اللهم	O God!
اغفر ليز	Forgive thou Yez-
يد بن عمر	îd 'bn 'Omar
ابن [انّ] الكندى	Ibn el-Kandy.

NOTE XXXII. Page 407. seq.

ELEUTHEROPOLIS, CEPERARIA. The Reviewer of Raumer's Palästina in the "Gelehrte Anzeigen" of Munich, 1836, No. 242. col. 903. seq., advances the opinion, that the site of Eleutheropolis is to be fixed at Ceperaria, a place marked in the Peutinger Tables at eight Roman miles from Betogabra towards Jerusalem. This view he endeavours to support by an apparent coincidence of the

distances given in the Itinerarium Antonini; and also by the analogy of the name Eleutheropolis, to what he supposes may have been the more ancient name. By devoting here a few words to this hypothesis, I may be able to throw some further light upon the position I have taken in the text, as well as upon other points of ecclesiastical geography.

Whatever may be true of Eleutheropolis, there can be no question, that the ancient Betogabra is found in the present Beit Jibrîn; and is consequently a known and fixed point. Ceperaria therefore being eight miles from it towards Jerusalem, (or possibly, according to Scheib's edition, 13 miles instead of 8,) must have been situated either in the region towards Wady el-Musŭrr; or else upon the more western road, somewhere south of the opening of Wady es-Sŭrâr. The latter appears to me more probable; for I find in our lists the site of a deserted village, called Kefr Ûrieh, lying in or near the plain, not far from Tibneh and the mouth of the Sŭrâr. There seems little reason to doubt, that this is the Arabic form of the ancient Ceperaria; and the position also corresponds well enough with the specified distance from Beit Jibrîn.

It follows from this, that the Ceperaria of the Tables cannot have been identical with the Capharorsa (Καπαρόρσα) of Ptolemy, as is assumed by Reland and the writer above cited. To say nothing of the discrepancy in the names, it is sufficient to remark, that Ptolemy mentions Betogabra among the towns of Judea; while he enumerates Capharorsa among those of western Idumea, in connection with Berzamma (Bersaba?) and Elusa; and places it a quarter of a degree of latitude south of Betogabra upon the same meridian. It lay therefore twice as far to the south of Betogabra, as Ceperaria lay north of it. (See Reland, Palæst. pp. 461, 462. 684. 690.)—The only mention of Ceperaria, therefore, is in the Peutinger Tables.

It is further to be observed, that the road laid down in the same Tables from Askelon to Jerusalem is not a direct road. Betogabra lay two hours or more south of the direct course; and by going thither, the road was compelled to make an acute angle at Betogabra, in order to reach Ceperaria. The latter place, indeed, was probably not further from Askelon than was Betogabra. A direct route from Askelon to the Holy City would pass not very far from Tell es-Sâfieh. Near that point the road probably divided; one branch leading up the Wadys es-Sŭmt and el-Musŭrr (the same on which we travelled), and the other passing among the hills near Jarmuth to Beth-shemesh, and so up the Sŭrâr. The position of Ceperaria would

seem to fall at or near the intersection of this latter road, by another from Betogabra to Nicopolis. Indeed, it is not improbable that Ceperaria was but an inconsiderable village; and that the single mention of it upon the Tables was occasioned by the mere circumstance of its position at the intersection of these roads; where the way from Askelon by Betogabra to Jerusalem made, of course, another angle. — From Ceperaria to Jerusalem the distance is marked at twenty-four Roman miles; which, judging from our route from Jerusalem to Beit Nettîf, I apprehend to be very correct. This distance also seems to fix the position of Ceperaria to the plain, as above described.

All this being premised, and adopting as a basis the unquestioned specifications of Eusebius and Jerome, I may now affirm, that the fixing of Eleutheropolis at Ceperaria involves an historical impossibility. Any position eight [or thirteen] Roman miles north or north-east of Beit Jibrîn, falls necessarily within a distance of three or four miles from Zorah, Beth-shemesh, Jarmuth, and Socoh, which those writers place at ten and nine miles from Eleutheropolis. It matters not whether this position be in the edge of the great plain, or in the direction of Wady el-Musŭrr. In the former case, further, such a position would be fourteen or fifteen miles from Jedna and Nezib, which the same writers place at six and seven miles from Eleutheropolis; while in the latter case Nezib would be eight or nine miles, and Jedda not less than eleven or twelve miles distant.

The *Itinerarium Antonini* mentions neither Betogabra nor Ceperaria; but places Eleutheropolis between Askelon and Jerusalem, twenty-four miles from the former and twenty from the latter. It is the coincidence of this distance from Askelon with the twenty-four miles at which Ceperaria is placed from the same city on the Tables that the Reviewer mainly relies, in support of the identity of Eleutheropolis with Ceperaria. But, as we have seen, this distance of Ceperaria on the Tables is reckoned around an acute angle; while that place itself, on a direct line, cannot be less, according to the construction of the map, than twenty-six or twenty-eight Roman miles from Askelon, or about the same distance as Betogabra; and, of course, measured by way of the latter place, must be at least from thirty-four to forty Roman miles distant. But the distance so assigned to Eleutheropolis is apparently direct; and cannot therefore be compared with that of Ceperaria, as specified on the Tables.

Still, even admitting for the moment the equality of the two distances, the specifications of the *Itinerarium Antonini* involve the same kind of impossibility as that pointed out above. The dis-

tance of twenty Roman miles from Jerusalem in this direction, falls somewhere not far from Beit Nettîf. We were eight hours in reaching that place, making on the way two large detours, by which we lost at least an hour and a half of time. Hence, assuming the position of Eleutheropolis at this distance from Jerusalem, on either of the roads from Askelon, it would fall as before within three or four miles of the sites, which Eusebius and Jerome point out as being ten miles distant from it. And further, Jarmuth and Socoh, which those writers place nine or ten miles on the way from Eleutheropolis towards Jerusalem, would then actually come to lie west of the former city.

After all this, it is hardly necessary to remark, that the specifications of distance in the *Itin. Antonini* are not at all to be relied upon, so far as they relate to Palestine. This appears from internal evidence; but whether it arises from original inaccuracy, or from a corruption of the text, or both, I would not undertake to say. The following comparison of a twofold specification respecting the route from Cæsarea to Diospolis (Lydda), will set the matter in a clear light. See Itin. Antonini ed. Wesseling, p. 150. 199. Reland, Palæst. p. 418. 420.

	Page 150.	Page 199.	
From Cæsarea to Betaro	R. M. 18	31	31
Diospolis	22	28 or	18 Reland, p. 420.
	R. M. 40	59 or	49

Here is a difference of nineteen miles in this short distance, by the same route and through the same intervening point. The actual distance is not far from thirty-five minutes of latitude; so that the first reading of forty Roman miles is probably the most correct. But the fact shows, that the unsupported specifications of this Itinerary can be of no authority in determining a doubtful historical question.

From the preceding considerations it is manifest that any hypothetical comparison of the name Ceperaria with a supposed former appellation of Eleutheropolis, can only be nugatory. The Reviewer attempts it, after assuming the identity of the two places, by first rightly taking *Ceper* for Caphar, Arabic Kefr. Then, following out the Rabbinic assertion, "*Hori* (חוֹרי), that is, Eleutheropolis," he combines the two into כְּפַר חוֹרי *Caphar-hori*; or, as perhaps softened down on the lips of the Greeks and Romans, *Ceperaria*. But, in the first place (leaving out of view the historical impossibility of any such identity), the present Arabic name Kefr Ûrieh, which begins with Alef, shows that it could never have come from the Hebrew

חורי ; the harsh guttural (ח) never passing over into the softer breathing. Further, the phrase above mentioned; "Hori, that is, Eleutheropolis," occurs in the tract Aruch of Rabbi Nathan, cited professedly from the Talmudic tract Bereshith Rabba; where, however, the name Eleutheropolis is not now read, but simply "Metropolis." See the passages quoted in full by Reland, Palæst. p. 750.

All this would have little to do with our present subject, did not Jerome also apparently allude to the same circumstance. In speaking of the Edomites, who, as we know, during the time of the exile and afterwards, occupied the southern part of Judah as far as to Hebron and the vicinity (see in text, p. 424.), this father represents them as also within the borders of Eleutheropolis; in which formerly had dwelt the Horites, i. e. "the free;" whence the city afterwards took the same name. "In finibus est Ἐλευθεροπόλεως ubi ante habitaverant *Horræi*, qui interpretantur *liberi*; unde ipsa urbs postea sortita vocabulum est;" Comm. in Obad. vers. 1. Reland, p. 749. In another place, describing the journey of Paula from Jerusalem to Egypt, he makes her, by a rhetorical flourish, leave on one side "the Horites and Gittites" (Chorreos et Gettheos), instead of naming the cities Eleutheropolis and Gath; Epist. 86., ad Eustoch. Opp. tom. iv. ii. p. 677. ed. Mart.

In regard to all this, Reland very justly remarks (p. 750.), that Jerome probably derived it from his Jewish teacher. Indeed, the whole has very much the air of being nothing more nor less than a Rabbinic conceit, to make out a Hebrew etymology for the Greek name Eleutheropolis. The Horites or Edomites had formerly dwelt here; the name Horites (חוֹרִים) signifies also among other things, "the free;" hence the place also was afterwards called Ἐλευθερόπολις, "the free city." Jerome nowhere intimates that the city itself was called *Hori*; but merely names the people rhetorically Horites (freemen), as being inhabitants of a city which bore the proud appellation of "the free." The name, as Reland well observes, was probably imposed by the Romans in honour of Liberty; just as Nicopolis, Diospolis, Cæsarea, and other cities, were so called in honour of Victory, Jupiter, the emperors, &c.

Note XXXIII. Page 417.

Vicus Betagabæorum. A village of this name is mentioned in the Life of St. Euthymius (ob. 473), by Cyrill of Scythopolis, as situated in the region of Gaza and Eleutheropolis; and Reland sup-

poses it to be the same with Betogabra; Palæst. p. 627. This biography is found in the Greek original in Cotelerii Monum. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, tom. ii. p. 200. seq. The Latin version of G. Hervetus is given by Surius under Jan. 20th, and also by Bolland in Acta Sanctor. Jan. tom. ii. p. 298. seq. The passage in question occurs in § 150. of the Life, Coteler. p. 328. Bolland, p. 326.

The writer, after enumerating several miracles of St. Euthymius, proceeds to recount another which took place in the village of the Betagabæans (κατὰ τὴν Βετάγαβαίων κώμην, in vico Betagabæorum). There was in the monastery of St. Euthymius a presbyter named Achthabius, who had practised there a life of obedience to Christ for forty-five years. This man had a brother, called Romanus, in the village of the Tagabæans, (ἐν τῇ Ταγαβαίων, in vico Tagabæorum,) twelve miles from Gaza, who was unlike him in every particular, living luxuriously and dissolutely. A certain person envying the latter his wealth, plotted to deprive him of it; but not at first succeeding, he went to Eleutheropolis, and engaged a magician (γόης) to use his arts against him. In this way the sufferer was thrown into a stupor and dropsy; of which he was at length miraculously healed by St. Euthymius in a vision.

On this passage it is to be remarked, that the village of the Betagabæans and Tabagæans is here obviously one and the same; and the name should therefore be written alike in both places. It is indeed so written (Βηταγαβαίων), probably by emendation, in the Greek of Cotelier; but the version of Hervetus (collated by Bolland) has "Tagabæorum" in the second instance, showing that his Greek copy had the same reading. — Again, this village was not itself Eleutheropolis, but lay apparently between that city and Gaza; or at least lay from Gaza somewhere in the direction of Eleutheropolis. — Further and mainly, the village was *not* Betogabra; for admitting the reading Betagabæi (Βηταγαβαίων) to be correct, the omission of the *r* would be a very unusual circumstance; this letter being (after 'Ain) the most tenacious of the whole alphabet, and being very rarely dropped, if in any other instance. Besides, the village in question lay twelve Roman miles from Gaza, while Beit Jibrîn (Betogabra) is about eight hours or twenty-four Roman miles distant from that city. I hold therefore that "vicus Tagabæorum" (Ταγαβαίων) is probably the true reading; while the other form may be supposed to have crept in later, among monkish transcribers, by confounding it with Betogabra. This was the more natural, as the village was probably unknown

to them; and the name of Beit Jibrîn was again current in the centuries before the crusades.

This conclusion is strengthened, by the actual existence, at the present day, of what appears to have been the original name of the village in question. From Um. Lâkis, we saw and took the bearing of a deserted site called Tŭbŭkah or Tŭbakah, lying S. 10° E. in the country of Hasy, between Hŭj and Tell el-Hasy, about four hours or twelve Roman miles from Gaza, half way to Beit Jibrîn. (See page 388.) The position corresponds very exactly to that of the "vicus Tagabæorum." This name too, on Greek lips, could hardly be expected to escape with less perversion; especially when monkish transcribers probably held it to be the same as Betogabra, and assimilated it to that form.

Note XXXIV. Page 481.

Zoar. — In the text I have brought forward the reasons which show conclusively, that the modern ez-Zuweirah has no relation to the ancient Zoar. The object of this note is to present the testimonies on which those arguments rest, and to collect some further historical notices of the ancient Zoar.

Abulfeda repeatedly speaks of Zoghar (Zoar) as a place adjacent to the Dead Sea and Ghôr. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 8. bis, 9. 11. 148. Ibn el-Wardi, ib., p. 178. Abulfeda also calls the Dead Sea itself "Lake of Zoghar;" ibid., p. 12. 148. 156. Edrîsi, in the manuscript used by Jaubert, has Zo'ara; though the Latin version every where reads Zoghar; p. 338.

That Zoar lay near and in sight of Sodom, and also in or adjacent to the plain, so as to be exposed to the same destruction as the other cities, is apparent from Gen. xix. 19—21.; where the angel exempts Zoar from overthrow at the entreaty of Lot.

That the ancient Zoar lay on the east side of the Dead Sea, appears from several considerations, which seem to be decisive. Lot ascended from it into the mountain, where his daughters bore each a son; and these became the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites; Gen. xix. 30. 37, 38. Now the Moabites and Ammonites both dwelt in the eastern mountains; and the purpose of the sacred writer is here obviously to recount in what way these mountains became peopled, viz. by an event which took place on the spot. Further, Josephus, in speaking of this city, calls it "Zoar of Arabia," μέχρι Ζοάρων τῆς Ἀραβίας, B. J. iv. 8. 4. But the Arabia of Josephus was on the east of the Dead Sea; and the

name is never applied to the mountains west of the sea, which belonged to Judea. Bell. Jud. iv. 8. 4.

To the same effect are various testimonies of Eusebius and Jerome, chiefly in the Onomasticon. Thus in the article *Luith*, they say this was a village situated between Areopolis and Zoar. But Areopolis was Ar of Moab, called also Rabbath Moab, and lay on the eastern mountains some hours north of Kerak; where its name and remains exist at the present day. See Reland, Palæst. pp. 577. 957. Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 433. Burckhardt, p. 377. Irby and Mangles, p. 456. seq. — Again, in the art. *Nemrim*, they speak of a village Benamerium (Beth Nimrin) as lying north of Zoar; and Nimrin, as we have seen, lay east of the Jordan over against Jericho. See text above, p. 279. — Further, Phænon is said by them to be situated between Petra and Zoar; art. *Fenon*, Φινών. — Last of all, Jerome expressly affirms, that Zoar was in the borders of Moab: "Segor in finibus Moabitarum sita est, dividens ab iis terram Philistiim;" Comm. in Esa. xv. 5. He is here speaking of Zoar as being the key (vectes, bars) of Moab towards the west.

In like manner, the crusaders in the expedition of king Baldwin I. to the country S. E. of the Dead Sea in A. D. 1100, after marching from Hebron and descending into the Ghôr, proceeded around the south end of the lake (girato autem lacu a parte australi), and came at length to the place called Segor, doubtless the Zoghar of Abulfeda. From this point they began to enter the eastern mountains. Fulcher, Carn. 23. p. 405. Will. Tyr. x. 8.

All these circumstances seem to me decisive as to the position of Zoar on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, at the foot of the mountains near its southern end. Josephus and Eusebius indeed expressly describe the sea, the one as extending to Zoar, and the other as lying between Jericho and that place; Joseph. B. J. iv. 8. 4. Onomast. art. *Mare Salinarum*. This would still be true in a general sense, supposing Zoar to have stood, as I have assumed in the text, in the mouth of Wady Kerak, where it issues upon the isthmus of the peninsula. This point is in fact the southern end of the broad part of the sea; the water which extends further south forming rather a bay; while the site in question is hardly more distant from the southern extremity even of this bay, than Jericho is from the north end of the sea. Further, this position of Zoar seems to me to be strongly implied in the notice of Eusebius above quoted, which places Luith between Areopolis and Zoar; for had Zoar lain further south, for instance at the mouth of Wady

el-Ahsy (the present Sâfieh), it would have been far more natural to say, that Luith lay between Charac-Moab (Kerak) and Zoar. So too Jerome's account of Zoar as the *vectes* of Moab against Palestine, points to the same conclusion; for Wady Kerak was (and is to the present day) the great road between southern Judea and the country of Moab.

The account given of the lower part of Wady Kerak by Irby and Mangles is as follows: "All this tract might be, and probably has been irrigated; for it would be easy to dam up the brook and conduct it in almost every direction. The form of fields, and even the marks of furrows, are to be seen; and some ruins like those of cottages, or of a small hamlet. Lower down there is very clearly an ancient site; stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unhewn, are strewed over a great surface of uneven ground, and mixed both with bricks and pottery. This appearance continues without interruption, during the space of at least half a mile, quite down to the plain; so that it would seem to have been a place of considerable extent. We noticed one column, and we found a pretty specimen of antique variegated glass; it may possibly be the site of the ancient Zoar. Near these remains, the Wady opens from its glen into the plain to the northward by a nook, where there is a wall of rude brick, with an arched doorway." Travels, p. 447. seq.

The preceding considerations seem to me sufficiently to bear out all the positions taken in the text relative to the ancient Zoar. A few other historical notices may properly find their place here.

The earliest name of Zoar was Bela, Gen. xiv. 2. In the Septuagint the name Zoar is written Σηγώρ, Segor; Josephus gives it by Ζώαρα, Zoara; while Eusebius and Jerome use both forms. After the destruction of the cities of the plain, Zoar continued to exist as a city of Moab; Deut. xxxiv. 3. Isa. xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 34. It is never mentioned as belonging to Judea; except where Josephus speaks of it as having been wrested from the Arabians by Alexander Jannæus, Antiq. xiv. 1. 4. Ptolemy also assigns it to Arabia Petræa; see Reland, Palæst. p. 463. Eusebius and Jerome describe it in their day as having many inhabitants and a Roman garrison; Onomast. art. *Bala*. Stephen of Byzantium calls it a large village and a fortress; Reland, Palæst. p. 1065. In the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* it is mentioned as the seat of a bishop in the Third Palestine, down to the centuries preceding the crusades; Reland, p. 217. 223. 226.; comp. p. 230. The crusaders appear to have found the name Segor (Zoghar) still extant; and describe the place as pleasantly situated, with many palm-trees; Fulcher

Carnot. 23. p. 405. Will. Tyr. x. 8. Hence they also call it *Villa Palmarum*, and likewise *Paumier* or *Palmer;* Albert. Aq. vii. 41, 42. Jac. de Vitr. 53. p. 1076. Will. Tyr. xxii. 30. But, as in the case of Jericho and 'Ain Jidy,' the palm-trees have here also disappeared; and although the name of Zoghar appears to have existed in Abulfeda's time, yet we have no further notices of the city itself.

NOTE XXXV. Pages 548, 549. 579.

TOMB OF AARON. The following account is given by Irby and Mangles of their ascent of Mount Hor in 1818, and of the Muhammedan Wely, dedicated to Neby Hârûn on the summit. Travels, p. 434. seq.

"We engaged an Arab shepherd as our guide, and leaving Abu Rashîd with our servants and horses, where the steepness of the ascent commences, we began to mount the track, which is extremely steep and toilsome, and affords but an indifferent footing. In most parts, the pilgrim must pick his way as he can, and frequently on his hands and knees. Where by nature it would have been impassible, there are flights of rude steps, or inclined planes, constructed of stones laid together; and here and there are niches to receive the footsteps cut in the live rock. The impressions of pilgrims' feet are scratched in the rock in many places; but without inscriptions. Much juniper grows on the mountain, almost to the very summit, and many flowering plants which we had not observed elsewhere; some of these are very beautiful; most of them are thorny. On the top there is an overhanging shelf in the rock, which forms a sort of cavern; here we found a skin of extremely bad water, suspended for drinking, and a pallet of straw, with the pitcher and other poor utensils of the Sheikh who resides here. He is a decrepit old man, who has lived here during the space of forty years, and occasionally endured the fatigue of descending and re-ascending the mountain.

"The tomb itself is enclosed in a small building, differing not at all in external form and appearance from those of Muhammedan saints, common throughout every province of Turkey. It has probably been rebuilt at no remote period; some small columns are bedded in the walls, and some fragments of granite, and slabs of white marble are lying about. The door is near the S.W. angle; within which a constructed tomb, with a pall thrown over it, presents itself immediately on entering; it is patched together out of fragments of stone and marble, that have made part of other fabrics. Upon one of these are several short lines in the Hebrew character, cut in a slo-

venly manner; we had them interpreted at Acre, and they proved to be merely the names of a Jew and his family, who had scratched this record. . . . There are rags and shreds of yarn with glass beads and paras, left as votive offerings by the Arabs.

"Not far from the N.W. angle is a passage, descending by steps to a vault or grotto beneath, for we were uncertain which to call it, being covered with so thick a coat of whitewash, that it is difficult to distinguish whether it is built or hollowed out. It appeared, in great part at least, a grotto; the roof is covered, but the whole is rude, ill-fashioned, and quite dark. The Sheikh, who was not informed that we were Christians, furnished us with a lamp of butter. Towards the further end of this dark vault, lie the two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb of the prophet; they have, however, been thrown down, and we advanced so as to touch it; it was covered by a ragged pall. We were obliged to descend barefooted; and were not without some apprehension of treading on scorpions or other reptiles in such a place.

"The view from the summit of the edifice is extremely extensive in every direction; but the eye rests on few objects, which it can clearly distinguish and give a name to; though an excellent idea is obtained of the general face and features of the country. . . . An artist, who would study rock-scenery in all its wildest and most extravagant forms, and in colours which, to one who has not seen them, would scarcely appear to be in nature, would find himself rewarded, should he resort to Mount Hor for that sole purpose.

"We had employed just an hour in the ascent; and found that our return to the place where we had left our horses occupied the same time."

Mr. Legh, who accompanied Irby and Mangles, says, "Against the walls of the upper apartment were suspended beads, bits of cloth and leather, votive offerings left by the devotees; on one side, let into the wall, we were shown a dark-looking stone that was reputed to possess considerable virtues in the cure of diseases, and to have formerly served as a seat to the prophet." According to Mr. Stephens, ostrich eggs have since been added to the other offerings here suspended; Incidents, &c. ii. p. 95. Schubert found, near the top of the mountain, many fragments of pottery and bits of coloured glass; but the convent of which he speaks of as having once stood here seems to have no sufficient historical foundation; Reise, ii. p. 420, 421.

The irregular form of the summit of Mount Hor, has already

been alluded to; text, p. 508. The date of the tomb of Aaron goes back beyond the time of the crusaders, who aleady found here an oratory or Wely; Gesta Dei, p. 581. Fulch. Carnot. ib. p. 405.—The old Sheikh who formerly resided on the mountain has long been dead; his place as keeper of the Wely is now occupied by an inhabitant of Eljy, who occasionally visits the spot. He was present during our affair at Wady Mûsa, and strongly took our part; probably not being willing to forego the benefit which might be expected to accrue to himself, should we ascend the mountain.

NOTE XXXVI. Pages 576. 579.

PETRA. Two or three questions respecting the various names applied to Petra, and also respecting the application of this name to other places, remain to be investigated.

Josephus relates that the most ancient name of Petra was *Arke* or *Arekeme* (Ἀρκή, Ἀρεκέμη), and that it was so called from its founder, Rekem (רֶקֶם), one of the Midianitish kings slain by the Israelites, Num. xxxi. 8. Joseph. Antiq. iv. 4. 7. ib. 7. 1. But this seems to be somewhat doubtful; for the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan apply the name Rekem (רֶקֶם) not to Petra, but to Kadesh, Gen. xvi. 14. xx. 1. Eusebius and Jerome, indeed, speak of Rekem as the Syrian name for Petra; but as in another place they cite Josephus as their authority for this assertion, it would seem that they in no case speak from their own knowledge; Onomast. arts. *Petra, Recem,* comp. art. *Arcem.*

There seems to be no further very definite ancient notice of this name; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Abulfeda describes a place called er-Rakîm, which in its character would well correspond to Wady Mûsa: "Among the noted towns of Syria is er-Rakîm, a small place near the Belka, the houses of which are all cut in the live rock, as if of one stone," Tab. Syr. p. 11. This is accordingly assumed by Schultens and others, as the Arekem of Josephus and the Petra of the Greeks; Vita Salad. Index, art. *Errakimum.* Büsching, th. xi. i. p. 508. But the position near the Belka is inconsistent with such an hypothesis; and the matter is set at rest by another passage in the same author. In his Annals, Abulfeda speaks of the same place as near to Kerak; and relates that Nûreddîn, marching from Damascus to Kerak, advanced as far as to er-Rakîm and there turned back. It lay therefore north of Kerak. Abulf. Annal. Musl. ad A. H. 568. Schult. Excerpt. in Vit. Sal. p. 15. See Gese-

nius Comm. zu Jes. xvi. 1. p. 537. The excavated dwellings found by Seetzen, which Gesenius refers to this place, were situated far to the north, both of the Belka and of Jebel 'Ajlûn; Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. pp. 355, 356.

Equally untenable is the hypothesis first suggested by Bochart, which identifies Petra or Wady Mûsa with the place called by Arabian writers el-Hijr, where are excavated caverns. Bochart was probably led to it by the Chaldee form חֲגַרָא Gen. xvi. 14. xx. 1.; which the Targum of Onkelos there reads instead of Bered and Shur. He and others also read the Arabic name as *el-Hajr* (a stone), and held it therefore to be synonymous with the name Petra; although it is properly written with Kesrah, *el-Hijr*, and has no such meaning. See Freytag's Lex. Arab. i. pp. 345, 346. Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. p. 688. Bernard on Joseph. Ant. iv. 4. 7. ed. Haverc. Reland, Pal. p. 933.

But apart from all this, the place called el-Hijr lay at least eight days' journey south from Wady Mûsa, and therefore cannot be brought into any connection with Petra. Edrîsi says that Tebûk lies between el-Hijr and the border of Syria, four days' journey from the latter; and on the present route of the Syrian Haj, Tebûk is also four days south of Ma'ân; Edrîsi par Jaubert, p. 333. Burckhardt's Travels, App. 658, 659. Further, Edrîsi, in describing the same Syrian route, places el-Hijr at four days from Tebûk towards Medina; ib. pp. 359, 360. Burckhardt's notices do not mention el-Hijr; probably because the Haj at the present day, south of Tebûk, takes a more western route; ib. p. 659. Beyond el-Hijr, Edrîsi makes only one day's journey to the place called Wady el-Kura; though Abulfeda gives it as a distance of five days; Edr. ib. pp. 334. 360. Abulf. Tab. Arab. ed. Hudson, pp. 27. 43. Id. Comm. Rommel, p. 76. Schultens, Ind. in Vit. Salad. art. *Errakimum.*—The supposed identity of el-Hijr with Petra is properly denied by Bernard and Schultens, as above quoted; and also by Gesenius, Comm. zu. Jes. xvi. 1. p. 537. The latter however refers by oversight to Rommel's Abulfeda, p. 84.; where the writer is speaking of another el-Hijr, situated in the interior province Yemâmeh. See Abulf. Tab. Arab. ed. Hudson, pp. 37. 60. Edrîsi, ib. pp. 154, 155.

Thus far of Arabian writers. We turn now to another question: Whether, as has been assumed, there existed anciently more than one city of the name of Petra? It may first be proper to remark, that as early as the beginning of the fourth century, the general name of Palestine had been so extended as to include the whole of Arabia Petræa, quite to Ailah. Thus at the coun-

cil of Nicea, A. D. 325, among the bishops of Palestine whose subscriptions are there preserved, is the name of Peter, bishop of Ailah; and Jerome, paraphrasing Eusebius, places Ailah in the extreme borders of Palestine, on the Red Sea; Onomast. art *Ailath*. Labbe Concil. tom. ii. c. 51. Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. p. 759. Hence Eusebius, writing about A. D. 330, could with propriety speak of Petra, sometimes as a city of Arabia and sometimes as belonging to Palestine. Thus Onomast. art. *Petra*: "Petra civitas Arabiæ in terra Edom;" but under the arts. *Arcem* and *Cades*: "Petra civitas nobilis Palæstinæ." When therefore in other writers we find Petra assigned sometimes to Palestine and sometimes to Arabia, this does not in itself imply more than one Petra. Reland, Pal. p. 926. — Early in the fifth century, as we have seen, this region took the specific name of the Third Palestine. See text, p. 562.

Cellarius assumes a Petra of the Amalekites distinct from that of Arabia, on the strength of Judg. i. 36. and 2 Kings, xiv. 7.; where a Petra (Heb. Sela) is spoken of in connection with the ascent of Akrabbim and with the Valley of Salt; Notit. Orbis, ii. p. 580. The considerations advanced in the text show this conjecture to be without solid foundation; see text, p. 573. seq.

At a still earlier period, a Petra of Palestine had been assumed, also, as distinct from Petra of Arabia, on the strength of a passage in the works of St. Athanasius; see Geogr. Sacr. Caroli à St. Paulo, Amst. 1711, p. 206. Reland, p. 927. The passage is usually referred to as contained in the "Epist. ad solitariam Vitam agentes;" though, in the Benedictine edition at least, it is found, not in that epistle, but in the Historia Arianor. § 18. Opera, tom. i. p. 354. Paris, 1698: καὶ Ἄρειον μὲν καὶ Ἀστέριον τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Πετρῶν τῆς Παλαιστίνης τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπισκόπους, "Et Arium quidem et Asterium, illum Petrarum Palæstinæ, hunc ex Arabia, episcopos." In another place, Athanasius speaks of Asterius alone as bishop of Petra in Arabia: Ἀστέριος Πετρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας, Tomus ad Antioch. § 10. Opera, tom. i. ii. p. 776.

Now, as Reland justly remarks, if there was actually a city called Petra, an episcopal see in Palestine, distinct from that of Arabia, it is certainly very singular that there should nowhere exist the slightest allusion to it in all the subscriptions of councils, in the various ecclesiastical Notitiæ, and in the numerous writings of Eusebius and Jerome, who were cotemporary with Athanasius, and lived in and wrote expressly upon Palestine. This remark affords strong ground to suspect a corruption of the text in the passage of Athanasius; which, as Reland has acutely shown, might very easily take place.

Either the word Πετρῶν has been transposed from its proper place, so that we ought to read: τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Πετρῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας, — or, as is more probable, the word Πετρῶν was at first a gloss in the margin, afterwards inserted in the text in the wrong place. On the latter supposition, no city was originally mentioned, but the text stood thus: τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας. That this is the true reading is rendered the more probable from the fact, that Athanasius himself in another place uses the very same formula: Μακαρίου ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης καὶ Ἀστερίου ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας, Apol. contra Arianos, § 48. Opp. tom. i. p. 166. (Here we have obviously the corruption Μακαρίου for Ἀρείου.) The same reading is also supported by two like passages in the historical fragment of Hilarius, where he speaks of the same bishops, p. 188.: "Arium ex Palæstina et Stephanum (Asterium) de Arabia;" and p. 1293.: "Arius a Palæstina, Asturus (Asterius) ab Arabia." See Reland, Palæst. p. 928. — The preceding considerations seem to me completely to do away the authority of this isolated and unsupported passage of Athanasius.

One other point of confusion remains to be noticed. We have seen in the text, that the crusaders thought they found Petra in Kerak; to which they accordingly gave the name of "Petra deserti," and established there a Latin bishopric; see text, p. 570. There can be no question that their "Petra deserti" was Kerak; for besides the passages cited in the text, William of Tyre writes expressly, xx. 28.: "Secundæ Arabiæ metropolim Petram, quæ alio nomine Crac appellatur;" and again, xxii. 28.: "Urbem cui nomen pristinum Petra deserti, modernum vero Crach." So, too, Jacob de Vitry, c. 56. p. 1077.: "Est autem Petra civitas munitissima, quæ vulgari nomine hodie dicitur Crac et Petra deserti;" and he goes on to say correctly: "Est autem juxta urbem antiquissimam, quæ dicitur Rabbath;" meaning the ruins of Rabba, still found two or three hours north of Kerak. — I have also already alluded to the fact that after the destruction of the ancient Petra, the metropolitan see, of the Third Palestine was transferred to Rabbah; as appears from the two later Latin Notitiæ, in which the name of Petra is not found, but Rabbah stands as the metropolis; Reland, Pal. pp. 223. 226. See text, p. 569.

But now, as if for the very purpose of confusion, the first of these Notitiæ is inscribed: "Sedes tertia Arraba Moabitis, id est, Petra deserti." In another passage of William of Tyre also, we read, xv. 21.: "Castrum ædificavit cui nomen Crahc, — juxta urbem antiquissimam ejusdem Arabiæ metropolim, prius dictam Raba, — postea vero dicta est Petra deserti." From these two

declarations, Raumer draws the conclusion, first, that besides the Petra of Arabia at Wady Mûsa, there was also a Petra of Moab, identical with Ar, Areopolis, or Rabbah Moab, which, after the destruction of the Arabian Petra, became the metropolis of Palestina Tertia; and secondly, that when Kerak was built up and became the capital of the region, the name and episcopal rank of this Petra of Moab passed over to it. Raumer's Palästina, ed. 2. p. 424—427.

But this conclusion appears to me not to rest upon solid ground. There is nothing clearer, than that before the days of the crusaders, the ancient episcopal sites of Rabbah or Areopolis, and Charac Moab (Karach Kerak), were known only by those names. They appear already to have been deserted, and the Christian population rooted out; for the historians of the crusades everywhere speak of them as ruins; and the Latin metropolitan bishop of Petra had under him, besides Kerak itself, only the Greek bishop of Mount Sinai. (Jac. de Vitr. c. 56. p. 1077.) The inscription of the Latin Notitia above cited: "Sedes tertia Arraba Moabitis, id est, Petra deserti," seems to me not to militate against this view. The very expression "Petra deserti," borrowed from the Latin Vulgate, Is. xvi. 1., was of course unknown to the Greeks; and shows that this copy of the Notitia in question, cannot have been made earlier than the time of the Latin bishopric of Petra. Indeed, the previous mention in it of Mons Regalis shows the same. (Rel. p. 222.) Yet the contents manifestly refer to the centuries before the crusades, when Rabbah was still a metropolis with its twelve or thirteen minor dioceses. It seems therefore most probable, that the Latin transcriber and compiler of this Notitia as it stands, found this section inscribed (like that of the other Latin Notitia, Reland, p. 226.) simply: "Sedes tertia Arraba Moabitis;" and himself added by way of gloss or explanation: "id est, Petra deserti;" implying only that the former diocese or metropolitan district of Rabbah, was now known as that of Petra deserti; or at least, that he supposed such to be the case.

In respect to the passage of William of Tyré above quoted (xv. 21.), where he describes the fortress of Crahc (Kerak) as having been built "near the ancient Rabbah, afterwards called Petra deserti," it is to be remarked that it stands in direct contradiction both with himself and the other historians of the crusades. His words in this passage are: "Juxta antiquissimam urbem prius dictam Raba,—postea vero dicta est Petra deserti." But again he says in xxii. 28.: "Urbem cui nomen pristinum Petra deserti, modernum vero Crach." See too the other references above, p. 656.; and text, pp.

565. 567. 569, 570. If the text of the passage in question (xv. 21.) has not been corrupted, I can here solve the difficulty, only by supposing, (what indeed lies upon the surface of the language,) that William of Tyre held Rabbah, Petra deserti, and Kerak to be all identical; confounding the ruins of Rabbah, which are near (juxta) Kerak, with those of the ancient Charac on which the fortress was erected. In the then state of geographical knowledge, and the absence of personal observation, this supposition is not improbable; especially as the writer seems to regard Crach (Charac, Kerak) merely as a modern name.

A century after William of Tyre, the confusion had naturally become still greater; for the country had now long been inaccessible to the Franks. Brocardus, in speaking of the Dead Sea, relates, that on its eastern side is pointed out a "castrum Mozera, quod olim Petra deserti vocabatur, nunc vero Crack dicitur;" this fortress, he says, was built up by king Baldwin of Jerusalem, but was now held by the Sultan. He then proceeds: "A Crack duæ numerantur leucæ (secundum aliud exemplar, duæ diætæ) ad Areopolim, eundo versus Vulturnum, quæ nunc Petra dicitur, et est metropolis totius Arabiæ secundæ." Brocardus, c. vii. pp. 178, 179. That is to say, Petra is for the first time distinguished from Petra deserti; and Areopolis (Rabbah) lay two leagues or two days south-east of Kerak! No wonder that Marinus Sanutus thirty years later should make an advance even on all this; he in like manner distinguishes two Petras, and identifies Petra deserti with Mons Regalis or Shôbek. Describing his own map, he says, p. 246.: "In quadro 53 est Ar, nunc Areopolis vel Petra. In 76 est Petra deserti, sive Mons Regalis." Comp. ib. p. 166.—It is hardly necessary to remark, that the assertions here quoted from both these writers, are totally devoid of all historical foundation.

But Raumer endeavours further to support his position, and carry back the name Petra as applied to Rabbah to a high antiquity, by adducing the doubtful passage of St. Athanasius which we have already considered (pp. 655, 656.); and further, by appealing to the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, where he supposes these writers to have placed Ije-Abarim, a station of the Israelites, Num. xxi. 11, xxxiii. 44, 45., at one time near Petra, and at another time near Areopolis; whence he infers the identity of these two. See the Onomast. arts. *Gai* and *Ahie*. Raumer's Palästi. p. 426. But on looking at these articles of the Onomasticon, it is obvious, that the writers either supposed themselves to be treating of two distinct places, or at least in the one case were speaking generally and indefinitely. Under *Gai* (Γαί)

they say it was a station of the Israelites in the desert, and in their day there was still a city called Gaia near to Petra. In the article *Ahie* (Αἰή), called also Achelgai, they say nothing of its having been a station of the Israelites; but merely affirm indefinitely, that it was said to be (αὕτη λέγεται εἶναι) overagainst Moab, now Areopolis, towards the east. Indeed, there would be no evidence that the two names are at all to be regarded as referring to the same place, did not the form Achelgai (Ἀχελγαί) stand in the Sept., Numb. xxi. 11. At any rate, the ground is quite too slight to build upon it a second ancient city of Petra.

The general result then of the inquiries in the present note, is the following, viz. That there was in ancient times only a single city called Petra, which is spoken of successively, and sometimes indiscriminately, as belonging to Edom, Arabia, and Palestine, and whose remains are still seen in Wady Mûsa; that to this city, whether as existing or in ruins, as Petra or as Wady Mûsa, Arabian writers, so far as yet known, make no allusion earlier than the 13th and 15th centuries; and that the crusaders transferred the name of Petra (Petra deserti) to Kerak, and to that place alone. — The later confused and erroneous notices of Brocardus and Marinus Sanutus, are, of course, not here taken into the account.

NOTE XXXVII. Pages 589. 601.

M. DE BERTOU. Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr. Juin, 1839, p. 274. seq. Oct. 1839, p. 113. seq. Abridged in the London Geogr. Journal, 1839, vol. ix. p. 277. seq.

The statements of this traveller have been adopted, apparently without question, by Letronne; and have therefore acquired an authority, to which perhaps they would not otherwise have been entitled. For this reason, and for the sake of truth and science, I feel bound to point out several things in his account of the region of the 'Arabah, which I conceive to be erroneous; and to bring forward the grounds on which my objections rest.

We had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with M. de Bertou, who spent an evening at our quarters in Jerusalem, immediately after his return from 'Akabah and Wady Mûsa. The journey to these places he had made through the 'Arabah, in company with M. Montfort, a draughtsman, and with camels and guides from the Jehâlîn. He complained bitterly of his guides, — of their obstinacy, rapacity, and disobliging conduct. Three weeks afterwards, we made the same journey with camels and guides from the same tribe; indeed, with some of the very same men; and

found that they complained of the traveller in equally bitter terms. I mention this circumstance only to show, that there existed no mutual good understanding nor good-will between M. de Bertou and his guides. Whoever knows anything of the Bedawîn, must be well aware, that under such circumstances, no trustworthy information is to be elicited from them. Their obstinacy manifests itself sometimes in reserve or evasion, and sometimes in a disposition to mislead. This single consideration destroys the credibility of the chief sources of oral information, to which M. de Bertou had access.

To this was added, in his case, the want of an adequate knowledge of the Arabic language. We understood that he travelled with an ordinary, illiterate interpreter; a sure source of mistake and confusion in respect to any scientific inquiry. At any rate, he was not in a situation to converse freely with his guides, so as to draw them out, and win their confidence; and least of all, could he duly cross-examine them, so as to compare the evidence of different persons, or of the same person given at different times. All this is absolutely essential, in order to extract the truth from these dark minds, especially when (as in this case) they are perverted by ill-feeling. In this respect, I was most fortunate in my companion, the Rev. Mr. Smith, whose long and familiar acquaintance with the language, and whose tact in conversing with, and managing the Arabs, I could never too highly appreciate.

The evidences of this deficiency on the part of M. de Bertou, are manifest on every page, and especially in the proper names. Thus, for example, we have Tell-El-Hard instead of Tell 'Arâd, the ancient Arad; and also Mask Essdid as the name of a ruin, made up probably by confounding the two sites of ruins el-Museik and Sudeid. Esdoum (Usdum, a reminiscence of Sodom) he represents as the name which the Bedawîn give to common salt; it being (he says) synonymous with *Milh!* Bull. Juin, pp. 276, 277, 278. The name of Wady Hasb, he writes once Keseb, and again Caseib; Bull. Juin, p. 286., Oct. p. 127. Our acquaintance Defa' Allah, chief Sheikh of the Jehâlin, he exalts into "le grand cheikh Moussa Abou Daouk, cheikh de tous les Bedouins des montagnes d'Abraham; et son peuple divisé en trois camps, vit heureux sous ses lois!" Bull. ib. p. 276. — These are mere specimens out of a multitude; others will appear in the sequel.

Some other circumstances seem also to cast a doubt upon the accuracy, with which the traveller has recorded facts within the range of his own personal knowledge; as well as upon the extent of his scientific preparation. To say nothing of his appeal to the

Telemachus of Fenelon, as furnishing historical testimony respecting Tyre (Lond. Geogr. Journal, vol. ix. 1839, p. 290.), M. de Bertou, in describing at Wady Mûsa the architecture of the Khŭzneh, has the following note; Bull. ib. p. 305. "Je n'avais pas avec moi le grand ouvrage de M. de Laborde, mais seulement une copie anglaise in -12, pour laquelle les planches ont été réduites." The English copy is a stout octavo; and no reader of this note would hesitate to understand the writer as affirming, that he had this book with him at Wady Mûsa. Perhaps, however, he did not mean exactly to assert this; for the truth in the case is, that he first saw the book in our hands, at Jerusalem, after his return from Wady Mŭsa. He had gone thither in 1838, as a scientific traveller, to explore and take drawings of the remains, without ever having looked at the great work of his own countryman. He spoke to us of several discoveries he had made there; but, on turning over the leaves of our English copy of Laborde, he seemed disappointed to find that the same objects had been described by that traveller, ten years before.

With a similar neglect of accuracy, M. de Bertou appears sometimes to have assigned Arabic names, where he could not well have heard them from the Arabs themselves. Thus, the name of the fountain el-Weibeh he writes el-Loubiè; although he admits in the next line, that the Arabs pronounce it el-Whébé; Bull. ib. p. 320. Occasionally, too, he seems to me to bring forward as matters of fact, circumstances which he had observed only through the medium of a doubtful hypothesis.

I have adduced the preceding considerations, in order to show *à priori*, that under the circumstances in which M. de Bertou visited the great valley, it might easily happen, that some of his results should turn out not to be correct. I now proceed to specify a few things in his report, which seem to me to be thus erroneous; confining myself to such as, if not corrected, would tend to produce confusion in the geography of this remarkable region.

1. Ez-Zuweirah, on the west side of the Dead Sea, M. de Bertou holds to be the Zoar of Scripture, writing the name for that purpose 'Zoara.' Bull. l. c. Oct. pp. 123. 131. Indeed, he rather pertinaciously insists upon this orthography, in opposition to the editor of the London Geographical Journal (vol. ix. p. 277.), who had given it the somewhat more correct form of 'Zoweïrah.' Irby and Mangles write it el-Zowar; Travels, p. 351. I have elsewhere had occasion to remark, that this name has no affinity to

the Hebrew Zoar (צֹעַר), which contains the most tenacious of all letters, 'Ain; and re-appears in Abulfeda and other Arabian writers under the form of Zoghar, with Ghain. Besides, as I have elsewhere shown, there is decisive historical evidence, that the Zoar of antiquity and of the middle ages, lay upon the east side of the Dead Sea; probably in the mouth of Wady Kerak, where the latter opens upon the isthmus of the peninsula. See text, p. 480., and Note XXXIV.

2. Of the Wady el-Jeib, the great drain of the 'Arabah towards the Dead Sea, a Wady within a Wady, M. de Bertou speaks only under the name of "Wady el Araba." Ibid. Juin, pp. 282. 285. Oct. pp. 126, 127. He appears not to have heard, or at least not to have understood, the name el-Jeib as applied to this Wady. Yet our guides were of the same tribe as his; and we had, besides, five Haweitât from near Ma'ân; and they all spoke of it day after day, both in travelling along its bed and in crossing it on our return, only as Wady el-Jeib. The same name, too, appears on Laborde's Map, and in his work; though he gives to the valley a wrong direction. Voyage, p. 61. (211.)

3. To the remarkable hill or Tell of Madŭrah, north of 'Ain el-Weibeh, M. de Bertou gives the additional name of "Kadessa," and holds it to be the Kadesh of the south of Judah. Bull. Juin, p. 322. 'Not to dwell 'upon the fact that there is here no water, and therefore no probable site for a city, I must express my conviction, that this name "Kadessa" either rests on a mistake, or is here an invention of the writer; like his el-Loubiè for el-Weibeh, as mentioned above. Seetzen, in 1807, when in Hebron, heard much of this Tell, and of the city said to have been buried under it, and of petrified human bodies; he also travelled thither in order to examine it; but neither at Hebron, nor on the spot, did he hear any other name for it than Madŭrah; Zach's Monatl. Corresp. xvii. p. 133. seq. Lord Lindsay, also, in 1836, and Schubert in 1837, passed this way, and heard only of Madŭrah. See Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land, vol. ii. p. 46. Schubert's Reise, ii. p. 443. But further; M. de Bertou himself told us at Jerusalem, that he had found Kadesh, and that it still bore the ancient name; and as this was to us a matter of no little interest, we of course made every inquiry, in order to ascertain the facts in the case. While encamped for a day near the Jehâlîn, we questioned the chief Sheikh, and many others, on this point; but no one had ever heard of such a name. The Sheikh who had accompanied M. de Bertou, also came to us; and him we asked as to the name and place "Kadessa;"

but he too knew nothing of it. At length, he and the chief Sheikh, who was present, suggested, that perhaps the traveller had been misled by the name Tell el-Kuseifeh, a hill N. E. of Milh, which we afterwards saw, more than a day's journey north of Madŭrah. This indeed is possible; or it is also possible, that he might have asked his guides, if Madŭrah were not called 'Kadessa,' and have mistaken their grunt of indifference for an affirmative reply. I have elsewhere assigned the reasons, which lead me to fix upon 'Ain el-Weibeh as the probable site of Kadesh. See text, pp. 582. 610.

4. Of the great Wady el-Jerâfeh, the main drain of the western desert along the 'Arabah, as it enters that valley and joins the Jeib, nearly opposite to Mount Hor, M. de Bertou appears to have had no knowledge, and not even to have seen it. He speaks in this quarter only of a Wady "Talha;" Bull. Juin, p. 292., Oct. p. 128. Following the construction of his own map, as appended to his articles both in the English and French journals, I was led to suppose that by the 'Talha' he actually meant the Jerâfeh; since the position of the two, according to that map, would be very nearly identical. In accordance with this supposition the present note was first written, and the substance of it published in the *Monatsbericht der Berliner Gesellsch. für Erdkunde*, bd. i. s. 196. But on a reconstruction of Bertou's Itinerary by Kiepert, it turns out, that his Wady 'Talha' must be situated some two hours south of the mouth of the Jerâfeh, and has no connection whatever with the latter. It would seem, therefore, to be no other than the Wady Abu Tŭlhha of Burckhardt; who relates, that in the western desert, more than an hour from Jebel Beyâneh on the border of the 'Arabah, he passed two broad Wadys of this name, so called from the great number of Tŭlh-trees growing in them; Travels, p. 445. These two appear to unite and run down into the 'Arabah, forming the Wady 'Talha' of Bertou. — In this connection the traveller exhibits still another instance of inaccuracy. He affirms, that Burckhardt, in 1812, as he crossed the 'Arabah from Wady Ghŭrŭndel, issued from it by the 'Talha,' which is the road to Egypt; Bull. Juin, p. 292., Oct. p. 128. But Burckhardt himself says, that from the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel he crossed the 'Arabah in a direction west by north to the western hills, there called Jebel Beyâneh, and after reaching the summit of them by a gentle ascent of an hour and a half, he descended again by a short and very gradual declivity, into the western plain; here he encamped

an hour from Jebel Beyâneh, and the next morning crossed the two Wadys Abu Tŭlhha. Travels, p. 444. seq.

5. To the southern half of the great valley between the Dead Sea and 'Akabah, which has usually, through its whole length, been called el-'Arabah, M. de Bertou assigns the name of Wady 'Akabah. Bull. Juin, p. 292. seq., Oct. p. 128. seq. He says the Arabs give it this name for the whole distance south of his Wady 'Talha.' Now there is hardly a fact which rests on better testimony, than that this valley, from the Ghôr near the Dead Sea quite to the Gulf of 'Akabah, bears among the Arabs only the name of Wady el-'Arabah. Burckhardt, in crossing it from Wady Ghŭrŭndel in 1812, says, that from the Ghôr and south of the latitude of el-Busaireh, as the Arabs informed him, "it takes the name of 'Arabah, which it retains till its termination near the Red Sea." Again, in approaching 'Akabah from Mount Sinai in 1816, he speaks of Wady el-'Arabah as issuing upon the plain around 'Akabah. Travels, pp. 442. 509. (In this last passage, the German version has 'Akabah, by a typographical error.) In 1822, Rüppell was at 'Akabah; and heard only of Wady el-'Arabah; Reisen in Nubien, &c. p. 247. Laborde traversed the southern half of the valley in 1828, and constructed his large map of the region; but neither on that, nor in his work, do we find any other name for it than el-'Arabah; Voyage, pp. 53. 79. (143. seq.) Of other later travellers, none have heard a different name; see Lord Lindsay's Letters, &c. Schubert's Reise, ii. pp. 397. 404, 405. To all this testimony I hardly need to add our own. Yet at 'Akabah, the people of the castle, and all our guides, both of the Tawarah and 'Amrân, spoke of the valley only as el-'Arabah; and from the summit of the pass of Nemela, where we could overlook it for a great distance south of Mount Hor, our Arabs of the Haweitât and of the Jehâlîn (Bertou's own guides), gave it still no other name. Yet it is possible, that this traveller may have heard his Arabs speaking of the Wady *by* or *at* 'Akabah; and thus have mistaken this expression for its proper name.

6. The water-shed in the great valley, M. de Bertou places immediately south of the entrance of Wady Abu Tŭlhha into the 'Arabah: "Le Wady Talha marque donc le point de partage des eaux." (Bull. Juin, p. 292., Oct. p. 128. This was as he passed along the western side, towards 'Akabah. On his return from 'Akabah to Wady Mûsa, he finds the water-shed on the eastern side, about half an hour south of Wady Abu Kusheibeh, through which the road turns up the mountain. Ib. Juin, pp. 300, 301.

Hitherto I have felt myself able to speak with confidence; and to rest the contradiction of M. de Bertou's statements, either on our own personal observation, or upon testimony the same, or better than that, to which he had access. In the present case, I cannot speak with equal certainty; and can only bring forward various topics of evidence, which render it probable, that this water-shed is situated some hours further south than the point specified by M. de Bertou. This evidence is of three kinds.

First: The express testimony of all our Arabs. Our five Haweitât, from near Ma'ân, were born and bred in the vicinity of the great valley, which they had often visited. In answer to our inquiries respecting Wady el-Jeib, the great drain of the 'Arabah towards the north, both while travelling along its bed and afterwards, they stated repeatedly, that it has its beginning in the great valley south of Wady Ghŭrŭndel; and that the waters of this latter Wady, in the rainy season, flow towards the north to the Dead Sea. From the summit of the pass of Nemela, nearly or quite four hours (with camels) north of Mount Hor, we could distinctly see the entrance of the Jerâfeh, bearing S. 80° W. the variation of the compass being nearest 10° W. Far to the south of Mount Hor, we could likewise distinctly perceive, what seemed to be the upward continuation of Wady el-Jeib, winding along the middle of the 'Arabah, from south to north, and then sweeping off north-west, as if to meet and receive the Jerâfeh. Here the Haweitât were still with us, and pointed out this winding water-bed as the Jeib, and repeated their former account, that its beginning was in the south of Wady Ghŭrŭndel. There was no reason to distrust the accuracy of their information; and the whole appearance of the valley tended to confirm it.

Second: The configuration of the lateral vallies of the 'Arabah, as they descend to it from the eastern mountains. It was the direction of these Wadys towards the north-west, as laid down upon Laborde's map, that first suggested to the acute mind of Letronne, those doubts respecting the former theory of the Jordan's having once flowed through the great valley, which are now confirmed. Journ. des Savans, Oct. 1835, p. 596. seq.; Nouv. Ann. des Voy. 1839, tom. iii. pp. 268, 269. Judging from the map alone, Letronne himself fixes the probable line of division of the waters at about fifteen hours (lieues) from the Red Sea, which is more than two hours south of the opening of Wady Ghŭrŭndel.. That the lateral Wadys in this quarter do thus run north-west, appears also from the testimony of Burckhardt. In travelling westerly from Ŭsdakah

to the 'Arabah, he struck upon Wady Dâlegheh; having descended along it for some time, he left it running off in a more northern direction, and crossed over a high mountain ridge to Wady Ghŭrŭndel, which he followed to the 'Arabah. Travels, p. 440. Schubert remarks also, on the second day, or rather after a few hours from 'Akabah along the valley, that even here "the vallies which intersect the eastern mountains run up from the plain towards the summit in the direction from N.N.W. towards S.S.E." Reise, ii. p. 398. Thus it appears, that the very circumstance which led Letronne to doubt at all, exists in its full force to show, that the water-shed must naturally be sought for on the south of Wady Ghŭrŭndel.

Third: The testimony of M. de Bertou himself; not indeed where he is directly giving an opinion, but in several incidental facts and circumstances which occur in his journal. It will be remembered, that his Wady el-'Arabah is everywhere the Wady el-Jeib. In passing the mouth of Wady Abu Tŭlhha, on his way south, he remarks: "Depuis la jonction du Talha avec l'Araba, les Arabes donnent à ce dernier le nom de Ouadi-Akaba;" Bull. Juin, p. 292. There is then here still a Wady, further south than the Abu Tŭlhha, with which the latter unites. This Wady they continue to follow: "Le Ouadi serpente au milieu de plaines couvertes de petits silex noirs;" they approach in it by degrees nearer to the eastern mountains; at 3¼ hours from the mouth of the Abu Tŭlhha, they halt at the place where Wady Ghŭrŭndel unites with this Wady, and the Arabs go for water to the springs of Ghŭrŭndel, still 1¼ hours distant. Ib. p. 293. These springs, as we know from Burckhardt and Laborde, are ten minutes within the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, as it issues from the mountains. Burckhardt, p. 441. Laborde's Voyage, p. 79. This spot, therefore, where the traveller halted, the junction of the two Wadys or water-beds, was still at some distance from the eastern mountain, in the great plain.

Further, to this winding Wady, south of the Abu Tŭlhha, M. de Bertou says, indeed, that the Arabs give the name of Wady-'Akabah, and he himself usually calls it so; yet in one or two instances he still mentions it as the 'Arabah, i. e. el-Jeib. Thus he says, (wrongly indeed,) that Burckhardt came from the Ghŭrŭndel into the 'Arabah (Jeib), followed it for an hour and a half, and then left it by the Talha. Ib. p. 292. Again, in his article in the London Geogr. Journal, printed from his manuscript (vol. ix. 1839, p. 282.), this halt in the plain is said to have taken place at the junction of

Wady Ghŭrŭndel with el-'Arabah; the latter name being marked by a note of doubt, which shows at least that it is not a typographical error. All this leads to the suspicion, that this name of Wady 'Akabah, and this whole matter of a water-shed adjacent to Wady Abu Tŭlhha, is an after-thought, got up in consequence of a subsequent hypothesis.

M. de Bertou, indeed, affirms, that it is impossible to mistake, at this point, the two slopes (pentes), one towards the north and the other towards the south. But how does he distinguish this southern slope? Does he examine the bed of the winding Wady, to see in which direction the twigs and leaves have been carried, or the little holes and channels scooped out by the water? No such thing. He merely says that the Arabs call it Wady 'Akabah, and adds: "Il est impossible de méconnaitre les deux pentes, l'une vers le N. l'autre vers le S. La pente vers la mer Rouge doit être rapide, car notre horizon est très borné, et coupe le cap au pied duquel les Arabes nous disent que se trouve Akaba." Bull. Juin, p. 292. That is to say, the fact that the horizon is limited, is a proof that the land descends rapidly in that direction! To common eyes, there would seem to be in this circumstance only another proof, that there was still a gradual ascent towards the south, and that the water-shed was yet some hours distant in that direction.

Thus far of the western side of the great valley, which is well known to be in general lower than the eastern. In passing from 'Akabah to Wady Mûsa, there occurs north of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, a low line of sand-stone hills upon the left, running parallel to the eastern mountain, and here dividing the great valley, as it were, into two parallel parts. These rocks are mentioned both by Laborde and Schubert; (Voyage, p. 79.; Reise, ii. p. 44.;) and appear to be quite similar to the range Hŭmra Fedân, which I have elsewhere described as lying in like manner in the plain further north, in front of the opening of Wady el-Ghuweir. See text, p. 502. Before coming to the Wady Abu Kushefbeh, through which the road ascends the mountain, M. de Bertou says, that this parallel line of hills is connected with the eastern mountain by its last offsets or spurs (par ses derniers contre-forts); and that here is the water-shed in this part of the valley. Bull. Juin, p. 300. Neither Laborde nor Schubert mentions any such connection with the eastern mountain; but on the contrary, the line of hills is laid down on Laborde's map, as if wholly disconnected, and terminating further north in the plain.

The language of Laborde, in his Itinerary, may here, perhaps, afford an explanation. Voyage, p. 79. Half an hour south of the point where the road turns east, he says "à notre droite les montagnes, qui ne forment plus que de légères collines, s'ouvrent en plusieurs ravines, qui semblent recevoir l'écoulement de ce grand amas de rochers. Les graviers et le sable qu'ils ont entraînés forment cette pente sur laquelle nous marchions. Ici, c'est son point culminant; car la pente se manifeste également de l'autre côté." Just at the same point, a Wady (which Laborde writes Haouer) comes down from the south-east. Now all this seems to imply nothing more than one of those immense gravel slopes, which so frequently lie before the mouths of the Wadys, as they issue from these mountains; and which are found in like manner before the Wadys all along on the western coast of the gulf of 'Akabah. The travelled path along the front of the mountain, both here and on the gulf, ascends and descends these slopes, which are often an hour or more in breadth. Such a slope would here present the appearance of a water-shed; and if it continued out quite to the parallel line of low hills in front, would actually cause a division of the waters in this part; which, however, would obviously not affect the great valley lying west of the same hills.

Such is the tenor of the evidence, which seems to me to throw doubt upon the correctness of M. de Bertou's assertion, that the dividing line of the waters in the great valley is adjacent to the mouth of Wady Abu Tŭlhha. I would not be understood to affirm positively, that the fact is not as he represents it; but the evidence of the contrary seems to me sufficiently strong to warrant doubts, until the region shall have again been explored by some competent person, whose attention may be specially directed to this point. When this shall have taken place, it will not surprise me, should the beginning of Wady el-Jeib be found at some distance south of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, as reported by our Arabs.

7. The point near the eastern mountain, just south of Wady Abu Kusheibeh, which M. de Bertou thus assumes as the water-shed in that part, is called (he says) by the Arabs, "El-Saté," signifying "le toit, l'endroit qui a deux pentes." Here, again, I cannot positively deny that the spot bears this name; but it seems not very probable. The Arabic word es-Sŭtah, plur. Sutûh, signifies properly a level spot, a plain, terrace, or the like; and is thus applied to the flat roof of an oriental house; but there is in it not the slightest idea of 'pente.' We found the same word in these

very mountains, as the name of the plain north of Wady Mûsa, called Sutûh Beida, 'White Plains.' The high plain, also, south of Wady Mûsa, extending round to the foot of Mount Hor, is called Sutûh Hârûn, 'Plains or Terrace of Aaron.' Burckhardt, p. 429. It is therefore not improbable, that M. de Bertou has by mistake transferred this name from the base of Mount Hor to the bottom of the great valley. Or, his Arabs may indeed have spoken of the place as a level spot, and thus have called it es-Sŭtah. At any rate, even if it actually exists there as a proper name, it can have no reference whatever to a "pente," or dividing line of waters.

These are the main points in the report of M. de Bertou, which, as it seems to me, require either confirmation or correction. I might go on and extend the list much further, and point out also many other inaccuracies of his map; but this seems less important. In the mean time, I cannot but hope, that travellers in that region may bear these topics in mind, in order that the public may soon learn the exact truth.

NOTE XXXVIII. Pages 606. 608.

CATASTROPHE OF SODOM. In order to present a connected view of those facts respecting the region of the Dead Sea, which seem to have a bearing upon this memorable event, I venture to insert here, although at the risk of considerable repetition, my own letter to the distinguished geologist mentioned in the text. His reply is subjoined in the original French. Then follows a notice of the remarkable Lake of Pitch, on the Island of Trinidad.

1. E. ROBINSON TO L. VON BUCH.

Berlin, April 17th, 1839.

SIR,

In accordance with your kind permission, I venture to throw together a few hints and notices respecting the region around the Dead Sea, and its phenomena, in the hope of being able, through your suggestions, to arrive, perhaps, at some explanation, founded on scientific principles, of the historical notices of this district contained in the Scriptures.

Our journeyings led us twice to the borders of the Dead Sea. Once, passing down from near Hebron (el-Khŭlîl), we struck it at 'Ain Jidy; and proceeded along its western side to Jericho. The second time we went from Hebron to near the *ford* marked on most modern maps; thence to the southern extremity; and so through the

Ghôr and Wady el-'Arabah to Wady Mûsa. We found the sea here occupying the whole breadth of the great valley, which extends from Jebel esh-Sheikh and Bâniâs to the Red Sea at 'Akabah; but the mountains do not open out into a circle or oval around it, as is usually represented. At both the northern and southern ends of the sea, that and the valley are somewhat contracted, by promontories running out obliquely from the western mountain.

The promontory at the southern extremity, called Usdum, is a long even ridge unconnected with the western mountains, and lying in front of them, running along the shore S. S. E. from near the said ford to the end of the sea. It then bends to the south-west for nearly the same distance, where it terminates. The height of this ridge is 150 to 200 feet; and the mass of it is *fossil salt*, thinly covered with strata of limestone and marl. South of this ridge the Ghôr is again wider. But about eight or ten geographical miles (60 to a degree) distant from the sea, in the same direction, is a line of cliffs stretching across the whole Ghôr, as if cutting off all further progress southward. At the foot of these are many brackish springs, which at present form a marsh along their base. These cliffs, however, proved to be nothing more than an offset, or step, beteen the Ghôr below, and the higher level of the valley further south; which from that point takes the name of Wady el-'Arabah.

Through these cliffs, or this offset, consisting of marl, the deep water-course of the great valley breaks its way down to the level of the Ghôr, between banks 150 to 200 feet high. It is called Wady el-Jeib, a Wady within a Wady. This water-course was dry when we saw it in June; but in the rainy season it drains off the waters of el-'Arabah and of the adjacent mountains and high deserts on either side, and carries them northwards to the Dead Sea. Its bed has a rapid descent; and bears marks of a large and powerful volume of water. It begins, as we learned from Arabs of that region, beyond Wady Ghŭrŭndel, or nearly three quarters of the distance towards 'Akabah; the water-shed being so indistinct, as not to have been remarked by travellers who have passed over it. The waters of Wady Ghŭrŭndel itself flow off northwards. The waters of the great western plateau, or the desert et-Tîh, as far south at least as to the point opposite 'Akabah, and probably much further, also flow northwards along the plateau; being drained off by the Wady el-Jerâfeh, which runs north and enters el-'Arabah nearly opposite to Wady Mûsa.

The great valley, as seen from 'Akabah, looking northwards, appears to have only a very slight acclivity, and exhibits scarcely

a trace of a water-course. The whole conformation of this valley, thus presenting a much longer and greater descent towards the north than towards the south, seems of itself to indicate, that the Dead Sea must lie considerably lower than the Gulf of 'Akabah.

It has been generally assumed, that the Dead Sea has existed only since the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, recorded in the book of Genesis; and the favourite hypothesis of late years has been, that the Jordan before that time flowed through Wady el-'Arabah to the Gulf of 'Akabah, leaving the present bed of the Dead Sea a fertile plain. But this, as is now known, cannot have been the case; at least not within the times to which history reaches back. Every circumstance goes to show, that a lake must have existed in this place, into which the Jordan poured its waters, before the catastrophe of Sodom.

It seems also a necessary conclusion, that these cities lay to the southward of the lake; for Lot fled to Zoar, which was *near* to Sodom; and Zoar lay almost at the southern end of the present sea, (the name having still existed in the time of Abulfeda in the 14th century,) apparently at the mouth of a Wady coming down from Kerak in the eastern mountains. The fertile plain, therefore, which Lot chose for himself, and which was well-watered, like the land of Egypt, lay also S. of the lake and near to Zoar. (Gen. xiii. 10—12.) And to the present day more living streams (not less than three or four) flow into the Ghôr at the south end of the sea from the eastern mountains, than are to be found so near together in all Palestine; and the tract is better watered still, than any other district throughout the whole country.

In that plain, too, were wells or pits of asphaltum (חֵמָר), the same word used in describing Babylon, and indicating the same substance as that with which the walls of that city were cemented. (Gen. xiv. 10. compared with Gen. xi. 3.) The valley indeed in which these pits were, is called Siddim; but it is said to have been near the salt sea, and contained Sodom and Gomorrah.) Gen. xiv. 2, 3. 10—12.) The streams that watered the plain remain to attest the accuracy of the historian; but the pits of asphaltum are no longer to be seen. Did they disappear in consequence of the catastrophe of the plain?

The southern part of the Dead Sea has a singular configuration. About three hours north of the southern extremity, the broad low neck of a peninsula runs out from the eastern shore, terminated by a long bank at right angles to the neck, like a long narrow island or

sand-bank, running from N. to S. This bank is nearer to the western than to the eastern shore; and the peninsula may be said almost to divide the sea. (There is a trace of this peninsula on the maps of Berghaus and others; though it is always too small, and has not by any means the true form.) At the southern part of this long bank, the sea, which is here hardly wider than a very large river, sweeps round to the E. and S.E., and forms a bay; which constitutes the southern part or end of the sea, and is in general very shallow. The adjacent shore on the south, is low and flat; and when the lake is swollen by the winter rains, the water sets up over it two or three miles further south than when we saw it. The limit of this overflowing was very distinct; being marked by trunks of palm-trees and other drift-wood. Indeed the whole southern part of the sea, as seen from the western mountains, resembled much a long winding bay, or the estuary of a large river, when the tide is out and the shoals left dry.

We travelled with Arabs of different tribes, inhabiting both the northern and southern parts of the western coast; and our guides were among the most intelligent Sheikhs of those tribes. We inquired often and particularly respecting the phenomena of asphaltum in this sea; and received a uniform answer from all. They had never known of its being found except in the sea; nor there, except after earthquakes. After the earthquake of 1834, a considerable quantity was found floating in small pieces, which were driven ashore and gathered. After the great earthquake of Jan. 1. 1837 (in which Safed was destroyed), a large mass of asphaltum was found floating in the water, — one said like a house, another like an island, — to which the Arabs swam off, and cut it up with axes, and gathered enough to sell for two or three thousand Spanish dollars. In both cases, the asphaltum was found in the southern part of the sea. One Sheikh, a man fifty years old, who had spent his life here, said he had never seen asphaltum, or known of its being found, at any other time. — The Arabs all *supposed*, that it collects upon the rocks of the eastern shore; and being broken off, falls into the sea; but they did not agree as to the place where this was supposed to occur.

In view of these facts, which were observed or collected by ourselves upon the spot, I would respectfully suggest the following inquiries.

1. May we perhaps regard the lake as having anciently extended no further south than the peninsula; near which then were the asphaltum-pits, and further south the fertile well-watered plain?

2. Is it allowable to suppose, that either by a conflagration of the asphaltum in the pits, or by some volcanic action, the soil of this plain (with the cities) might be destroyed, and its level lowered; so that the waters of the lake would rush in, and thus form the present southern bay? Might perhaps the asphaltum have previously collected into a mass or stratum round about the pits, and have become covered or mixed with soil, so as to form a fertile tract; which was then destroyed by conflagration? Or further, might we perhaps conceive, that in combination with some such cause, the bottom of the sea might be heaved up by volcanic action, so as to raise the level of the waters, and cause them to overflow a larger tract?

3. Is there perhaps good reason for supposing, that these pits or fountains of asphaltum may still exist under the waters of the lake; and that the asphaltum becoming hard through the action or contact of the water, remains fixed around the orifices of the fountains, until dislodged by some shock like that of an earthquake? — If, as is reported, asphaltum were anciently more abundant in the lake than at present, this might perhaps be accounted for, by supposing it not to have been usually gathered and carried away.

I might go on and suggest many other inquiries; but these perhaps are sufficient for the purpose in view. For any suggestions which you may make, relative to these or other kindred topics, I shall feel myself under the most grateful obligations.

With high consideration,

Yours, &c.

E. Robinson.

P.S. I forgot to say, that small lumps of sulphur are found in many places along the shores of the sea.

2. L. von Buch to E. Robinson.

Berlin, 20 *Avril*, 1839.

Monsieur,

C'est plutôt pour répondre à l'honorable confiance que vous voulez avoir en moi, que dans l'espérance de pouvoir vous faire une observation digne de vous être présentée, que je vous addresse ces lignes.

La vallée du Jourdain est une *crevasse*, qui s'étend depuis le Liban jusqu'à la Mer Rouge sans interruption. Voilà, à ce qui me semble, le résultat de vos recherches, comme de celles de Mr. de Bertou et Mr. Callier, qui malgré ce fait en veulent à Mr. Ritter

pour avoir dit la même chose. Ces longues crevasses, fréquentes surtout dans les montagnes calcaires, donnent la configuration à nos continents. Si elles sont très-larges et profondes, elles donnent passage aux montagnes primitives, qui par cette raison forment des *chaînes*, dans une direction que la crevasse leur a préscrite. On peut donc s'attendre à un plus grand développement des agens volcaniques au fond de cette crevasse, que sur les hauteurs.

Le sel gemme est, d'après les recherches les plus récentes, un produit d'une action volcanique ou plutonique le long d'une ouverture de cette nature. Mais, les sources d'asphalte ou de bitume le sont aussi; comme le prouvent la quantité de sources de bitume depuis le pied du Zagros aux environs de Bassorah jusqu'à Mosul, et aussi à Bakou; comme le prouvent encore la source de bitume dans le Golfe de Naples, et à Mellilli près de Siracuse; comme le prouvent les sources de bitume sur l'île de Zante, et même le bitume de Seyssel dont on fait les trottoirs à Paris.

L'asphalte de la Mer Morte n'est vraisemblement que le bitume consolidé au fond du lac, qui ne peut pas s'écouler, et forme par conséquent une couche sur le fond, comme à l'île de Trinidad. Il est assez vraisemblable, que cette accumulation se soit faite dans les temps reculés, comme de nos jours; et si des actions volcaniques, une élévation du terrain, et des tremblements de terre, ont mis au jour des masses d'asphalte analogues à celle que vous avez décrite, (phénomène de la plus haute importance, inconnu jusqu'ici,) on peut très-bien concevoir la conflagration de cités entières par l'inflammation de matières si éminemment combustibles.

Si on pouvait découvrir quelque masse basaltique dans la partie méridionale ou vers l'extrémité sud de la Mer Morte, on pouvait croire, qu'un " dyke " basaltique se soit fait jour lors de la célèbre catastrophe, comme cela est arrivé en 1820 près de l'île de Banda, et dans un autre tems au pied du volcan de Ternate. (Descript. Phys. des Iles Canaries, p. 412. 433.) Les mouvements qui accompagnent la sortie d'un tel " dyke " sont bien en état de produire tous les phénomènes, qui ont changés cette contrée intéressante, sans exercer une influence très-marquée sur la forme et la configuration des montagnes à l'entour.

La fertilité du sol dépend quelquefois de très-legers accidents. Il n'est pas probable, que le bitume soit propre pour l'augmenter. Mais il est bien possible, que les mouvements du terrain ont pu mettre au jour une plus grande masse de sel gemme, qui entraîné par les eaux vers le fond de la vallée, suffirait pour lui ôter sa productibilité. Le sel gemme n'aurait pas tant frappé Lot, pour s'imaginer que sa femme eût été changée en sel, si on avait eu

connaissance de son existence entre les couches de la montagne, avant la catastrophe mémorable.

Il faut espérer, que la Société Géologique de Londres, si active, voudra bien un jour envoyer un de ses membres, pour éclairer avec la flambeau de la Géologie des faits qui intéressent tout le monde. Mais, il faudrait rechercher toute la constitution géologique et du Liban et de toute la vallée du Jourdain, depuis Tiberias jusqu'à Akaba.

Je conçois, Monsieur, que toute ceci doit peu vous contenter. Mais, je pense qu'il est téméraire de se faire une théorie sur des faits, dont on n'a pas du moins observé soi-même les résultats.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et obéissant,

LEOPOLD DE BUCH.

3. Extract from a Paper on "the Pitch Lake of the Island of Trinidad," by N. Nugent, M.D. Transactions of the Royal Geological Society, London, 1811, vol. i. p. 63. seq.

"We soon after had a view of the lake, which at first sight appeared to be an expanse of still water, frequently interrupted by clumps of dwarf trees or islets of rushes and shrubs; but on a nearer approach we found it to be in reality an extensive plain of mineral pitch, with frequent crevices and chasms, filled with water. The singularity of the scene was altogether so great, that it was some time before I could recover from my surprise, so as to investigate it minutely. The surface of the lake is of the colour of ashes, and at this season was not polished or smooth, so as to be slippery; the hardness or consistence was such as to bear any weight; and it was not adhesive, though it partially received the impression of the foot; it bore us without any tremulous motion whatever, and several head of cattle were browsing on it in perfect security. In the dry season, however, the surface is much more yielding, and must be in a state approaching to fluidity; as is shown by pieces of recent wood and other substances being enveloped in it. Even large branches of trees, which were a foot above the level, had in some way become enveloped in the bituminous matter.

"The interstices or chasms are very numerous, ramifying and joining in every direction; and in the wet season, being filled with water, present the only obstacle to walking over the surface. These cavities are generally deep in proportion to their width, some being

only a few inches in depth, others several feet, and many almost unfathomable. The water in them is good, and uncontaminated by the pitch; the people of the neighbourhood derive their supply from this source, and refresh themselves by bathing in it; fish are caught in it, and particularly a very good species of mullet. The arrangement of the chasms is very singular; the sides, which of course are formed of the pitch, are invariably shelving from the surface, so as nearly to meet at the bottom, but then they bulge out towards each other, with a considerable degree of convexity. This may be supposed to arise from the tendency in the pitch slowly to coalesce, whenever softened by the intensity of the sun's rays. These crevices are known occasionally to close up entirely, and we saw many marks or seams from this cause. How these crevices originate, it may not be so easy to explain. One of our party suggested, that the whole mass of pitch might be supported by the water, which made its way through accidental rents; but in the solid state it is of greater specific gravity than [fresh] water, for several bits thrown into one of the pools immediately sunk.[1]

"The lake (I call it so, because I think the common name appropriate enough,) contains many islets covered with long grass and shrubs, which are the haunts of birds of the most exquisite plumage; as the pools are of snipe and plover. Alligators are also said to abound here, but it was not our lot to encounter any of these animals. It is not easy to state precisely the extent of this great collection of pitch; the line between it and the neighbouring soil is not always well defined; and indeed it appears to form the substratum of the surrounding tract of land. We may say, however, that it is bounded on the north and west sides by the sea, on the south by a rocky eminence of porcelain jasper, and on the east by the usual argillaceous soil of the country; the main body may perhaps be estimated at three miles in circumference. The depth cannot be ascertained, and no subjacent rock or soil can be discovered. Where the bitumen is slightly covered by soil, there are plantations of cassava, plantains, and pine-apples, the last of which grow with luxuriance, and attain to great perfection. There are three or four French and one English sugar estates in the immediate neighbourhood.

"It is worthy of remark, that the main body of the pitch, which may properly be called the lake, is situated higher than the adjoining land; and that you descend by a gentle slope to the sea, where the

[1] Pieces of asphaltum are frequently found floating on the Dead Sea in Palestine; but this arises probably from the extraordinary specific gravity of the waters of that lake.

pitch is much contaminated by the sand of the beach. During the dry season, as I have before remarked, this pitch is much softened, so that different bodies have been known slowly to sink into it; if a quantity be cut out, the cavity left will be shortly filled up; and I have heard it related, that when the Spaniards undertook formerly to prepare the pitch for economical purposes, and had imprudently erected their caldrons on the very lake, they completely sunk in the course of a night, so as to defeat their intentions. Numberless proofs are given of its being at times in this softened state; the negro houses of the vicinage, for instance, built by driving posts in the earth, frequently are twisted or sunk on one side. In many places it seems to have actually overflown like lava, and presents the wrinkled appearance which a sluggish substance would exhibit in motion.

"This substance is generally thought to be the asphaltum of naturalists; in different spots, however, it presents different appearances. In some parts it is black, with a splintery conchoidal fracture, of considerable specific gravity, with little or no lustre, resembling particular kinds of coal, and so hard as to require a severe blow of the hammer to detach or break it. In other parts, it is so much softer as to allow one to cut out a piece in any form with a spade or hatchet, and in the interior is vesicular and oily: this is the character of by far the greater portion of the whole mass. In one place it bubbles up in a perfectly fluid state, so that you may take it up in a cup; and I am informed that, in one of the neighbouring plantations, there is a spot where it is of a bright colour, shining, transparent, and brittle, like bottle-glass or resin. The odour in all these instances is strong, and like that of a combination of pitch and sulphur. A bit of the pitch held in the candle melts like sealing-wax, and burns with a light flame; which is extinguished whenever it is removed, and on cooling the bitumen hardens again.

* * * * * * *

"I have been informed by several persons, that the sea in the neighbourhood is occasionally covered with a fluid bitumen, and in the south-eastern part of the island there is certainly a similar collection of this bitumen, though of less extent; and many small detached spots of it are to be met with in the woods. It is even said, that an evident line of communication may thus be traced between the two great receptacles. There is every probability that in all these cases the pitch was originally fluid, and has since become inspissated by exposure to the air, as happens in the Dead Sea and other parts of the East."

Note XXXIX. Page 613.

Stations of the Israelites. The following Table, arranged in accordance with the suggestions advanced in the text, presents a synoptical view of all the stations of the Israelites, enumerated, from their departure out of Egypt until their arrival overagainst Jericho.

1. *From Egypt to Sinai.*

	Exodus, xii—xix.	Numbers, xxxiii.
	From Rameses, xii. 37.	From Rameses, verse 3.
1.	Succoth, xii. 37.	Succoth, vs. 5.
2.	Etham, xiii. 20.	Etham, vs. 6.
3.	Pi-haheroth, xiv. 2.	Pi-haheroth, vs. 7.
4.	Passage through the Red Sea, xiv. 22.; and three days' march into the desert of Shur, xv. 22.	Passage through the Red Sea, and three days' march in the desert of Etham, vs. 8.
5.	Marah, xv. 23.	Marah, vs. 8.
6.	Elim, xv. 27.	Elim, vs. 9.
7.		Encampment by the Red Sea, vs. 10.
8.	Desert of Sin, xvi. 1.	Desert of Sin, vs. 11.
9.		Dophka, vs. 12.
10.		Alush, vs. 13.
11.	Rephidim, xvii. 1.	Rephidim, vs. 14.
12.	Desert of Sinai, xix. 1.	Desert of Sinai, vs. 15.

2. *From Sinai to Kadesh the second time.*

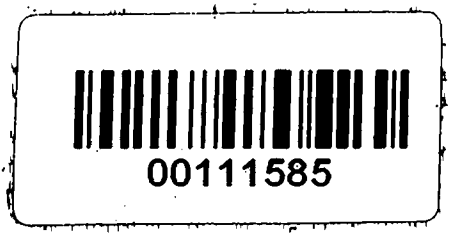
	Numbers, x—xx.	Numbers, xxxiii.
	From the Desert of Sinai, x. 12.	From the Desert of Sinai, vs. 16.
13.	Taberah, xi. 3.; Deut. ix. 22.	
14.	Kibroth-hattaavah, xi. 34.	Kibroth-hattaavah, vs. 16.
15.	Hazeroth, xi. 35.	Hazeroth, vs. 17.
16.	Kadesh, in the desert of Paran, xii. 16., xiii. 26.; Deut. i. 2. 19. Hence they turn back and wander for thirty-eight years; Num. xiv. 25. seq.	
17.		Rithma, vs. 18.
18.		Rimmon-parez, vs. 19.
19.		Libnah, vs. 20.
20.		Rissah, vs. 21.
21.		Kehelathah, vs. 22.
22.		Mount Shapher, vs. 23.
23.		Haradah, vs. 24.
24.		Makheloth, vs. 25.

25.	Tahath, vs. 26.
26.	Tarah, vs. 27.
27.	Mithcah, vs. 28.
28.	Hashmonah, vs. 29.
29.	Moseroth, vs. 30.
[redacted]	Bene-jaakan, vs. 31.
	Hor-hagidgad, vs. 32.
32.	Jotbathah, vs. 33.
33.	Ebronah, vs. 34.
34.	Ezion-gaber, vs. 35.
35. Return to Kadesh, Num. xx. 1.	Kadesh, vs. 36.

3. *From Kadesh to the Jordan.*

Num. xx. xxi. Deut. i. ii. x. From Kadesh, Num. xx. 22.	Numbers, xxxiii. From Kadesh, vs. 37
36. Beeroth Bene-jaakan, Deut. x. 6.	
37. Mount Hor, Num. xx. 22.; or Mosera, Deut. x. 6.; where Aaron died.	Mount Hor, vs. 37.
38. Gudgodah, Deut. x. 7.	
39. Jotbath, Deut. x. 7.	
40. Way of the Red Sea, Num. xxi. 4.; by Elath and Ezion-gaber, Deut. ii. 8.	
41.	Zalmonah, vs. 41.
42.	Punon, vs. 42.
43. Oboth, Num. xxi. 10.	Oboth, vs. 43.
44. Ije-abarim, Num. xxi. 11.	Ije-abarim, or Iim, vs. 44, 45.
45. The brook Zered, Num. xxi. 12. Deut. ii. 13, 14.	
46. The brook Arnon, Num. xxi. 13. Deut. ii. 24.	
47.	Dibon-gad, vs. 45.; now Dhibân.
48.	Almon-diblathaim, vs. 46.
49. Beer (well) in the desert, Num. xxi. 16. 18.	
50. Mattanah, xxi. 18.	
51. Nahaliel, xxi. 19.	
52. Bamoth, xxi. 19.	
53. Pisgah, put for the range of Abarim, of which Pisgah was part, xxi. 20.	Mountains of Abarim, near to Nebo, vs. 47.
54. By the way of Bashan to the plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho; Num. xxi. 33., xxii. 1.	Plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho, vs. 48.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.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